

THE EARLY HISTORY OF THE DECCAN

PARTS I-VI

EDITED BY
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M.A., LITT.D., O.B.E.

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PREFACE

IN 1922 appeared the first volume of the *Cambridge History of India*, under the able editorship of the late Professor E. J. Rapson. It was welcomed in India as a model work of its kind, because of the vast scholarship and sound judgement of Professor Rapson and his learned collaborators. A certain group of Indian historians, however, looked at the work with indifference, for their national pride was touched and they thought that the accurate history of a country could be written only by its own people. This view of theirs was in a certain manner proved correct by the subsequent volumes of the *Cambridge History*, which betrayed the prejudiced mind of the editors on the one hand, and their lack of historical vision and penetrating research on the other. As a result of this impression several schemes were drawn up for the compilation and publication of a new comprehensive history of India, to be written from the Indian point of view by Indian scholars. The most notable of these proposals have been the Bharatiya Itihas Parisad Scheme, the Indian History Congress Scheme, and the Aligarh Historical Research Institute Scheme. The last two schemes were united in a single plan only a few years after their formulation, whilst the third, sponsored by the Indian History Congress, has also been amalgamated recently with the reconstituted Bharatiya Itihas Parisad Scheme, the reason for this being that the aims and objects of all three schemes have proved to be substantially the same, that is to promote the production of a comprehensive history of India written from the Indian point of view.

Simultaneously with the emergence of the three original suggestions for a history of the whole of India, some universities sponsored schemes for the detailed histories of their respective provinces, based upon up-to-date discoveries made by Indian scholars in the fields of Epigraphy and Archaeology, as well as on the interpretation given by them of extant religious texts and contemporary records, and on the correct appreciation of the artistic and iconographic significance of Indian sculpture throughout the period. In this respect Dacca University was the first to publish an authoritative history of Bengal under the able editorship of Dr. R. C. Majumdar. In Hyderabad Professors Haroon Khan Shirwani and 'Ali Yar Khan (now Nawab 'Ali Yavar Jung Bahadur) submitted to the Government a plan for the publication of a comprehensive history of the Deccan in five volumes. This scheme was temporarily shelved by the Government because there was at the time a heavy drain on the finances of the State owing to the outbreak of the Second World War. About the same time Dr. Yazdani independently submitted a note to the late Sir Akbar Hydari, the then President of the Executive Council, in which he described the rich contribution made by the

Southern Peninsula to the economic, religious, social, and cultural life of India. He also referred in this note to the abundance of material which is available here in the South in the form of contemporary inscriptions, archaeological monuments, and continuous authoritative histories and documents for a comprehensive history of the Deccan from the earliest period up to modern times. Sir Akbar had appreciated fully the importance of the 'Ali-Shirwani scheme, and after the perusal of Dr. Yazdani's note he advised all three proposers to submit a joint scheme to the Government, and assured them of his strong support when the case should come up before the Executive Council. But shortly afterwards Sir Akbar Hydari retired abruptly from the service of the State and the only source of satisfaction remaining to the sponsors of the joint scheme was that one of them—Nawab 'Ali Yavar Jung Bahadur—was just then appointed to the high post of Secretary to the Government in the Department of Constitutional Affairs, and he thereupon immediately determined to use all his influence to secure the sanction of the scheme by the Government. The previous objection that owing to War conditions sufficient funds were not available was again raised by the Council when the case came up for decision before them, and it was with great difficulty and only by dint of much patient argument and persistence by Nawab 'Ali Yavar Jung that they finally agreed to sanction the scheme on condition that:

- (i) As a beginning only the compilation of the first volume of the proposed work should be undertaken, the question of the publication of the remaining volumes to be decided after the termination of the war.
- (ii) The cost of the publication should be met from the fixed provisions of such departments as were interested in the scheme and were willing to set apart funds for the purpose.

The Council further appointed a Board of Editors, consisting first of the sponsors of the scheme who were empowered to co-opt scholars both from within the State and from outside it to collaborate with them. The Council also approved the appointment of Dr. Yazdani as the Editor of the first volume which was to deal with the Ancient period, and also the appointment of Professors Haroon Khan Shirwani and Nawab 'Ali Yavar Jung as Editors of the volumes for the Medieval and Modern periods respectively. These decisions of the Council were later confirmed by a Firman of His Exalted Highness. This first Editorial Board was subsequently enlarged at the recommendation of the Government, the names of Dr. Yusuf Husain Khan, Dr. P. M. Joshi, and Professor Nilakanta Sastri being added to those of the original three members.

The Education Department, the Osmania University, and the Constitutional Affairs Department made suitable donations from their own budgeted grants to meet the cost of Volume I, as originally estimated, and when these proved inadequate owing to the sudden rise in the prices of printing material

and the wages of craftsmen, the Hyderabad State Government and the Osmania University in equal shares made good the difference between the original estimate and the revised estimate received from the Oxford University Press, to whom the printing of the volume was entrusted.

The Editorial Board, in pursuance of the principles laid down in the scheme regarding the scope and general arrangement of the book, have allowed Dr. Yazdani, the Editor of the present volume, to consult well-known historians both in the Hyderabad State and outside it, and to choose such among them as had already done conspicuous research work on the early ruling dynasties of the Deccan to collaborate with him in the compilation of the volume. In this connexion the Editor would like to acknowledge with thanks the valuable counsels of Professor S. Hanumant Rao of the Nizam College and of the late Professor D. B. Bhandarkar, which were so willingly given and of which full advantage has been taken. Professor Bhandarkar had also agreed to write the chapters on the Pre-Sātavāhanas and Sātavāhanas, but owing to his failing health and subsequent lamented death this undertaking could not be fulfilled. The Editor has been fortunate in securing the co-operation and help of several eminent historians of the country in the execution of the task which lay before him, and the fact that the volume was as thoroughly appreciated as it was by competent authorities with regard to both its general and its particular merits is largely due to the eminent scholars who have each contributed to the volume on subjects pertaining to their own special studies. The reader will notice in the book that the First Part dealing with the Geography of the Deccan is by Professor Hemchandra Raychaudhuri, that the Second Part on Pre-Sātavāhanas and Sātavāhanas has been compiled by Professor Gurty Venket Rao, and that Parts III-VIII on the Vākātakas, the Chālukyas of Bādāmi, the Rāshtrakūṭas, the Chālukyas of Kalyāṇi, the Eastern Chālukyas, and the Yādavas are from the pens of Professor A. S. Altekar and Professor K. A. Nilakanta Sastri respectively. In compiling Part VII, on the Eastern Chālukyas, Professor Nilakanta Sastri has been helped by Dr. N. Venkataramanayya; similarly the latter, who has contributed Part IX on the Kākatīyas, has availed himself of the scholarly assistance of Mr. M. Somasekhara Sarma. Part X, on the Fine Arts of the Deccan, has been written by the Editor himself, and the XIth or concluding part of the volume, which is on the Coins and the Currency System of the Deccan, is by Professor A. S. Altekar, a recognized authority on this subject.

In describing the ruling dynasties of the Deccan a chronological order has been kept, but as some of these dynasties were contemporary and fought against one another for independence, or for the integrity of their territories, the accounts of some political events have been repeated, a proceeding which was inevitable in following the general plan of the work according to which the histories of these dynasties have each been given separately in special chapters, and not in association.

The main sources for the history of the period are inscriptions, generally in the form of land-grants for religious and other purposes, in which the virtues and military triumphs of the donors have been recorded often in exaggerated rhetorical terms. Great care, however, has been taken, in gleanng the necessary information, to present an authentic account in each case. Further, notwithstanding the limited nature of the sources, no pains have been spared to compile the history in all its aspects, political, social, religious, cultural, and economic. The reader will find that there are separate sections under these headings in the account of each ruling dynasty.

The work has been compiled after taking into consideration the requirements both of the serious student and of the general reader; thus an attempt has been made to present a complete picture of all such events as are necessarily included in order to enable the student to acquire a thorough grasp of the subject, whilst minor details and scholastic discussions have generally been omitted. The published views of scholars on controversial points are, however, referred to in footnotes. Further, in a work compiled by several authors it is obviously difficult to maintain a uniformity of style with regard to literary expression, but the general arrangement of the different Parts of the book will be found to be uniform, and in this connexion the Editor has to thank his collaborators for carrying out his suggestions with such meticulous care.

As far as the transliteration of proper names is concerned, a middle course has been followed. The overburdening of letters by diacritical marks has been avoided as far as practicable and only such symbols have been used as are generally to be found in English historical texts published by learned institutions and academic bodies. The spelling of geographical names follows that given in the *Imperial Gazetteer*, and where new names occur the transliteration system of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland has been followed. Some authors, in their enthusiastic appreciation of the old names of provinces and towns which have been revived by the Union Government of India since its establishment, have adopted these in their contributions, and thus the reader may find the same place mentioned under different names in the different Parts of the book, particularly in the case of those Parts which had been compiled and finally printed before or after the adoption of the revived nomenclature. Such divergences, however, have been indicated by cross references in the Index.

The Board much regrets the delay which has occurred in the publication of the book, but the reasons for this have been beyond its control. Interference with the regular course of production has been due to the political disturbance, the change of Government, the setting up of administrative bodies involving more than one departmental reorganization, and last but not least the general financial stringency resulting from all the above causes. But, thanks to the literary enthusiasm and the enlightened views of the successive Govern-

ments of Hyderabad, the importance of the work has always been recognized, and through the influence of Nawab 'Ali Yavar Jung and the judicious handling of the matter by Mr. L. N. Gupta, first in his capacity as Secretary to the Hyderabad Government in the Finance Department, and afterwards as Educational Secretary, the grants which had lapsed were restored and permission to proceed with the work was obtained.

Part X of the book, on the Fine Arts of the Deccan, was issued in 1952, with a view to meeting the wishes of a large number of the delegates who were to assemble at the annual session of the Indian National Congress in Hyderabad in 1953, and who wanted an authoritative work on the historical and artistic import of the monuments at Ellora, Ajanta, and other places in the State which the delegates desired to visit during their stay. This Part has received a warm welcome in literary circles as well as by the general public, and a second edition has already been issued.

The printing of the text, the preparation of the half-tone illustrative plates, and the binding of the volume have been done by the University Press at Oxford, and the Editor is grateful to the Printer, and to his expert staff, for executing the work with great care and interest to ensure for the volume the accuracy and artistic effect of a standard book. The index to the volume has been prepared by Miss Dorothy Marshall, and the Editor thanks her for her expert knowledge in performing this onerous task in a scholarly manner.

G. YAZDANI

Editor

Hyderabad-Deccan

31 January 1960

CONTENTS

PART I. THE GEOGRAPHY OF THE DECCAN; <i>by</i> PROFESSOR HEM- CHANDRA RAYCHAUDHURI, M.A., PH.D., F.R.A.S.B., <i>formerly Carmichael</i> <i>Professor of History, Calcutta University</i>	
PART II. THE PRE-SĀTAVĀHANA AND SĀTAVĀHANA PERIODS; <i>by</i> PROFESSOR GURTY VENKET RAO, M.A., LL.B., <i>Head of the</i> <i>Department of History and Politics, Andhra University</i>	65
PART III. THE VĀKĀṬAKAS; <i>by</i> PROFESSOR A. S. ALTEKAR, M.A., D.LITT., <i>Head of the Department of Ancient Indian History and Culture, Patna</i> <i>University</i>	149
PART IV. THE CHĀLUKYAS OF BĀDĀMĪ; <i>by</i> PROFESSOR K. A. NILA- KANTA SASTRI, <i>Head of the Department of Indology, Mysore University, formerly</i> <i>Professor of Ancient Indian History and Archaeology, University of Madras</i>	201
PART V. THE RĀSHTRAKŪTAS; <i>by</i> PROFESSOR A. S. ALTEKAR, M.A., D.LITT., <i>formerly Head of the Department of Ancient Indian History, Hindu University,</i> <i>Benares</i>	247
PART VI. THE CHĀLUKYAS OF KALYĀṆĪ AND THE KALA- CHURIS OF KALYĀṆĪ; <i>by</i> PROFESSOR K. A. NILAKANTA SASTRI, <i>formerly Professor of Ancient History and Archaeology, University of Madras</i>	315
PART VII. THE EASTERN CHĀLUKYAS AND THE CHĀLUKYAS OF VEMULAVĀḌA; <i>by</i> PROFESSOR K. A. NILAKANTA SASTRI <i>and</i> DR. N. VENKATARAMANAYYA, M.A., <i>formerly Reader in History, University of Madras</i>	469
PART VIII. THE YĀDAVAS OF SEUNADEŚA; <i>by</i> PROFESSOR A. S. ALTEKAR, M.A., D.LITT., <i>Head of the Department of Ancient Indian History and</i> <i>Culture, Patna University</i>	513
PART IX. THE KĀKATĪYAS OF WARANGAL; <i>by</i> DR. N. VENKATA- RAMANAYYA, M.A., <i>formerly Reader in History, University of Madras, and</i> SHRI SOMASEKHARA SARMA, M.A.	575
PART X. THE FINE ARTS OF THE DECCAN: ARCHITECTURE, SCULPTURE, AND PAINTING; <i>by</i> G. YAZDANI, M.A., LITT.D., O.B.E.	715
PART XI. THE COINAGE OF THE DECCAN; <i>by</i> PROFESSOR A. S. ALTEKAR, M.A., D.LITT., <i>President of the Numismatic Society of India</i>	783
INDEX	807

LIST OF PLATES

- I (a) The hunting scene painted on a rock at Benkal, Hyderabad State
- (b) Cairns with stone circles, Hyderabad State
- II (a) The façade of the *chaitya*-cave at Kondānc, Bombay State
- (b) The ceiling of the *vihāra*-cave at Kondānc, Bombay State
- III (a) The *Campeya Jatāka*, Amarāvati, Madras State
- (b) A *Yaksha* and *Yakshiṇī*, the *chaitya*-cave at Beḍṣā, Bombay State
- IV (a) The dancers, façade of the *chaitya*-cave, Kondānc, Bombay State
- (b) The dancers in the same cave
- V (a) The dancers, the *chaitya*-cave, Kondānc, Bombay State
- (b) The dancers in the same cave
- VI (a) The winged animals above the capitals of pillars, Pitalkhorā, Hyderabad State
- (b) The pyramid-shaped parapet, the *chaitya*-cave at Kondānc, Bombay State
- VII (a) The bell-shaped capital of the pillar, Beḍṣā, Bombay State
- (b) The hall of the *chaitya*-cave at Kārle, Bombay State
- VIII (a) The carving on the left wall of the veranda, the *chaitya*-cave at Beḍṣā, Bombay State
- (b) The hall of the *chaitya*-cave at Kārle, Bombay State
- IX The hall of the *chaitya*-cave XXVI, Ajanta, Hyderabad State
- X (a) Pillars of the façade of Cave IV, Ajanta, Hyderabad State
- (b) Pillars of the hall of Cave I, Ajanta, Hyderabad State
- XI The façade of the Do Thāl, Cave XII, Ellora, Hyderabad State
- XII Plan of the Mahārṇwāda, Cave V, Ellora, Hyderabad State
- XIII (a) The pot design on the pillars of Cave XII, Ellora, Hyderabad State
- (b) The monolithic temple, Kailāsa, Ellora, Hyderabad State
- XIV (a) The back gallery of the Kailāsa, Ellora, Hyderabad State
- (b) Plan of the Dhūmar Lena, Cave XXIX, Ellora, Hyderabad State
- XV (a) The Mahādeva Temple at Ittagī, Hyderabad State
- (b) Two temples of Ālampur, Hyderabad State
- XVI (a) A temple at Gabbūr, Hyderabad State
- (b) The triangular slabs of the ceiling of the pavilion in the Hyderabad Museum
- XVII (a) A pillar of the temple at Pālampet, Hyderabad State
- (b) A pillar of the temple at Pillalmari, Hyderabad State
- XVIII (a) Pillars of the temples at Ittagī, Hyderabad State
- (b) A pillar of the same temple
- XIX (a) Plan of a temple at Ālampur, Hyderabad State
- (b) Flying figures on a temple at the same place
- XX Plan of the temple at Aundha, Hyderabad State
- XXI (a) The temple at Aundha, Hyderabad State. View of the south-eastern half
- (b) The same, western half
- XXII Plan of the temple at Pālampet, Hyderabad State
- XXIII The statue of the donor of the *chaitya*-cave at Kondānc, Bombay State

- xxiv (a) A dancing pair, the *chaitya*-cave, Kārle, Bombay State
 (b) The same pair reversing in the dance
- xxv (a) The pillars with elephant-riders of the *chaitya*-cave, Kārle, Bombay State
 (b) The elephant-riders upon two pillars, the same cave
- xxvi (a) The frieze representing a herdsman with fabulous animals, Amrāvati, Madras State
 (b) Worship of the symbols of the Buddha with the lotus design in the middle, Amrāvati, Madras State
- xxvii (a) The lotus design on a column at Amrāvati, Madras State
 (b) The lotus design on a column at Ajanta, Hyderabad State
- xxviii (a) A garland issuing from the mouth of a crocodile, dwarfish human figures supporting the garland, Amarāvati, Madras State
 (b) A prince with a horse and two attendant ladies, Amarāvati, Madras State
- xxix (a) The alms-box of the Buddha, Amarāvati, Madras State
 (b) A representation of the *stupa*, Amarāvati, Madras State
- xxx The image of the Buddha in the shrine of Cave I, Ajanta, Hyderabad State
- xxxi The death scene of the Buddha, Cave XXVI, Ajanta, Hyderabad State
- xxxii The Nāga rājā and the Nāginī, Cave XIX, Ajanta, Hyderabad State
- xxxiii The Nāga dvarāpālas, Cave XXIII, Ajanta, Hyderabad State
- xxxiv The façade of Cave XIX, Ajanta, Hyderabad State
- xxxv (a) Four deer with a common head, Cave I, Ajanta, Hyderabad State
 (b) Bhairava in Cave XXIX, Ellora, Hyderabad State
- xxxvi (a) The flying figures of the temple at Aihole, Bombay State
 (b) The river-goddess, Cave XXI, Ellora, Hyderabad State
- xxxvii (a) A goddess in Cave VII, Aurangābād, Hyderabad State
 (b) A Jain image, Sālār Jung Collection, Hyderabad State
- xxxviii (a) The Jain image in the Hyderabad Museum
 (b) The figure of a dancer, Ramappa temple, Hyderabad State
- xxxix (a) The figure of a dancer, Ramappa temple, Hyderabad State
 (b) Another dancer, the same temple
- xl (a) A Nāginī, Ramappa temple, Hyderabad State
 (b) A *Yakshinī*, the temple at Peḍampet, Hyderabad State
- xli (a) Figures of Śiva, Panchiśvara Temple, Pāngul, Hyderabad State
 (b) The figure of Gaṇeśa, the same temple
- xlII (a) Lakshmī as lamp-bearer, Hyderabad Museum
 (b) A rājā worshipping the Bodhi-tree, Cave X, Ajanta, Hyderabad State
- xlIII (a) The dance scene, Cave X, Ajanta, Hyderabad State
 (b) The six-tusked elephant (Shad-Danta) with his herd, Cave X, Ajanta
- xlIV The Shaḍ-Danta Jātaka, Cave X, Ajanta, Hyderabad State
- xlV The six-tusked elephant under a banyan tree, Cave X, Ajanta, Hyderabad State
- xlVI Mother and child before the Buddha, Cave XVII, Ajanta, Hyderabad State
- xlVII Prince Siddharta (or the Bodhisattva Padmapāni), Cave I, Ajanta, Hyderabad State
- xlVIII (a) The pose of a lady, Cave I, Ajanta, Hyderabad State
 (b) The Black Princess, the same cave

- XLIX (a) Decorative motifs, ceiling of Cave I, Ajanta, Hyderabad State
 (b) Figure of an *Arhat*, Cave II, Ajanta
- L (a) The panel representing animal figures, Cave XVII, Ajanta, Hyderabad State
 (b) The merry-makers on the door-frame of the same cave
- LI (a) The avaricious Brāhman, Jujaka, Cave XVII, Ajanta, Hyderabad State
 (b) The round Pavilion, Cave XVI, Ajanta
- LII (a) Śiva and Pārvatī, Cave III, Bādāmi, Bombay State
 (b) A Brahmanic deity in the act of adoration, Kailāsa, Ellora, Hyderabad State
- LIII (a) A battle scene, Kailāsa, Ellora, Hyderabad State
 (b) *Gandharvas*, ceiling of the Indra Sabha, Ellora
- LIV (a) A Bodhisattva, Kondāpur, Hyderabad State
 (b) A *Yaksha*, from the same site
 (c) Another *Yaksha*, from the same site
 (d) Another *Yaksha*, from the same site
- LV (a) Terracotta figure of a lion, Kondāpur, Hyderabad State
 (b) Terracotta head of a ram, from the same place
 (c) Terracotta figures of a horse and a bull, from the same place.
- LVI Pottery with ornamental designs, Kondāpur, Hyderabad State
- LVII (a) A Bodhisattva, Kondāpur, Hyderabad State
 (b) Two heads with long hair curled up in a roll, from the same site
- LVIII (a) Kuvera or some other *Yaksha*, Kondāpur, Hyderabad State
 (b) The same, back view
 (c) Hārīti (?), Kondāpur, Hyderabad State
 (d) The mother goddess, Earth, from the same site
- LIX (a) A dancing pair, the *chaitya*-cave, Kārle, Bombay State
 (b) Another pair, the same cave
- LX (a) A dance scene, Cave I, Ajanta, Hyderabad State
 (b) Another dance scene, the same cave
- LXI (a) A dance scene, Cave VII, Aurangābād, Hyderabad State
 (b) A dancing girl, the temple at Pālampet, Hyderabad State
- LXII Early coins of the Deccan
- LXIII Early coins of the Deccan
- LXIV Early coins of the Deccan
- LXV Early coins of the Deccan
 Map of the Deccan: Early Period

ABBREVIATIONS

<i>ABI</i>	<i>Annals of the Bhandarkar Institute.</i>
<i>ABORI</i>	<i>Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona.</i>
<i>AHD</i>	<i>Ancient History of the Deccan</i> (1920), by G. Jouveau Dubreuil.
<i>AI</i> (Ptolemy)	McCrindle's <i>Ancient India as described by Ptolemy</i> , edited by S. N. Majumdar.
<i>AMAI</i>	<i>Ancient and Medieval Architecture of India</i> , by E. B. Havell.
<i>ARASI</i>	<i>Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India.</i>
<i>ARE</i>	<i>Annual Report of South Indian Epigraphy.</i>
<i>Arth.</i>	Kautilya's <i>Arthashastra</i> , English translation by R. Shamasastri.
<i>ASI</i>	<i>Archaeological Survey of India.</i>
<i>ASIAR</i>	<i>Archaeological Survey of India, Annual Report.</i>
<i>ASR</i>	Do.
<i>ASSI</i>	<i>Archaeological Survey of Southern India.</i>
<i>ASWI</i>	<i>Archaeological Survey of Western India.</i>
<i>BG</i>	<i>Bombay Gazetteer.</i>
<i>BK</i>	<i>Bombay-Karnatak.</i>
<i>BRA</i>	<i>Buddhist Remains in Āndhra and the History of Āndhra between 225 and 610 A.D.</i> , by K. R. Subrahmanyam.
<i>BSAJ</i>	<i>Buddhist Stupas of Amarāvati and Jaggayyapeta</i> , by Dr. Jas. Burgess.
<i>CAI</i>	<i>Coins of Ancient India</i> , by General Sir A. Cunningham.
<i>CAGI</i>	Cunningham's <i>Ancient Geography of India</i> , edited with introduction and notes by Surendranath Majumdar.
<i>CBREI</i>	<i>Commerce between the Roman Empire and India</i> , by E. H. Warmington.
<i>CHI</i>	<i>The Cambridge History of India.</i>
<i>CIC</i>	<i>Catalogue of the Indian Coins. Āndhras Western Kṣatrapas, etc.</i> , by E. J. Rapson.
<i>CL</i>	<i>The Carmichael Lectures</i> , 1918, by D. R. Bhandarkar.
<i>CLAI</i>	<i>Corporate Life in Ancient India</i> , by R. C. Majumdar.
<i>CP</i>	<i>Copper Plate.</i>
<i>CTI</i>	<i>Cave Temples of India</i> , by Fergusson and Burgess.
<i>DHNI</i>	<i>Dynastic History of Northern India</i> , by H. C. Ray.
<i>Dip.</i>	<i>The Dipavamsa</i> , English translation by Hermann Oldenberg.
<i>DKA</i>	<i>Dynasties of the Kali Age</i> , by Frederick Eden Pargiter.
<i>DKD</i>	<i>Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts.</i>
<i>EC</i>	<i>Epigraphia Carnatica.</i>
<i>EHAC</i>	<i>Early History of the Āndhra Country</i> , by K. Gopalachari.
<i>EHD</i>	<i>Early History of the Dekkan</i> , by Ramakrishna Gopal Bhandarkar (3rd edition).
<i>EHI</i>	<i>The Early History of India from 600 B.C.</i> , by V. A. Smith (4th edition).
<i>EI</i>	<i>Epigraphia Indica.</i>
<i>GI</i>	<i>Gupta Inscriptions</i> , edited by Fleet.
<i>HAS</i>	<i>Hyderabad Archaeological Series.</i>

HIA	<i>History of Indian and Indonesian Art</i> , by Dr. A. K. Comaraswamy.
HISI	<i>Historical Inscriptions of Southern India.</i>
HSAD	<i>Historical Sketches of the Ancient Dekhan</i> , by K. V. Subrahmanya Aiyar.
IA	<i>Indian Antiquary.</i>
IBIWW	<i>Intercourse between India and the Western World from the earliest times to the fall of Rome</i> , by H. G. Rawlinson.
IC	<i>Indian Culture.</i>
IHQ	<i>Indian Historical Quarterly.</i>
IMP	<i>Inscriptions of the Madras Presidency</i> , by Rangachari.
INKK	<i>Inscriptions of Northern Karnataka and Kolapur State</i> , by K. G. Kundangar.
JAHR	<i>Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society.</i>
JASB	<i>Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.</i>
JBBRAS	<i>Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.</i>
JBISM	<i>Journal of the Bharat Itihas Sanshodak Mandal</i> , Poona.
JBORS	<i>Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society.</i>
JGIS	<i>Journal of the Greater India Society.</i>
JIH	<i>Journal of Indian History</i> , Trivendrum.
JNSI	<i>Journal of the Numismatic Society of India.</i>
JRAS	<i>Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society.</i>
JTA	<i>Journal of the Telugu Academy.</i>
KI	<i>Karnatak Inscriptions</i> , by R. S. Panchamukhi.
KKC	<i>Karnāṭaka Kavi Carita</i> , by R. Narasimhanchar.
LR	<i>Local Records</i> (in the Government Oriental Manuscripts Library, Madras).
Lüders	'A List of Brāhmi Inscriptions from the earliest times to about 400 A.D. with the exception of those of Asoka', Appendix to <i>Epigraphia Indica</i> , vol. x.
Mahā.	<i>The Mahāvamsa or the Great Chronicle of Ceylon</i> . English translation by Wilhelm Geiger.
MAR	<i>Annual Report of Archaeology, Mysore.</i>
MASI	<i>Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India.</i>
MASR	<i>Mysore Archaeological Survey Reports.</i>
MER	<i>Madras Epigraphical Reports.</i>
NDI	<i>New Indian Antiquary.</i>
NS	<i>New Series.</i>
Periplus	<i>The Periplus of the Erythrean Sea</i> (English translation by W. H. Schoff).
PHAI	<i>Political History of Ancient India</i> , by Hemachandra Rayachaudhari (3rd edition).
QJMS	<i>Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society</i> , Bangalore.
RE	<i>Rock Edict.</i>
SI	<i>Select Inscriptions on Indian History and Civilization</i> , by D. C. Sarkar.
SIER	<i>South Indian Epigraphy Report.</i>
SII	<i>South Indian Inscriptions.</i>
SMHID	<i>Sources of the Medieval History of the Deccan</i> , by G. H. Khan.
TBG	<i>Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal-, Land-, en Volkenkunde</i> , Batavia Genootschap.
ZDMG	<i>Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft.</i>

PART I

GEOGRAPHY OF THE DECCAN

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- I Nomenclature and extent; physical aspects—soil and scenery, natural divisions, mountains, forests, lakes and rivers; effect of physical features upon history.
- II The Deccan in scriptural and epic tradition, tribes outside the Aryan pale, early post-Vedic texts, the epics; foreign notices, down to the 2nd century A.D.; some famous *janapadas* (territorial units) of antiquity—Vidarbha, Vatsagulma, Bhogavardhana, Mūlaka, Āśmaka (Assaka, Asaka), Rishika (Asika), Andhra (Trilinga, Vengi), Kalinga, Aparānta, Koṅkaṇa, Mahārāshtra, and Karmāṭa (Kuntala).
- III Principal administrative divisions from the rise of the Sātavāhanas to the thirteenth century A.D., *deśa*, *maṇḍala* and minor subdivisions, *bhukti*, and *vishaya*; the decimal and allied systems in administrative divisions.
- IV Cities and emporia; some royal seats of the post-Sātavāhana period.

I

Nomenclature and Extent

THE name Deccan as used in the following pages designates the historic land in peninsular India that stretches from the Sahyādrīparvat, also called the Sātmāla, Chāndor, Ajanta, or Indhyādrī range, and the expanse of hill and plateau that connects it with Mahendragiri, and forms the watershed between the Mahānadī and the Godāvarī in the north, to the Kṛishṇā and the Tuṅgabhadrā in the south, and from the Arabian Sea in the west to the Bay of Bengal in the east. The area described above lies roughly between 13° 59' and 20° 33' north latitude and 72° 54' and 84° 26' east longitude. The territory included within it embraces the Marāṭhā- and Kanarese-speaking districts of the Bombay Presidency, the state of Hyderabad with the southern part of Berār, some adjoining tracts of the Central Provinces, and portions of Orissa and the Madras Presidency lying between Mahendragiri and the Kṛishṇā. The total area may be put at nearly 200,000 square miles with a population of about 40 millions.

The expression Deccan is a corruption of the Sanskrit word *Dakṣiṇa* which means 'right hand' or 'the south'. The name is familiar to Indian literature and inscriptions, and is also found in the *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea*, written by a Greek mariner of the first century A.D. Fa Hien in the fifth century refers to it as 'Ta-Thsin'. Other variants of the name are *Dākṣiṇātya* and *Dakṣiṇāśā*. But the most popular designation of the region in classical Sanskrit literature and inscriptions is *Dakṣiṇāpatha*.

From early times the name has been used in different senses. In its broadest application it comprises the whole of India between the southern sea and the Vindhyas—*dakṣiṇasya samudrasya tathā Vindhyasya chāntare*. This connotation is known to the *Bharata Nāṭya Śāstra*¹ and the *Bhuvanakośha* of the *Purāṇas*. The *Matsya Purāṇa*² carried the northern limit to Kārusha which occupied the hill country enclosing the Kaimur spur of the eastern Vindhyas. The Pāli *Jātakas* stretch it to Avanti close to the western Vindhyas, while the *Petavatthu* commentary includes within the Deccan the *Damīḷa-vishaya* or Tamil country in the far south.³ Harishena, the panegyrist of Samudra Gupta, includes within *Dakṣiṇāpatha* all the territory from the Mahānadī valley to Kāñchī. The uncertainty regarding the location of Mahākāntāra which he enumerates among territories in the south makes it difficult to determine the exact northern limit of the Deccan as understood by him. The *Kāvya-mīmāṃsā* of Rājasekhara places *Dakṣiṇāpatha* beyond Māhishmatī and

¹ xiv, 39.

² 114, 46-8.

³ Malalasekera, *Dictionary of Pāli Proper Names*, i, 1050-1.

the Narmadā. The definition of the term in the later Chālukya records—*setu Narmadā madhyam . . . Dakshināpatham*, 'from Adam's Bridge to the Nerbudda stretches the Deccan'—is not fundamentally different.

In a much earlier age, namely, the first century A.D., the *Periplus* uses the term 'Dachinabades', that is, Dakshināpatha, to signify the region beyond 'Barygaza', that is, Broach on the Narmadā. From this area 'Damirica', that is, the Tamil country, seems, however, to be excluded. We are told that 'beyond Barygaza the adjoining coast extends in a straight line from north to south and so this region is called *Dachinabades*, for *dachanos* in the language of the natives means south'. Among market-towns of the region mention is made of Paithan and Tagara (Ter, Thair), now included within the State of Hyderabad. The markets of 'Damirica' find separate mention.

The far south seems also to be excluded by both the famous epics of ancient India. The *Rāmāyaṇa* distinguishes the Drāviḍas from the Dakshināpatha.¹ In the *Mahābhārata* Sahadeva, one of the heroes, is said to have proceeded to Dakshināpatha after vanquishing the king of the Pāṇḍyas in the extreme south of the peninsula. Kishkindhā-guhā (close to the Tuṅga-bhadra) seems at that time to have been on the outskirts of Dakshināpatha² which stretched northwards as far as the borders of the Vidarbha country or Berār.

*esha panthā Vidarbhānāṃ asau gachchhati Kosalān
ataḥ parañcha deśo'yaṃ dakshiṇe Dakshināpathaḥ*

'This road leads to Vidarbha (Berār), that one proceeds towards the land of the Kosalas (the Upper Mahānadī valley); beyond them in the southern direction lies Dakshināpatha.'³

The connotation suggested in these passages of the epic is the one we have adopted in the following pages.

Physical Aspects—Soil and Scenery

Even in its restricted sense the Deccan covers a wide expanse of territory which presents infinite varieties of soil and scenery. Wide downs, rolling plains smiling with harvest, fantastic tors and logans, luxuriant forests, rivers tumbling over precipices and leaping in wild waterfalls, and streams foaming in wild torrents along their rugged rocky beds, combine in one superb panorama the varying aspects of awe and beauty. Gold-bearing rocks and cotton-bearing black soil, alluvial tracts and ravines rich in diamond mines, added to the natural wealth of the country as the Siṅgareni coal-mine does at the present day.

¹ ii, 10, 37.

² ii, 31, 16 ff.

³ iii, 61, 23. The restricted meaning of the term 'Dākshinātya' is known also to the *Bharata nāṭya śāstra*, xxiii, 102, where it is distinguished from Andhra, Pulinda, and Dramiḷa.

Natural Divisions

Geographically the country falls into three natural divisions: firstly, an elevated plateau filling the triangular space enclosed by the Sātmāla Hills in the north and the two ranges styled the *ghāṭs* in the west and the east that stretch in long lines nearly parallel to the coast and meet in a knot in the Nilgiris; secondly, a narrow strip of territory bounded by the shore of the Arabian Sea and the Western Ghāṭs and thirdly, a broader expanse of low land between the Bay of Bengal and the Eastern Ghāṭs.

The great central upland has an elevation of from 1,000 to 3,000 ft. above the level of the sea with depressions that coincide with the valleys of rivers. It has hills and spurs here and there rising to 2,500 ft., and even to 3,500 ft., and descends by a succession of terraces from the Western Ghāṭs towards the seaboard of the Presidency of Madras. The plateau is divided into large areas geologically and linguistically distinct. The 'Godāvārī and its affluent the Mañjirā cut off the trappean region in the north and the west, covered with luxuriant vegetation and largely peopled by Marāṭhās, from the granitic and calcareous country with bare rocks and a sandy soil where Telugus predominate. The south-western part of the plateau with its 'Dharwarian Rocks', marked off from Marāṭhwāra by a waving line drawn from Bidar to Kārṇār, and from Teliṅgāna by another line running from Bidar to Adoni, constitutes a third area styled Kannaḍa, Kaṇṇāṭa, or Kaṇṇāṭaka where the prevailing language is Kanarese. The name of the region is sometimes derived from the Dravidian words *kār*, 'black', and *nāḍu*, 'country', that is, the black country, a term that aptly designates the black cotton soil, *kṛishnabhūmikshetra*, *vikhyāta-kṛishnavarṇa* . . . *vishaya*, which made this part of the Deccan famous for many ages. The river which watered the land was fittingly termed Kṛishṇā, 'the black', Kṛishṇavarṇā, 'of black hue', or Kṛishṇaveṇī, 'with a braid of black hair'.

The narrow space of lowlands bordering on the Arabian Sea, or Western Ocean as it is called in ancient inscriptions, has a breadth of thirty to sixty miles. It is a rugged country much broken by spurs from the *ghāṭs*, intersected by rivulets and indented by creeks and coves. In places it is picturesque, with rocky islets and capes, stretches of palm-fringed sand-beach, rich plots of rice-land, and river-mouths that spread out into broad lake-like estuaries. Ancient harbours and market towns lie scattered along the coast-line. They represented in past ages much of the wealth and strength of India.

The eastern coast strip is broader than that in the west. The *ghāṭs* occasionally throw off spurs which break the seaboard into headlands. The coast-line is on the whole unsheltered and deficient in natural harbours safe for ships of deep draught throughout the year. But it has open roadsteads that afford anchorage. Here, not very far from the mouth of the Kṛishṇā, Ptolemy located the point of departure (*Apheterion*) for ships bound for Khryse or

Suvarṇabhūmi, the 'golden lands' of Trans-Gangetic India and the islands lying scattered in the neighbouring sea. The great rivers of the Deccan, the Godāvarī and the Kṛishṇā, break through the line of the *ghāṭs* and form rich deltas which are the granaries of the south (*deśam . . . aśeśha-sasya-prachura-phala-yutam*).

Mountains

The features of the Deccan are largely determined by its mountain systems. In the west the Western Ghāṭs, one of the seven *kulaparvatas*, styled Sahyādrī by the ancient writers, of which the Sātmālā range in the north, also called Sahyādrīparvat, is only a spur, form an almost continuous wall with an elevation of about 4,000 ft. for the greater part of its length. The fortified hill-tops of the Sahyādrīs played a conspicuous part in the drama of south Indian history. The range is crossed by several passes that serve as the main lines of communication between the tableland behind the *ghāṭs* and the ports on the western coast.

The main chain of the Western Ghāṭs throws off a number of spurs that run across the central upland from the west to the east for several miles, and penetrate deep into the interior of the peninsula. They part the great river-basins from one another, and often in ancient times constituted boundary-lines between various *janapadas*. The most important of these is the belt of hills that separates the valley of the Taptī from that of the Godāvarī and constitutes the northern wall of the Deccan tableland. It derives one of its names, Sahyādrīparvat, from the parent range from which it branches off at right angles at a point that lies to the north-west of Nāsik. It is also known as the Chāndor, Sātmālā, Indhyādrī, or Ajanta chain. The last name is derived from the famous village in the Bhokardan *tāluk* of the Aurangābād district, Hyderabad State, which is celebrated for the series of rock-cut Buddhist caves, richly ornamented with fresco paintings, that are regarded as the finest expression of Indian pictorial art during that period. The Ajanta Hills break into isolated peaks and ridges within Yeotmal and lead on to the broad belt of hill and plateau that parts the basin of the Mahānadī from that of the Godāvarī, and finally merges into the Eastern Ghāṭs.

We have next a spur of the Sahyādrīs known as the Jālṇa Hills that extends from the Devagiri or Daulatābād fort to Jālṇa and then proceeds to Berār. It formed apparently the boundary-line between the ancient *janapadas* of Bhogavardhana (Bhokardan) and Mūlaka (district round Paithān). It skirts the plateau in one of whose scarps are excavated the famous rock-temples and caves of Ellora.

A third range, called the Ahmadnagar Hills, of which the Bālāghāt chain in the Hyderabad State may be regarded as a continuation, extends from Harischandragadh (4,691 ft. above sea-level) on the Sahyādrīs, to Ahmadnagar and Bhīr and thence to Biloli. It sends off a spur that stretches from

Ashti to Gulbarga, forming the watershed between the Godāvarī and the Sīnā, which joins the Bhīmā, the famous northern affluent of the Kṛishṇā. Pargiter identified it with the Rishyamūka of the *Rāmāyaṇa*. But this view does not commend itself to all scholars.

Lastly, we have the Mahādeo Hills which start about ten miles north of Mahābaleshwar and stretch across the whole breadth of the Sātāra District. One of the spurs of this range forms the water-parting between the Kṛishṇā and its tributary, the Vasnā. To the south of the Mahādeo Hills lay the ancient country of Karahāṭaka, modern Karāḍ, and to its north the famous *vishayas* (districts or *tālūks*) of Pūnaka (Poona) and Paḷayattḥāṇa (Phaltan).

The series of hills that form the eastern flank of the Deccan plateau and overlook the Bay of Bengal are known as the Eastern Ghāṭs. Under the name of Mahida (Skt. Mahendra) the chain finds mention in the Nāsik eulogy of Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi along with the Sahya (the northern portion of the Western Ghāṭs), Kaṇhagiri (Kṛishṇagiri), modern Kaṇheri, in the Thāṇa District, and several other hills of the peninsula. It ranks as a *kulaparvata* in the *Purāṇas*, and may be taken to start from Mahendragiri or Mahendrāchala in the Ganjām District and run on to the Kulakkāl Hills, also styled Mahendragiri, in the Tinnevely District of the Madras Presidency. It does not form an unbroken rampart like the sister range in the west. It is pierced by the Godāvarī, the Kṛishṇā, and other streams that flow down to the Bay of Bengal. As it runs on to the south in a succession of ranges following the contour of the coast it begins to approach the Sahyādri with which it unites in the knot known as the Nilgiris, the 'orographical apex' of the Deccan tableland. The union, however, takes place far beyond the Tuṅgabhadrā-Kṛishṇā river which marks the southern boundary of our Deccan. Guarding that boundary stand the famous hills of the Raichūr *Doāb* to which Pargiter applied the name Mālyavat, and other scholars, with greater plausibility, the designation Rishyamūka. But the most famous hill on this frontier lies on the southern side of the Kṛishṇā, in the Kurnool District of the Madras Presidency. It is the celebrated Śrīśaila mentioned as the southern boundary of the Kākatiya realm of Teliṅgāna in the Hanamkoṇḍa inscription of Rudradeva.

Forests

The hills and mountains of the Deccan are, especially in the trappean region, often covered with luxuriant vegetation. Primeval forests lie to the east of the Godāvarī. Within the state of Hyderabad vast areas are thickly wooded. It is said of the immense jungle about the Pākhāl Lake in the Waraṅgal District that 'a squirrel could reach Bhadrāchalam from the neighbourhood of Pākhāl by leaping from tree to tree'. The Malenād, or hill country, near the upper reaches of the Tuṅgabhadrā abounds with 'giant tree trunks entwined with creepers of pythonic dimensions, whose massive arms are

decked with a thousand bright blossoming orchids. Birds of rare plumage flit from bough to bough, bisons and herds of elk browse on rich herbage, and the boom of langur monkeys echoes through the wilds.' The forests stretching from Bastar along the banks of the Godāvarī to the Seuṇa country which embraced the Daulatābād area, and part of the Nāsik District, are known from epigraphic records and the *Vratākhaṇḍa* of Hemādri¹ to be remnants of the famous Daṇḍakāraṇya that covered the face of the valleys of the Godāvarī and the Pampā or the Tuṅgabhadrā in the days of the *Rāmāyaṇa*. The Cintra *Praśasti* has a pointed reference to the woodland (*vanasthalī*) on the banks of the Godāvarī. The Tuṅgakāraṇya of the *Vana-parva* of the *Mahābhārata*, mentioned after *Saptagodāvara*,² 'the seven branches of the Godāvarī', may have derived its name from the river Tuṅga which rises in the Western Ghāts at Gaṅgāmūla in the Varāhaparvata, and unites with the twin stream of the Bhadrā to form the famous Tuṅgabhadrā. In the *Sabhāparva* of the Great Epic we find mention, in connexion with the southern conquests of Sahadeva, of the Kāntārakas, not far from the banks of the Waingāṅgā (Venvātata), probably answering to the Mahākāntāra of the Allahabad Pillar inscription of Samudra Gupta. Bāṇa, writing more than two centuries after the court-poet of Samudra Gupta, refers in his *Kādambarī* to forests and groves girt by the river Godāvarī, and the lotus lake called Pampā. Yuan Chwang, the Chinese contemporary of Bāṇa, speaks of a jungle infested by troops of murderous highwaymen between the Draviḍa country and Kung-kan-na-pu-lo or Kung-ta-na-pu-lo in the Kanarese area, and a great forest or wilderness, ravaged by wild beasts and harried by bands of robbers, on the way from the last-mentioned country to Mahārāshṭra. The jungle between Draviḍa and the Kanarese country may be identical with 'the inaccessible forest stretching to the gates of Śrīparvata' mentioned in the Tālagunda inscription of the Kadamba king Kākutsthavarman. That between Kung-ta-na-pu-lo and Mahārāshṭra reminds one of the Mahāṭavi, 'the great forest', mentioned by Varāhamihira in his *Bṛihat-saṃhitā*, between Karṇāṭa and the countries called Chitrakūṭa and Nāsikya (Nāsik).

Lakes

For a territory of the dimensions of the Deccan the number of lakes is not large. Two lakes, namely the Lake of the Five Nymphs (*pañchāpsarotāṭaka*), associated with Māṇḍakarṇi or Śātakarṇi,³ and the Pampāsaras, apparently the same as Pampāsāgara, the name of which survives in Hampasāgar in the Hūvinahadagalli *tāluk*, Bellāry District, on the Tuṅgabhadrā, are mentioned

¹ *Epigraphie Indica*, xii, 246; Bhandarkar, *EHD*, (1928), 247.

² It may have reference to the 'seven streams' of the Godāvarī or to the *sapta-Godāvarī* pool at Drākshārāma in the Rāmachandrapuram Tāluk of the East Godāvarī District. *Ep. Ind.*, xii, 208.

³ *Rāmāyaṇa*, iii, 11; *Raghuvaṃśa*, xiii, 38.

in the *Rāmāyaṇa*. A great lake (*mahāsaras*) in Veṅgi-maṇḍala is mentioned in the Chellūr Plates of Kulottuṅga-Chōḍa-deva II¹ and apparently also in the Piṭhāpuram inscription of Prithvīśvara.² Kielhorn identifies it, as well as the *jalam Kaunālam*,³ 'the water of Kunāla', with the well-known Kolleru or Colair Lake between the rivers Godāvarī and Kṛishṇā. The lagoon known as the Chilkā Lake (Chilkā-samudra)⁴ and that styled Pulicat lie outside the boundaries of our Deccan. But within the boundaries of the Hyderabad State and elsewhere we have a number of pools artificially dammed up for irrigation and water supply. The most important are the Pākhāl and Rāmappā Lakes in the Waraṅgal District, beside a large number of *sāgars* or tanks of immense size constructed in the time of the Quṭbshāhī kings and their successors belonging to the house of Aṣaf Jāh. The Pākhāl Lake was built by throwing a dam across the Pākhāl river which here cuts its way between two hills. The great sheet of water covers an area of nearly thirteen square miles. From the lake flows the river Muner, possibly the Maudgalya of a Gārla inscription, which flows into the river Kṛishṇā. The Rāmappā Lake in the Parkāl *tāluk* of Karīmṇagar is famous for the temples that adorn its neighbourhood. They are of the same type as the great temple at Hanamkoṇḍa but more profusely sculptured.

In the Bombay Presidency the *kunḍs* or holy pools in the bed of the Godāvarī near Nāsik do not deserve the name of lakes. We have in Ahmadnagar the Bhātadi lake on a feeder of the Sīnā which is itself an affluent of the Bhīmā. In the Sholāpur District we have a number of artificial lakes at Koregāon, Ashti (near Paṇḍharpur), and Ekruk, only five miles from Sholāpur town.

Rivers

As the Deccan plateau slopes down eastwards to the Madras seaboard from the long flanking wall of the Western Ghāts, all the drainage is from the west to the east. The two main lines of drainage are represented by two great river systems, namely the Godāvarī with its sister streams, and the Kṛishṇā with its confluent.

The word Godāvarī literally means 'granting water or kine'. Crooke thinks that the name is probably a sanskritized form of the original Dravidian term 'goda' (Telugu *gode*), 'limit', 'boundary', in the sense that it divided two regions of Dakṣiṇāpatha,⁵ apparently the region of trap in the north and the granitic and calcareous country in the south.

The river ranks high among the sacred streams of India. The people of the south call it Gaṅgā or Gautamī Gaṅgā and regard it as equal in holiness to the Bhāgīrathī Gaṅgā that flows through Āryāvarta. A *Gautamī-māhātmya*

¹ *Indian Antiquary*, xiv, 57; *I.p. Ind.*, vi, 3.

² *Ibid.*, vi, 6.

³ Hastings, *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, vi, 306.

⁴ *Ibid.*, iv, 51.

⁵ *Ibid.*, v, 56.

forms part of the *Brahma-purāṇa* and testifies to its great sanctity. One of its sources springs from a hill behind the holy spot of Trimbak, Skt. *Tryambaka*, named after the god Śiva. It lies in the Nāsik District about fifty miles from the shore of the Arabian Sea. Here is shown the *Gomukha*, 'cow's mouth', where the water drips down from a lofty cliff through a stone cow's mouth. A larger branch takes its rise in the ridge that joins the Trimbak and Brahma mountains. After passing the holy precincts of Trimbak the river cuts a deep rocky bed through the Ghāṭmātha (hill-top) country and leaps into the famous falls of Gaṅgāpur. It then flows past the sacred city of Nāsik—identified with the Pañchavaṭī of epic tradition—through a succession of masonry pools, styled *kunḍs*, much used in ceremonial ablutions. It receives several affluents such as the Kādravā (Kadwā) and the Pravara before it reaches Paithān, 'the royal seat' of Pulumāyī in the second century A.D. It then runs right across the state of Hyderabad receiving on its left bank the Pūrṇā, and on the right the Māñjirā, the Vañjarā of the *Brahma* and Vañjulā of the *Matsya* and *Vāyu Purāṇas*, which forms part of the boundary line between the Marāṭha country and the land of the Telugus. Farther on it is joined by the Prānhitā which conveys the united waters of the Pengaṅgā, the Wardhā (Varadā), and the Waingaṅgā (Venvā). From this point the river takes a marked south-easterly bend dividing the ancient realm of Chakrakūṭa (Bastar) from Andhra or Teliṅgāna of which Anmakonḍa (Hanamkonḍa) was the ornament (*Andhrāvanimaṇḍana*). About thirty miles below the confluence of the Prānhitā the Godāvarī receives the Indravatī from the Bastar State. It then passes by Bhadrāchalam, sacred to the memory of the hero of the *Rāmāyaṇa*, and is next joined by the Śabarī, which probably takes its name from one of the primitive tribes mentioned as early as the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*. The river now forces its way through the Eastern Ghāṭs and, flowing past Rājahmundry (Rājahendrapaṭṭaṇa), opens out and forms a series of broad reaches studded with low alluvial islands styled *lanḱās*. The sea is reached by seven branches¹ (*sapta-Godāvarī*) styled the Vāsishṭhī (on the west), Vaiśvāmitrī, Vāmadevī, Gautamī, Bhāradvājī, Ātreṃ, and Jāmadagnī. The chief sanctity attaches to the Gautamī branch on the east.

The Krishṇā, literally 'of black hue', probably derives its name from the black soil, *krishṇabhūmi*, *kare-nāḍu*, which it moistens with its water. It takes its rise about forty miles from the Arabian Sea on the eastern brow of the Mahābaleshwar plateau. The source is situated nearly thirty-three miles north-west of Sātāra on a spur of the Sahyādri. Hence it is often referred to in epigraphic records as Sahyajā or Sahyaputrī. The stream pours out of a stone cow's mouth into a small reservoir inside an ancient shrine of Śiva.

¹ *Brahma Purāṇa*, ch. 173, 3-4; *Ep. Ind.*, xii, 216, 'he revered the holy Bhīmeśvara, passing close to whom the Godāvarī, with dancing waves as her eye-brows, sings (his praises) with the seven notes of her (seven) streams'. The reference is to the famous shrine of Bhīmeśvara (Śiva) at Drākshārāma which now stands on a canal fourteen miles away from the river.

The Kṛishṇā is in length less than the Godāvārī, being about 800 miles, as compared with about 900 miles of the Godāvārī. But the area of its catchment basin, including that of its great tributaries the Bhīmā and the Tuṅgabhadrā, is almost as large as that of the more famous stream, being about 95,000 square miles as compared with 112,000 square miles of the Godāvārī.

The river runs east and south and then curves to the south-east. It receives the Veṇā or Yenna at Māhuli, about three miles to the east of Sātāra. It next flows past Karād, the heretical Karahātaka of the *Mahābhārata*, where it receives the Koinā on its right bank. About three miles south of Sānglī it is joined by the Warnā (Varṇā). From its confluence with the Veṇā and apparently also with the Varṇā it derives the different forms of its name, Kaṇhabemṇā, Kṛishṇaveṇṇā, Kṛishṇabemṇā, Kṛishṇaveṇā, Kṛishṇaveṇī, Kṛishṇaverṇā, and Kṛishṇavarṇā. Sometimes the full appellation is replaced by Veṇā and Veṇī. In the *Purāṇas* we meet with the forms Veṇikā and Kṛishṇaveṇikā.

In the Bijāpur District two streams from the Western Ghāṭs, the Ghāt-prabhā and the Malprabhā, famous in history, join the Kṛishṇā whose water rushes from rock to rock shooting columns of spray high into the air and leaping into wild pools at the feet of gorges. On reaching the state of Hyderabad the river drops from the tableland through which it had forced its way down to the celebrated *doābs* of Shorāpur and Raichūr. The first of these is formed by its junction with the Bhīmā which rises in the Sahyādri near the temple of Bhīmāśaṅkar in the Poona District, and flows past the holy city of Paṇḍharpur. Among its feeders are the Indrāyani which runs past Dehū, sacred to Tukārām, and Ālandī, home of Jñāneśvara, the Mulā-muthā on which stands Poona, the Nīra which laves the spur crowned by Torna in the Bhor State, the Sīnā which passes by Ahmadnagar, and the Kāgnā which once flowed past the famous metropolis of Mānyakheṭa. The Raichūr Doāb is formed by the confluence of the Kṛishṇā with the Tuṅgabhadrā, 'the Gaṅgā of the South'.¹ The junction takes place not far from Ālampur, possibly identical with Halampura of an early Prakrit inscription found at Gurzāla. The Tuṅgabhadrā is formed by the union of the twin streams, the Tuṅga and the Bhadrā which rise at Gaṅgāmūla in the Varāhaparvata near the frontier of the Kaḍūr District, Mysore. The Tuṅga passes by Śrīṅgeri (Rishyaśṛīṅga-giri), and after junction with the Bhadrā flows past Harihar, Hampi (which represents the ancient Pampā-kshetra and marks the site of Vijayanagar), Ānegundi (Kuñjarakoṇa, the elephant corner of ancient geographers), and Ālampur, and unites with the Kṛishṇā a little distance from the last-mentioned city. With its water swollen by the Tuṅgabhadrā, the Kṛishṇā runs past the famous Śrīśailam where it seems to be known as Pātāla-gaṅgā,² and receives on the way the Musī, the river of Hyderabad, and the Muner (Maudgalya) which comes from the Pākḥāl Lake. Flowing through the classic land between the cities of Dhānyakaṭaka-Amarāvati and

¹ *Indian Antiquary*, v, 319.

² *Ep. Ind.*, iv, 319.

Vijayavāṭikā (Bezwāḍa) it enters the sea by two principal mouths, forming a wide delta.

Effect of Physical Features upon History

The history of a country is in large measure influenced by its geography. In the Deccan physical features—the mountains, forests, and river systems—made themselves pre-eminently felt. The hills and jungles on the north fenced the entire region off from the Indo-Gangetic plain and tended to constitute it a world by itself with distinct social, ethnic, and cultural traits, as evidenced by the *Dharmasūtra* of Bodhāyana, the *Nāṭyaśāstra* of Bharata, and the *Harshacharita* of Bāṇa.¹ But they could not render it completely impervious to northern influence. Neither the paucity of highways nor the perils of the journey prevented peaceful monks and pious missionaries from braving the dangers of the wild and carrying their message of peace and righteous conduct to the Deccan for the moral and spiritual uplift of the people. Nor did these obstacles stand in the way of caravan leaders and merchants coming to the south in quest of wealth. Waves of invasion, too, at times swept through forests and mountains, along the glens and passes that pierced the rampart of hills overlooking the Godāvārī and its affluents.

The Sahyādris, which rise out of the west coast in sheer lofty scarps, and throw off numerous spurs towards the centre of the plateau, the rivers that lash themselves to fury during the monsoons, the impenetrable forests that clothe many of the mountains, and cover the face of many a river valley at various points, were calculated to cleave the country into countless minute political fragments whose kaleidoscopic changes and combinations it was difficult to check. Walls of rock that crown many of the hill-tops were easily turned into impregnable fortresses hurling defiance at any authority attempting to establish control over the three seas (*tri-samuda, ambudhitraya*) that enclosed the peninsula. But the vast tableland with its mineral and agricultural wealth, augmented by a thriving commerce through the ports lining the eastern and western seaboard, did at times become seats of empires rivalling in power and splendour the famous monarchies in the Indo-Gangetic plain. Time and again waves of invasion from the north beat in vain against the bastions of rock and the impenetrable forest barriers guarding the approaches to the valleys of the Narmadā and the Godāvārī. The Raichūr *doāb* in the south, the Eḍedogenāḍ of ancient inscriptions,² and the 'two-rivers district' (*sindhuyugmāntara-deśa*) in the south-east, unprotected by a continuous and unbroken screen of hills and forests, were more vulnerable to attack than parts of the north, and were often drenched in blood when contending forces on either side of the Tuṅgabhadṛā and the Kṛishṇā were

¹ *Bodh. Dh. S.* i, 1, 17-19; 21, 29-31; *Nāṭya S.* vi, 25; xxiii, 102; *H.C.*, Introductory Verse, 7. Cf. Dandin, *Kāvyaadarśa*, i, 34 and 40 ff.

² *Ep. Ind.*, xii, 295.

locked in deadly combat. But strongholds like Koppal, Ānegundi, Mudgal, Raichūr, Devarakonda, and Nalgonda stood as ramparts against a sudden rush of invasion. Secure in his ring of rock the *Dakṣiṇāpathapati*, 'sovereign of the Deccan' took his rank among the greatest rulers of the world, and adorned the country with magnificent temples, in the beginning hewn out in rock and bedecked with splendid paintings and sculpture which to this day are the pride of the land.

II

The Deccan in Scriptural and Epic Tradition

THE geographical area we have defined above as Dakṣiṇāpatha seems to be outside the horizon of the early Vedic singers. An expression, Dakṣiṇāpadā, 'with southward foot', occurs in a *Rig Vedic* hymn. But its exact connotation is unknown. The absence of any reference to recognizable tribes, rivers, and mountains of the Deccan proper makes it extremely unlikely that we have here a vague allusion to the region watered by the Godāvarī and the Kṛishṇā. The *Kāthaka Samhitā* mentions the Kuntis whom epic tradition places on the Aśva-nadī, probably the Asan, a tributary of the Chambal. But the country that lay farther to the south does not appear to have been known. Some scholars find a reference to the Revā or Narmadā in the name Revottaras Chākra Pātava Sthapati given to a Śrīñjaya official in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*. But the interpretation of Revottaras as 'living to the north of the Revā' is open to doubt. No reference to the Godāvarī, Kṛishṇā, or any of their confluents, has been traced in any early Vedic text.

The *dakṣiṇāparvata* of the *Kaushitaki Upanishad* may indeed have reference to the Vindhya, but cannot possibly intend the Sahya or the Mahendra. The *Purāṇas* place in the Vindhyan region a tribe called Nishadhas who are apparently alluded to in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* under the cognomen *Naish-adha*. But the peoples in the Marāṭhā and Telugu districts are not mentioned in that text.

The case is different with another Vedic work, namely, the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*. That treatise mentions the *dakṣiṇā diś*, southern region, beyond the Kuru-Pañchāla country, that is, beyond the Chambal which, according to the tradition recorded in the *Mahābhārata*, marked the southern boundary of Pañchāla. The region in question was under the sway of 'Bhoja' kings. From the age of the epics and the *Kauṭīliya Arthaśāstra*, Bhojas are located in the Deccan and are especially associated with Vidarbha in the valley of the Wardhā, and Daṇḍaka skirted by the Godāvarī. The Bhojas of the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* may have been in the same areas. The clear reference to king Bhīma of Vidarbha in the *Brāhmaṇa* strengthens this conclusion. The country in question is, in the *Jaiminiya Brāhmaṇa*, noted for its dogs which killed even tigers. It is interesting to recall in this connexion that packs of wild dogs in the Yeotmal district of Berār, ancient Vidarbha, are known to have mauled a panther even in recent times.¹ The name of Kuṇḍina, the capital of Vidarbha in epic times, probably accounts for the designation Kaṇḍinya applied to certain Vidarbhan teachers in the *Bṛihadāranyaka Upanishad*.

¹ *Yeotmal Dist. Gaz.*, p. 11.

It is difficult to say whether the Nīchyas and Apāchyas placed in the western region by the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* have anything to do with the western part of peninsular India. In the days of Aśoka, the third century B.C., the name Nīcham was applied to potentates in the farther south like the 'Kerala-putra'.

Tribes Outside the Aryan Pale

Besides the Vidarbhas and possibly other peoples who came under Aryan cultural influence, the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* refers to a number of tribesmen whom it styles *Udāntyaḥ*, 'beyond the borders' (of Aryandom), and *Dasyus*. These are the Andhras, Puṇḍras, Śavaras, Pulindas, and Mūtibas, who are met with in the valleys of the lower Ganges, the Narmadā, the Godāvarī with its affluents, and the Kṛishṇā in historic times.

The Andhras occupied the lower valley of the Godāvarī and the Kṛishṇā. But a small section of them may have lived near the Vidarbhas, as a people called 'Andhs' are found in the Buldāna District. The classic land of the Puṇḍras is in northern Bengal. But Pauṇḍrakas are also associated with the Buldāna District.¹ The Śavaras are probably to be located in the wild regions between the Vindhya and the river Śavarī, a tributary of the Godāvarī. The Pulindas were on the Revā or the Narmadā. The Mūtibas recall the Modubae of Pliny, who places them along with the Andarae or Andhras and peoples in the vicinity of the alluvial islands at the mouth of the Ganges. The Modubae are associated with the Molindae and the Uberae, perhaps corresponding to the Pulindas and Śavaras of the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*.

Some of the *Dasyu* tribes, e.g. the Andhras, were apparently Dravidians. Others may have had a Polynesian strain. This Sylvain Lévi infers from the existence of pairs of ethnic names applied to neighbouring peoples (e.g. Kosala and Tosala, Triliṅga and Kaliṅga) which are differentiated by an initial preformant.²

Early Post-Vedic Texts

With the close of the Vedic canon and the commencement of the *Sūtra* literature of the Brāhmanical Hindus as well as that of the Jains and Buddhists, we enter upon a period when references and allusions to tribes and localities in the Deccan become more definite. For the first time, too, the territorial designation *Dakṣhiṇāpatha* finds unambiguous mention. The Bodhāyana *Dharmasūtra*, the Buddhist *Sutta Nipāta* and the *Vinaya* texts refer to *Dakṣhiṇāpatha*, and one of the documents definitely locates it on the Godāvarī. The alternative name for the Deccan, *Dākṣhiṇātya*, occurs in the *Sūtras*

¹ *Buldana Dist. Gaz.*, pp. 107-8, 147.

² Lévi, 'Pre-Aryan and Pre-Dravidian in India', *Journal Asiatique*, 1923.

of Pāṇini. The Buddhists include within the Deccan Assaka (Aśmaka) and Mūlaka as well as the Andhakā, or the Andhras, occupying the northern and eastern districts of the Hyderabad State with certain adjacent areas in the Madras Presidency. The *Mahāgovinda Suttanta*, the Jain *Uttarādhyayana Sūtra*, and the aphorisms of Pāṇini mention another country, Kaliṅga, which in epic times stretched along the river Vaitaraṇi in Orissa, and may have extended to the borders of the Andhra country. Vast tracts of the southern region were still unexplored. We have definite reference to forests covering the Kaliṅga country (*Kaliṅgāranya*). The region beyond the Godāvarī, watered by the Kṛishṇā (*Kaṇṇapennā*), and the land of the Tamils (*Daṃḍilaraṭṭha*) are not met with in the earliest part of the Pāli canon and occur for the first time in the *Jātakas* and commentaries. The Jain *Āngas*, e.g. the *Bhagavati*, which mention the far south, cannot possibly claim a higher antiquity than these texts.

The Epics

The south of India down to the Pāṇḍyan realm is also recognized in the geographical cantos of the *Kishkindhyākāṇḍa* of the *Rāmāyaṇa*. Even the *Ayodhyākāṇḍa* has a reference to Vaijayantapura in the southern region in the direction of Daṇḍaka.¹ The city in question certainly recalls the ancient metropolis of Vaijayantī or Banavāsī in North Kanara. The geographical information obtainable from the *Aranyakāṇḍa* or Forest Book of the same epic is somewhat different. The whole region from the Pampā, or the Tuṅga-bhadrā, to the Mandākinī and Chitrakūṭa in central India was infested by *rākshasas* or cannibalistic demons who played havoc with peaceful hermits. With the exception of exiled princes there is no reference to representatives of any civilized state in the neighbourhood to whom the victims could appeal for protection. The territory is referred to as Daṇḍaka or Daṇḍakāranya (Daṇḍaka Forest). According to Pargiter Daṇḍaka appears to have been a general name which comprised all the forests from Bundelkhand down to the river Kṛishṇā. Northwards it must have stretched well up to the Jumna. In the forest at Chitrakūṭa the attention of the heroine was drawn to the trees scored by the tusks of elephants. 'This natural touch, unless we put it aside as a mere fancy of the poet, must refer to wild elephants, and shows that Chitrakūṭa could not have been far from their dense native forests.' We have already seen that writers of a later age connect the Daṇḍakāranya with Bastar in the east and the upper reaches of the Godāvarī in the west. Different parts of the great forest were known under separate names—Madhukavana in the extreme north contiguous to the wooded region round Chitrakūṭa in central India; and following this Pippalivana near the cottage of Agastya's brother; Pañchavaṭī 'abounding in beasts of prey and other animals' (*nānāvyaḷamṛigakulā*)

¹ ii, 9, 12, *Dīṭāmāsthāya Kaikeyi dakṣiṇaṃ Daṇḍakān prati Vaijayantamiti khyātaṃ purāṇaṃ yatra Timirhvajaḥ.*

near the Godāvarī; Janasthāna, the headquarters of *Rākshasa chieftains*, is in the neighbourhood; Krauñchāranya is to the south of Janasthāna; and Mātāṅgavana on the Pampā (Tuṅgabhadra) is in the vicinity of Mount Rishyamūka.

The poet of the *Rāmāyana* is aware of the existence of many rivers and lakes in the Daṇḍaka region and its environs, but the only streams that find specific mention in the epic proper are the Mandākinī, the Godāvarī, and the Pampā. The comparatively late geographical cantos of the *Kishkindhyākāṇḍa* refer to the Kṛishnavenī (Kṛishṇā) along with the Narmadā, the Godāvarī, the Kāverī, and the Tāmraparṇī (in the Tinnevely district).

The *Mahābhārata* has detailed notices of the Deccan in the *Digvijaya* (conquest of the quarters), *Tīrtha-yātrā* (pilgrimage), and *Jambukhaṇḍa* (divisions of Greater India) sections. The country is also mentioned in numerous episodes like those of Nala and Rukmi. A Kālīṅga princess appears as the queen of Duryodhana, king of the Kurus. A prince of Vidarbha named Rukmi is not allowed to take part in the battle of Kurukshetra, but his people figure in the 'Battle Books' as do other tribes like the Kālīṅgas, Mekalas, Traipuras, and clans coming under the general designation of Dākshīṇātyas.

Vast areas in the interior were still covered with dense woods. Dwellers of the primeval forests stretching from the Narmadā to the Waingāṅgā are probably noticed as Ātavikas and Kāntārakas in the *Digvijaya* section of the *Sabhāparva*. In the same cantos and in certain passages of the *Tīrtha-Yātrā* section mention is made of *Purushādas* (man-eaters) and *Kālamukhas* who are described as cannibals (*nara-rākshasa-yonayah*). More civilized communities were found on the fringe of the forest tracts and along the coasts. In the watershed (*prabheda*) between the river Son and the Narmadā lived the Vamśa-gulmas or Vatsagulmas who are associated in later ages with the valley of the Pēṅgāṅgā. On the east coast stretched the lands of the Kālīṅgas and the Andhras. On the west coast (*Aparānta*) mention is made of the country and holy spot of Śūrpāraka associated with the legend of Rāma Jāmadagnya (Paraśurāma). It is interesting to note that the Mahendra Range, not far from the eastern coastline, is also connected with the same Warrior-sage. In the interior of the table-land the city of Sañjayanti (Sañjān?), the 'heretical' Karahāṭaka or Karhād, Kollagiri, and Banavāsi (in north Kanara) are conspicuous. Aśmaka, Goparāshṭra (in Nāsik), Kauṅkaṇa (between the *ghāts* and the sea), Karṇāṭaka and Kuntala (in the Kanarese country), and Mahishaka (possibly Mysore) are met with in comparatively late passages in the *Ādiparva* and the *Jambukhaṇḍa* of the *Bhishmaparva*.

The Deccan in the age of the extant *Mahābhārata* was no longer beyond the pale of Brāhmanical civilization as it seems to have been in the days of the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* and the *Bodhāyana Dharmasūtra*. The land between the Son and the Narmadā was holy, and the people of the Kuru country recognized the sanctity of the Godāvarī, the point where it split up into seven branches

(*sapta-Godāvāra*), and the places where many of its confluent united their streams (*Veṇā saṅgama*, *Varāda saṅgama*). The Bhīmā (Bhīmarathī) was also holy as well as the Kṛishṇā, particularly at the Devahrada (divine pool)¹ and at Śrīśaila (Śrīparvata). Among other holy spots were Rāmatīrtha at Śūrpāraka and Gokaṇṇa (in north Kanara). Many of the sacred sites were associated with three heroes famous in legend, namely, Rāma Dāśarathī who lent sanctity to the Godāvārī, Rāma Jāmadagnya who sanctified the Mahendra mountain and Śūrpāraka (Sopārā, north of Bombay), and Agastya, the traditional explorer of the southern region and the destroyer of the demons who seem to personify Vātāpi (Bādāmi) and Ilvala (Ayyāvoḷe or Aihole).

Foreign Notices down to the Second Century A.D.

If we omit the obscure allusions in the Bible to Ophir or Sophir which Cunningham seems to place on the Gulf of Cambay, but which really may point to Sauvīra or Sovīra in the lower Indus valley, the Persians and Greeks are the earliest foreign peoples to leave accounts of India. But the Achæmenid inscriptions of Persia (sixth and fifth centuries B.C.) and the contemporaneous works of early Greek writers like Hekataios and Herodotus, while showing acquaintance with Gandhāra and the Indus valley as far as the desert of Rājputāna, do not seem to make any clear mention of the region south of the Taptī valley. Some of the 'wool-bearing' trees that figure in the narrative of Herodotus may have reference to the silk cotton trees so graphically described by Bāṇa in his *Kādambarī* in connexion with the forest stretching from the Godāvārī to the Pampā. But this is not a necessary inference. Onesikritos, the pilot of Alexander (325 B.C.), mentions the island of Taprobane (Tāmrāparṇī, Ceylon) and was presumably acquainted with portions of southern India. Megasthenes is quoted by Arrian as conveying detailed information about the Indus and the Ganges with their tributaries. No notice, however, is taken of the rivers of the Deccan unless we find a reference to the Tuṅgaveṇā or the Tuṅgabhadrā in the river 'Tagabena' mentioned in a doubtful fragment.² A knowledge of the Far South of India on the part of Megasthenes may, however, be inferred from his allusions to that part of south India where the daughter of Herakles (Pandaia) reigned as queen. We have also a reference to pearl fishery, apparently in this region.³ There can hardly be any doubt that the realm of the 'Pandaæ' (Pāṇḍyas) in the Far South was known to the famous Greek ambassador. But if he knew anything about the tribes or rivers of the Deccan proper the information has not been transmitted to us by his epitomizers.

Some additional details are available from Pliny (died A.D. 79) who speaks of several tribes known to have lived in the Deccan proper. Among these

¹ *Mbh.*, iii, 85, 37—*Tato Devahrade ramye Kṛishṇa-veṇā jalodbhave.*

² McCrindle, *Megasthenes and Arrian* (1926), p. 120.

³ *Ibid.*, 207.

must be included the Asmagi (Aśmakas on the Godāvarī), the Calingae 'nearest the sea' (doubtless identical with the Kālīṅgas of the eastern coast), the Andarae or the Andhras, occupying the deltas of the Godāvarī, and the Kṛishṇā, the Molindae, Uberae, Suari, and Modubae probably corresponding to the Pulindas, Śavaras, and the Mutibas of the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*.

We have some important details about the Andhras and the Kālīṅgas. The first-mentioned people are described as a powerful race, which possesses numerous villages, and thirty towns defended by walls and towers, and which supplies its king with an army of 100,000 infantry, 2,000 cavalry, and 1,000 elephants.

As to the Kālīṅgas they seem to have been divided into several branches. The Calingae proper, who probably constituted the main branch, were 'nearest the sea', that is to say, they dwelt in the coastal region as we learn from Indian evidence. The windows of the capital city in the days of Kālīdāsa looked out on the sea, and the deep roar of the waves drowned the sound of trumpets. One passage of Pliny includes them among the tribes 'which dwell by the Ganges'. Another passage has been taken to mean that they were connected with the Gangaridae of lower Bengal. But Monahan points out that an alternative reading would make the Gangaridae and the Kālīṅga people quite distinct. Pliny may also have confounded the valley of the Bhāgīrathī Gaṅgā in northern India with that of the Gautamī Gaṅgā or the Godāvarī.

The royal city of the Calingae is styled Parthalis which probably answers to the city of Potali mentioned in the *Assaka Jātaka* as the capital of Assaka (Aśmaka). The *Chulla-Kālīṅga Jātaka* refers to victories won by the Assakas over the Kālīṅgas which may have led to the foundation of a united realm with its capital at Potali. Besides the capital, Pliny mentions a Cape Calington, and the town of Dandagula which doubtless corresponds to the Dantakūra of the *Mahābhārata* and Dantapura of other texts. Dandagula is mentioned as lying 62½ miles from the mouth of the Ganges. It has been identified with a place near Chicacole near the mouth of the river Lāṅguliya.

Besides the Calingae proper Pliny mentions the Maccocalingae and the Modogalingae. In the epics, the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata*, we find references to the Matsya-Kālīṅgas and the Madra-Kālīṅgas¹ which may represent the two tribes mentioned by the classical writer. It has, however, been suggested by some² that Modogalingae should be analysed as *Modaga* (Telugu *Mūduga*, three) + *liṅga* = Triliṅga or Telugu country, or as *Modo* = *Mūdu* = three + *galiṅga* = Kālīṅga, i.e. Trikaliṅga. In other words the term is taken by these writers to correspond to Triliṅga (Andhra country), or to Trikaliṅga (parts of Mahānadi valley and Vizagapatam district), preferably the latter. It is difficult to come to a final conclusion until further evidence

¹ *Rāmāyaṇa*, iv, 41, 10; *Jambukhaṇḍa*, ix, 42; Maccocalinga is something taken to be equivalent to Mekala (*JBORS*, 1928, 540).

² Lévi, *Pre-Aryan and Pre-Dravidian in India* (trans. Bagchi), p. 79.

shall be forthcoming. The Matsya-Kalīngas may have occupied the Oḍḍa-vādi country in the Vijagapatam region mentioned in the Dibbida plates.¹

Evidence of a commercial connexion between the islanders of Ceylon and the 'Kalingai' is furnished by another classical writer.²

A distinct advance in knowledge of the coast of the Deccan is noticeable in the *Periplus of the Erythrean Sea*, the work of an anonymous Greek navigator, which is almost contemporaneous with the work of Pliny. It knows the regional name 'Dachinabades' (*Dakshināpatha*) and mentions numerous market-towns on the western seaboard of the Deccan. The inland country is also described though not so fully as the coast. We find reference to the great cities of 'Paethana' and Tagara identified respectively with Paithan on the banks of the Godāvarī in the Aurangābād district of the Hyderabad State, and Ter (Thair) in Osmānābād district, about ninety-five miles south-east of Paithan. Mention is also made of many arid regions and great mountains and all kinds of wild beasts—leopards, tigers, elephants, enormous serpents, hyenas, and baboons of many sorts. This reference to the animals possibly points to the existence of extensive forest-tracts in the Deccan during the first century A.D.

The great mountains referred to by the *Periplus* are not specifically named. For these we have to turn to the 'Outline of Geography' (*Geographike Huphegesis*) of Claudius Ptolemaeus (Ptolemy) written about the middle of the second century A.D. We have in this work allusions to the Oroudian (Vaidurya, apparently the northern part of the Sahya) and the Adcisathros (south Sahyādri—a case of metathesis) mountains, sources respectively of the Maisolos (the Krishṇā) and the Khaberos or the Kāverī. It is clear that we have here reference to parts of the Western Ghāṭs and some connected ranges. Ptolemy, however, had no first-hand information of the country. He mentions the Goaris and the Benda, apparently the Godāvarī and the Bhīmā,³ bifurcations of a river styled the Nanagouna, apparently the Taptī, which is represented as taking its rise from the Ouindion or Vindhya range along with the Namados or the Narmadā. Ptolemy also wrongly represents the Western Ghāṭs as protruding into the interior of the country, instead of running parallel with the coast. He not only shortens and dislocates the Godāvarī and the Bhīmā but makes them flow in a direction different from that which should properly be assigned to them.

The geographer places a Mount Maiandros in India beyond the Ganges. In all likelihood we have here a reference to the Mahendra-parvata in the Trans-Gangetic Peninsula referred to in Cambodian epigraphs. But the possibility that it alludes to the Eastern Ghāṭs is not entirely excluded, because

¹ *Ep. Ind.*, v, 108.

² McCrindle, *op. cit.* 175.

³ Some identify the Goaris and Benda with the Vaitarna and the Bhiwandi rivers respectively (McCrindle, *Ancient India as described by Ptolemy* (1927), pp. 41-2). But it is difficult to believe that Ptolemy omits all references to the Godāvarī and the Bhīmā which will be the case if their identification with the Goaris and the Benda be regarded as unacceptable.

Ptolemy had in several cases 'carried by error to the east of the mouths of the Ganges an itinerary really directed to the south-west of the delta'. The question, however, 'must remain open pending further discoveries'.

The *Periplus* draws a distinction between Dachinabades (Dakṣiṇāpatha, Deccan) and 'Damirica', i.e. the Tamil country lying farther to the south. It also refers to Masalia (the Masulipatam tract or the Andhra country) on the east coast as a separate region. Similar distinctions are noticeable in the account of Ptolemy. The geographer of the second century, however, calls the country round 'Baithan' and 'Tagara' not Dachinabades but Ariake. This last name is known to the *Periplus*, but used in a restricted sense to mean only the country near the Gulf of Barygaza (Broach).

The word Ariake has been taken by various scholars to correspond to 'Aparāntika', western border, and 'Ārya-nāḍu', Aryan country, respectively. The identification with Aparāntika does not seem to be quite plausible in the case of Ptolemy's Ariake as the region in question included not only the Koṅkaṇ coast from Sopāra (north of Bombay) to Nitra (possibly the Pigeon, Netram, or Nitrān Island off the coast of north Kanara or on the river Netravatī in south Kanara), but the inland territory stretching from Paithaṇ on the Godāvarī to Banaouasei or Bavavāsi in north Kanara. Tagara (Ter) in the Hyderabad State, Hippokoura (probably near Kolhāpur), and Modogoulla, possibly Mudgal, are all located in this country. The equation of the region with Ārya-nāḍu is less open to objection. The expression means 'land of the Aryans' which is a suitable designation for the tract of the Deccan inhabited by Aryan-speaking peoples as distinguished from the land of the Tamils. Varāhamihira mentions a territory called Aryaka in south India along with Kāñchī (near Madras), Maruchīpaṭṭana (Muziris on the Malabar coast), Siṃhala (Ceylon), and Rishabha in the Pāṇḍya country. We have here possibly the Sanskrit equivalent of the term Ariake. It is, however, to be noted that Aryaka was a comparatively small territory distinguished not only from the Dravidian lands in the Far South but also from Banavāsi, Koṅkaṇ, &c., which must have been included within Ptolemy's Ariake.

The geographer divides Ariake into two parts. To the northern portion he gives the name *Ariake Sadinon*. This is taken to extend from Soupāra or Sopāra, six miles to the north of modern Bassein on the Bombay coast, to Baitipatna or Balepatna, the Palaepatmae of the *Periplus* and Baladevapaṭṭana of the *Bṛihatsaṃhitā*, identified by some with Baleyavaṭṭana of inscriptions situated in the Malabar district,¹ and by others, with greater plausibility, with Valipattana in south Koṅkaṇ.² In the interior the country stretched as far as Baithan or Paithaṇ on the Godāvarī. In the *Bombay Gazetteer*³ the name Sadinoi is regarded as possibly a corruption of Sātavāhana.

¹ *Lip. Ind.*, xix, 32. The identification would be unexceptionable had not the place been too far to the south.

² *Ibid.*, iii, 294-5; Fleet, *Kanarese Districts*, 537.

³ I, i, 540.

The other part of Ariake, styled 'Ariake Andron Peiraton' (Ariake of the pirates, or, as some ingeniously suggest, of the Andrabhrityas), covered the coast from Mandagara, identified with Mandangaḍh south of the Bānkot creek, to Nitra in the extreme south of the Bombay Presidency or on the Netravatī in south Kanara.

Quite distinct from the two Ariakes was another territory, styled Masalia by the *Periplus* and Maisolia by Ptolemy, which not only included the district at the mouth of the Maisolos, or the Kṛishṇā, but stretched as far as Kalliga (possibly some part of Kalinga), Bardamana (probably to be identified with the Vardhamānapura of a Hanamkoṇḍa inscription, now represented by Vardhanapet or by Waddamarri in the Hyderabad State), and Koroumkala which recalls Warāṅgal. In other words, Masalia was virtually identical with the country of Andhra or Teliṅgāna. The metropolis was, in the second century A.D., at Pityndra, which has been identified by Sylvain Lévi with Pihuṇḍa mentioned in the Jain *Uttarādhyayana Sūtra* and with Pithuḍa occurring in the Hāthīgumphā inscription of Khāravēla. The exact location of the city is uncertain. It is, however, distinguished from Benagouron, possibly Veṅgipura. The identification with Dhaññakaḍa, Dhānyakaṭaka, or Dharaṇikoṭ, near Amarāvātī in the Guntur district, suggested by some scholars, or with some place in its neighbourhood, deserves attention.

Ptolemy draws a distinction between Maisolia and a city called Trilingon or Triglypton which he locates in India beyond the Ganges. As pointed out by Lévi the name may have reference to Talaing in Burma. But in view of the errors of information that disfigure certain parts of Ptolemy's narrative, the connexion of the city in question with the Telugu country, where he locates the point of departure (*apheterion*) for ships bound for lower Burma and the Malay Islands, is not entirely excluded. It is to be remembered that Mount Maiandros (Mahendra) and the metropolis Tosalei (which recalls Tosali, the Kalingan city mentioned in the Aśokan inscriptions) are also placed or misplaced in Farther India.

Some writers find evidence of intercourse between South India and China in the second century B.C. in Pan Kou's reference to the realm of 'Houang-tche' which they seek to equate with Kāñchī near Madras. Apart from the uncertainty of the proposed identification it may be pointed out that in regard to the second century B.C. the testimony of Pankou has not the weight of contemporary evidence, and must be regarded at best as but a tradition, the credibility of which should await further discoveries.

Some Famous Janapadas of Antiquity

With the second century A.D., the date of the *Geographike Huphegesis* of Ptolemy, we reach a point when epigraphic records enable us to trace more clearly than before the principal *janapadas* of the Deccan. The word *janapada*

occurs already in the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* and some of the early texts, the Aśokan Edicts, and the Myākadoni inscription of Śrī Pulumāvi, usually identified with the last sovereign of the Sātavāhana line. It is derived from the word *jana* which has the sense of a people or tribe in the Vedic hymns and later. *Janapada* literally means the *pada*, abode, home, of the *jana* or tribe. It is used in the *Brāhmaṇa* text to denote a 'people', or the land or realm it occupies. It was the most important territorial unit of ancient India since the days of the Pāli canon and the epics, as the *polis* or city was that of the Hellenic world. Each developed *janapada* had its capital city, *pura*, *nagara*, sometimes also styled *puṭabhedana*, and, if it included a maritime territory, its seaport, often termed *paṭṭana*. It had its local ruler or chief, either a sovereign prince or a vassal of an emperor. Autonomous *janapadas* inhabited by free clans are also known. With the growth of imperialism the *janapada* would be transformed into a district or *tāluk*, *āhāra*, *vishaya*, or *maṇḍala* of the empire, and would resume its independent status as soon as the strong arm of the suzerain (*chakravarti*, *śrīprithivīvalabha*) should be withdrawn.

It must not, however, be thought that the *janapada* was merely a political unit and nothing more. Each of these tracts of land possessed its own distinctive characteristics which are noted by the epic poets, for example in the *Karna-parva* of the *Mahābhārata*, as well as by observers like Ptolemy,¹ Vātsyāyana, Yuan Chwang, Bharata, Daṇḍin, and Rājaśekhara. The manners, customs, language, style and diction (*rīti*), ethnic peculiarities, flora and fauna of different *janapadas* offer a field for fruitful investigation.

In royal eulogies we have often an enumeration of the *janapadas* to which the patron of the panegyrist claims to have carried his arms or over which he seems to have exercised sway. Fuller lists are found in professedly geographical treatises like the *Jambukhaṇḍa* of the *Mahābhārata*, the geographical cantos of the *Kishkindhākāṇḍa* of the *Rāmāyaṇa*, the *Bhuvanakosha* of the *Purāṇas*, the *Kūrma-vibhāga* of the *Atharva-pariśiṣṭa* and the *Bṛihatsaṃhitā*, the *Mahāmāyūri*, and certain Jain texts like the *Prajñāpanā*. Incidental notices are also found in technical literature. Invaluable information is also supplied by Chinese pilgrims, Muslim chroniclers, and European travellers like Marco Polo.

With all this material, however, it is not always possible to define precisely the limits of even the most famous *janapadas*. The task of the narrator is rendered difficult by the fact that the boundaries of the territories in question varied from age to age, and that at times the same or similar names were applied to localities distinct from one another. What follows is a brief account of the more important *janapadas* in the Deccan proper based mainly on the evidence of the texts cited above.

¹ Cf. McCrindle, *Ptolemy* (1927), p. 225 - 'Trilingon . . . in this part the cocks are said to be bearded, and the crows and parrots white'.

Vidarbha, Vatsagulma

We may begin our survey with Vidarbha which finds mention already in certain *Brāhmaṇa* texts (e.g. the *Aitareya* and *Jaiminiya Brāhmaṇas*) forming part of the Vedic canon, and figures prominently in the Nāsik eulogy of Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi. The first definite clue to the location of the *janapada* is furnished by the *Mahābhārata* and its supplement, the *Harivaṃśa*. The king of Vidarbha is styled lord of Dākṣiṇātya, and his territory is placed on the northern fringe of Dakṣiṇāpatha in the *Nalopākhyāna*. Only a part of the area lay south of the Sahyādrīparvat or Ajanta Range, within the limits of the Deccan as defined in these pages. The northern part comprised the valley of the Payoshnī,¹ the modern Pūrṇā, a tributary of the Taptī. A third portion occupied the valley of the Wardhā (Varadā) as we learn from the *Mālavikāgnimitram* of Kālidāsa. The bank of the Wardhā (*Wārdāta*) is mentioned in the *Ā'in-i-Akbarī* as the original name of the *sūbah* of Berār which may be taken to correspond to the ancient Vidarbha. There is still in the Yeotmal district a stream named Vidarbhā, a tributary of the Penguāṅgā, whose name is reminiscent of the famous *janapada*.

The *Ā'in-i-Akbarī* places Berār between the two hill ranges Bandah (Vindhya, here identified with the Gāwīlgaṛh Hills) and Sahia (Sahya, the Sātmālas and the Western Ghāṭs). On the east lay Bīragaṛh (Wairagaṛh) adjoining Bastar; to the north was Hindiaḥ, apparently in the Hoshangābād district; to the south Bidar and Teliṅgāna, or the Andhra country, of which the centres in medieval times were Waraṅgal and Golconda; and on the west Mahkarābād and Baṭālah, apparently in the direction of the Bombay Presidency.

The people, or possibly only the ruling clan, is styled Bhoja, or Krathakaūsika. If the commentary of the *Kauṭīliya Arthaśāstra* is to be believed, the *janapada*, or a part of it, had another name, Sabhārāshṭra.

Of the cities traditionally associated with Vidarbha the earliest according to the testimony of the *Harivaṃśa* was Vidarbha on the southern slopes of the Vindhya, here apparently the Gāwīlgaṛh Hills. A more famous city, Kuṇḍina, is mentioned as the metropolis (Vidarbha-nagarī) in the *Mahābhārata*. It has been identified with Kauṇḍinyapura on the Wardhā in the Amraotī district of Berār. A later capital, Bhojakaṭa, finds mention not only in the epic but also in early Brāhmī inscriptions discovered at Bhārhut. It has been identified with Bhātkuli in the Amraotī district. Bhavabhūti mentions a place in Vidarbha which he represents as a part of Dakṣiṇāpatha called Padmapura. Rājaśekhara refers to a city in the same *janapada* named Vatsagulma.

An homonymous locality finds mention in the *Mahābhārata* as a *place of pilgrimage* situated in the *prabheda* or water-parting between the river Son and the Narmadā. The evidence of the *Brahmapurāṇa* points to the same conclusion.

¹ *Mbh.* iii, 120, 31- *Vīdarbharājopachitām sūtīrthām jagāma pṛmyām saritam Payoshnīm.*

The *Kāmasūtra*, however, refers to a *people* called Vatsagulmakas whom the commentator places in Dakṣiṇāpatha. The expression Vatsagulma is also known to the various recensions of the *Bṛihat-kathā*. For a more definite location we should turn to the *Karpūramañjarī* and the *Kāvyamīmāṃsā* of Rājaśekhara.¹ There we find evidence about the location of a city called Vachchhoma (Skt. Vatsagulma) not only in Dakṣiṇāpatha but in the particular country known as Vidarbha. The newly discovered Bāsim Plates of Vindhyaśakti II leave no room for doubt that Vatsagulma was the seat of one branch of the Vākāṭaka dynasty, and that it is represented by the modern Bāsim in the southern part of the Akola district between the Ajanta range and the river Pengaṅgā. In the days of the *A'in-i-Akbarī* Bāsim gave its name to a *sarkār* of the Sūbah of Berār. Abul Fazl refers to an indigenous race in the locality, proud and refractory, called *Hathkars*.

Bhogavardhana

The *Purāṇas* mention along with Vidarbha a number of *janapadas* among which Bhogavardhana occupies a prominent position. The name occurs very frequently in early Brāhmī inscriptions. Among its inhabitants were persons who won fame as pious donors, or as scholars well versed in the *Suttantas*. The territory in question lay to the west of Bāsim (Vatsagulma) and has been identified with the Bhokardan *tāluk* of the Aurangābād district of the Hyderabad State. Within the limits of the *tāluk* lie the famous caves of Ajanta. In view of this fact the reference to *Suttanta* scholars dwelling in ancient Bhogavardhana acquires an added significance. If the southern boundary of the ancient *janapada* stretched southwards as far as the Daulatābād-Jālna Hills it must have included also the village of Ellora, famous for its Buddhist, Jaina, and Brāhmanic caves.

Mūlaka

Beyond the hills running from Daulatābād to Jālna stretched the famous land of Mūlaka, sometimes mis-spelt Alaka, occupying part of the Pāyānghāt or lowlands that terminate in the valley of the Godāvārī. On the banks of the famous stream stood its capital Pratiṣṭhāna, Patiṭṭhāna, the Paethan of the *Periplus*, and Baiṭhaṇ of Ptolemy, modern Paiṭhaṇ, headquarters of the *tāluk* of the same name in the Aurangābād district. The people of the locality find mention, according to some scholars, in the Aśokan inscriptions as Pitinikas. But the view is not generally accepted. In the second century A.D. Paiṭhaṇ is mentioned as the metropolis of Śrī Pulumāyi of the Sātavāhana dynasty. In the days of Govinda III, Rāshṭrakūṭa, it was the headquarters of a district or *tāluk* called the Pratiṣṭhānabhukti.

¹ *Ep. Ind.*, xxvi, 140.

Aśmaka, Assaka, Asaka

Closely connected with Mūlaka both in literature and in inscriptions was Aśmaka (Pkt. Assaka) which had its capital at a place styled Potali, Potana, Podana, or Paudanya. The form Podana, which occurs in certain old manuscripts of the *Mahābhārata*, reminds one of Bodhan which lies south of the confluence of the Godāvarī and the Māñjrā. It may be remembered in this connexion that the *Sutta Nipāta* places the *janapada* on the Godāvarī. The territory in question is known to Pāṇini and several Buddhist and later Brāhmanical texts, e.g. the *Aṅguttara-Nikāya* and the *Purāṇas*. It possibly corresponds to the Asmagi of Pliny. The name Aśmaka, which signifies the 'stony region', should not be confounded with the land of the Aśvakas ('Horse-people') or Assakenoi in north-western India mentioned by Alexander's historians.

The commentator on the *Kauṭiliya Arthaśāstra* identifies Aśmaka with Mahārāshṭra. Rājasekhara, however, mentions them as distinct entities in the *Kāvyamīmāṃsā*. The difference of opinion may be due to the fact that Aśmaka lay on the borderland between Marāṭhawāra and Teliṅgāna and may have embraced the Telugu district of Nizāmābād as well as the predominantly Marāṭhā-speaking district of Nānder. The territory apparently occupied the central part of the Godāvarī valley between the Nirmal Range in the north and the Bālāghāt Range in the south.

In the early Brāhmī inscriptions noticed by Lüders there is mention of monks and donors from a place called Pādāna which may represent the capital of the Aśmaka country.

Ṛishika, Asika

The Nāsik eulogy of Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi mentions before Asaka or Aśmaka a territory named Asika which Lüders hesitatingly restores as Ṛishika. According to an alternative reading of a passage of the Hāthīgumphā inscription of Khāravela, Asikanagara, apparently the capital of the Asika country, seems to be placed on the Kanhabemnā, i.e. the Kṛishṇavenṇā or Kṛishṇā river. Both the *Jambukhaṇḍa* of the *Mahābhārata* and the *Bhuvanakośha* of the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa* mention among southern *janapadas* a people called the Ṛishikas. The *Mahābhārata* mentions them together with the Vidabhas or Vidarbhas, while the *Purāṇa* associates them with peoples in the Far South like the Ṛishabhas, Simhalas, and those who dwelt in Kāñchī, as well as Tilaṅga (Andhra country) and Kuñjaradarī ('Elephants' cave', Ānegundi). It is not improbable that the name Ṛishika or Asika was applied to the territory lying between Vidarbha in the north, Tilaṅga (Telugu or Andhra country) in the east, and Ānegundi in the south. The association with the river Kṛishṇā, to which the Hāthīgumphā record apparently bears testimony,

should be remembered in this connexion. Asika could have occupied only the middle valley of the Kṛishṇā, the lower valley being peopled by the Tilāṅgas or Telugus and the upper reaches by the Karṇāṭas, who find separate mention in the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*. In chapter 57 of that text the Naishikas are mentioned between the Bhogavardhanas and Āsmakas on the one hand and the Kuntalas and the Andhras on the other. The situation points to the territory we have assigned to Rishika or Asika. It is not improbable that Naishika is a corrupt form of the same name.

Andhra, Trilinga, Vengi

The Andhras are mentioned in the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* and the inscriptions of Aśoka. The Mayidavolu inscription of about the fourth century A.D. locates their country (Andhrāpatha) in the lower valley of the Kṛishṇā in the district round Dhañṇakaḍa or Amarāvati. The Chezerla inscription, too, connects the Andhras with the Kṛishṇā. In the days of Yuan Chwang (seventh century A.D.) An-to-lo, or Andhra, had its capital at Ping-k'i-lo or Veṅḡipura, identified with Pedda-vegi, about seven miles north of Ellore, in the West Godāvarī district, and ten miles north-west from Colair Lake. The name Mahā-Andhra or Greater Andhra was, however, still applied to the Dhañṇakaḍa (Skt. Dhānyakaṭaka) area. In the twelfth century A.D. Dhoyī connects the Andhras with the Godāvarī. In eastern Chālukya records the name Andhra is applied to a very wide region bounded on four sides by the Eastern Ocean (the Bay of Bengal), the Kālahasti Hill (between Nellore and Chittoor), the Mahendra mountain (in Gañjām), and Śrīśailam (in Kurnool).¹ In the thirteenth century A.D. Anmakonḍa near Waraṅgal is described as the 'ornament of the Andhra country' (Andhrāvanī-maṇḍana).² In the next century the name Andhra-khaṇḍa-maṇḍala is restricted to the territory that extended from the Gautama-nadī or the Godāvarī to the borders of Kaliṅga—*ārabhya Gautama-nadītaṭam-ā Kalingam*.³ The *Śaktisaṅgama Tantra* (a medieval work) applies the name Andhra-deśa to the country which stretches from Jagannātha (Purī) to the shrine of Bhramarāmbikā.⁴ The last-mentioned spot reminds one of the Po-lo-mo-lo-ki-li (Bhramaragiri) of the Chinese pilgrim and the Bhramara-koṭya-maṇḍala in the Bastar State.⁵

It is suggested by some scholars⁶ that as the *Serivāñjī Jātaka* places Andhapura, apparently the capital of the Andhras, on the river Telavāha, we are to look for the classic Andhra country in the region of the Tel, a tributary of the Mahānadī, with which it is proposed to identify the Telavāha. But there is no early warrant for pushing the northern boundary of the Andhras to the banks of the Tel river. The country on the Tel (Telātaṭa-vishaya) is expressly

¹ *The Eastern Chalukyas* (D. C. Ganguly), 137; cf. *Ep. Ind.*, iv, 43.

² *Ibid.*, iii, 85.

⁴ *Indian Culture*, July, 1941, p. 39.

⁵ *Inscriptions in C.P. and Berar* (Hiralal), p. 150.

³ *Ibid.*, iv, 358.

⁶ *Ind. Ant.*, 1918, p. 71.

mentioned as a part of Kosala and not of Andhra.¹ The name Telavāha, 'oil-carrier', may actually refer to the Kṛishṇaveṇā or the Kṛishṇā as is hinted in the passage² '*vikhyāta-Kṛishṇaverṇnā-TAILA-snehopalabdha-saralataḥ*' 'possessed of smoothness caused by sesame oil of the famous Kṛishṇā' or, according to the alternative meaning, 'of dark hue and possessed of loyalty arising from affection for (king) Taila'.

The *Saktisaṅgama Tantra* draws a distinction between the Andhra country and another land which it calls Tailaṅga-deśa.³ The last-mentioned territory is placed between Śrīśailam and the Chola country. But the distinction is not always maintained. The name Triliṅga, a variant of Tailaṅga, is traditionally derived from three shrines (*liṅgas*), namely those at Kāleśvaram, Śrīśailam, and Drākshārāma,⁴ all of which are located within the territory defined above as the Andhra country. The suggestion that Triliṅga is a contraction for Trikaṇḍa is opposed to the evidence of the *Purāṇas*, which clearly draw a distinction between Kaṇḍa, in the south-east of India, and Tilaṅga, which is included among the *janapadas* of the south. Muslim writers represent as the capital of Tilang or Teliṅgāna the city of Waraṅgal, the very place which, together with the neighbouring city of Hanamkonda, is placed in the Andhra country by Indian literature and epigraphs. The boundaries of Tiliṅga-deśa are given in the Śrīraṅgam plates of the fourteenth century A.D. as being Mahārāshṭra on the west, Kaṇḍa (parts of Orissa and the Vizagapatam district) on the east, Pāṇḍya on the south, and Kānyakubja in the north. Pāṇḍya of this passage evidently refers to the Pāṇḍyas of Nalambavāḍi (capital Uchchangī), i.e. the Chitaldroog-Bellāry area. As to Kānyakubja, the Nagod stone inscription⁵ suggests that it was the name of a *deśa* (country) as well as that of a city, and that the 'Kanyakubja-deśa' extended southwards to Central India. The *Ā'in-i-Akbarī* seems to make the northern boundary of Teliṅgāna conterminous with the southern frontier of Berār.⁶ In the days of the Kākatiya king Rudra (A.D. 1163), the Andhra-Triliṅga country over which he ruled was bounded on the east by the sea, on the south by Śrīśaila, on the west by the neighbourhood of Kaṭaka (either Kalyāṇakataka, i.e. Kalyāni,⁷ or Mannaikadagam, i.e. Mālkhed), and on the north by the slopes of Mount Mālyavanta. This Mālyavanta obviously cannot be identified either with the homonymous range near Kishkindhā mentioned in the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Rāmopākhyāna*, or with the hill bearing the same name in the far north mentioned in the *Mahābhārata* and the *Purāṇas*.⁸ It may have reference to the fortified hill of Mallangaḍ in the Karimnagar (Yelgandal) district of the

¹ *History of Orissa* (R. D. Banerji), i, 216.

² *Ind. Ant.*, viii, 17; cf. *Ep. Ind.*, xii, 153.

⁴ *Telugu Literature* by P. Chenchiah and Raja M. Bhujanga Rao, p. 14.

⁵ *Ep. Ind.*, xxiii, 188.

³ *Indian Culture*, July 1941, 39.

⁶ Translation by Jarrett, vol. ii, 228.

⁷ Cf. *Ep. Ind.*, xiii, 306, 314—*Kuntala-chakravarti-kaṭaka*, royal camp or capital of the emperor of Kuntala (i.e. the Western Chālukya emperor of Kalyāni).

⁸ *Rām.*, iv, 28, 1; *Mbh.*, iii, 158, 37; 279, 26.

Hyderabad State. That Rudra's realm was called Tillaṅga (one of the many variants of Triliṅga) is clear from the *Vṛatakhaṇḍa* of Hemādri (*Tillaṅgādhipateḥ paśorviśasanaṃ Raudrasya raudrākṛiteḥ*). The name Andhra is applied to the same country when Hemādri refers to Queen Rudramma or Rudrāmbā, daughter of Rudra's nephew and successor Ganapati (*Andhraiḥ purandhri nihitā nripate*). In an inscription of the sixteenth century the two names of the kingdom are combined in the expression Āndhra-Triliṅga-madhyama country.¹

Students are apt to be bewildered not only by the use of the alternative names Andhra and Triliṅga but also by the numerous variants of the expression Triliṅga itself. The earliest form of the name is perhaps Triliṅga, corresponding to the Trilingon of Ptolemy and Tiriliṅga of the Purle plates of the Gaṅga king Indravarman. The form Tilaṅga is found in the *Purāṇas* and Tiliṅga in the Śrīraṅgam plates of the Śaka year 1280 (A.D. 1358). A Kurgod inscription of the latter part of the twelfth century A.D. has the form Teluṅga. Hemādri uses the names Tillaṅga and Tailaṅga. The *Śaktisaṅgam Tantra* refers to Tailaṅga-deśa. Amīr Khusrav has Tilang and Abul Fazl Teliṅgāna. None of these names, not even the expression Andhrāpatha occurring in the Moyidavolu inscription of about the fourth century A.D., is, however, known to the court poet of Samudragupta who makes his hero smash across the Godāvarī and penetrate into the heart of the Andhra-Telugu country. The name used by Harishena to denote the country between the Godāvarī and the Kṛishṇā is Veṅgī.

The Gupta poet distinguishes Veṅgī from Piśhāpura represented by modern Piṭhāpuram in the East Godāvarī district. On the other hand, Pallava charters with equal clarity differentiate it (Veṅgīrāśhṭra) from Karmarāśhṭra which included Chendalur in the Ongole *tāluk* north of Nellore. It is permissible to think that it roughly corresponded to the Reṇḍ-ēṇu-lu-nadimi-*vishaya* or Sindhuyugmāntara-*deśa*,² 'two-rivers-middle-district' apparently lying between the Godāvarī and the Kṛishṇā, 'which possessed all kinds of grain and an abundance of fruit'. In the eighth century A.D. the eastern boundary of Veṅgīmaṇḍala seems to have extended to the confluence of the Kṛishṇaverṇā or Kṛishṇā and the Musī which flows past Hyderabad.³ In the eleventh century A.D. the southern and northern limits of the country seem to have been fixed at the Manneṇu river (in the Nellore district) and the Mahendra mountain (in the Gaṅjām district) respectively. This is suggested by the expression *Manneṭi-Mahendra-madhyavartinah*, 'living between the Manneru and the Mahendra',⁴ used in reference to the inhabitants of the land. Curiously enough, in the time of the Kalachurya kings⁵ (A.D. 1156-83) Veṅgī is distinguished not only from Kaliṅga, of which the Mahendra

¹ *Historical Inscriptions of Southern India* (Sewell), p. 265.

² *Ibid.*, vi, 213.

³ *Ibid.*, xv, 319, 324.

⁴ *Ep. Ind.*, iv, 36, 303.

⁵ *Ibid.*, vi, 335.

mountain was the most conspicuous feature according to Kālidāsa, but also from Andhra, which may have denoted at the time only the Andhra-*khaṇḍa-maṇḍala* between the Godāvarī and Kaliṅga. Veṅgī therefore was very probably used in its old sense of the district between the two rivers, namely the Godāvarī and the Kṛishṇā.

Yuan Chwang, the Chinese pilgrim of the seventh century A.D., must have regarded Veṅgī and Andhra as identical, since he mentions Ping-k'i-lo or Veṅgīpura as the capital of An-to-lo (Andhra). However, he draws a distinction between this territory and T'e-na-ka-che-ka (Dhānyakaṭaka, i.e. the Amarāvati region) to which a note added to the pilgrim's text applies the name 'Great Andhra'. This Great Andhra must have virtually corresponded to the Andhrāpatha of an early Pallava charter.

If the identification of Veṅgīpura with Benagouron in the country of the Salakenoi (Śālaṅkāyanas) mentioned by Ptolemy be accepted, the antiquity of the city is carried back to the second century A.D. The Salakenoi occupied a part of the territory of the Maisolia, which doubtless corresponds to 'the region of Masalia' referred to in the *Periplus*. The *Bharata Nāṭya Śāstra* refers to a *deśa* (country) styled Mosala along with Kosala (upper Mahānadī valley) and Tosala (Puri district). Mosala, Kosala, and Tosala form a group of ethnic names whose significance has been emphasized by Sylvain Lévi, among others, in his *Pre-Aryan and Pre-Dravidian in India*. There can be little doubt that Mosala answers to the Masalia or the Maisolia of the classical writers, and should be identified with the Masulipatam region.

Kaliṅga

It has been stated above that according to an inscription of the fourteenth century A.D. the Andhra-*khaṇḍa-maṇḍala* extended to the borders of Kaliṅga. Unlike Andhra this last mentioned territory is not expressly named in any Vedic text, but is known to Pāṇini, the *Mahāgovinda Suttanta*, several *Jātakas*, the *Uttarādhyayana Sūtra* of the Jainas, and the great epics of ancient India. It is also referred to by Aśoka and the Hāthīgumphā inscription of Khāravela. Pliny alludes to it in clear terms, and an echo of the name is recognized in the Kalliga of Ptolemy.

The *Bodhāyana Dharmasūtra* regards Kaliṅga as an impure country, outside the Brāhmanical pale, but not unfrequented by Aryans. There was, however, a considerable Brāhman population in the day of Aśoka (third century B.C.).

According to the tradition recorded by the *Mahābhārata* it was watered by the river Vaitaraṇī in Orissa. The *Purāṇas* carry the western boundary to the Amarakaṇṭaka range, the source of the Narmadā, the Son, and the Mahānadī. The southern boundary of the *janapada* was not well defined. Kālidāsa pushes it as far as the Mahendra mountain and uses the title *Mahendranātha*, lord of the Mahendra Hill or Range, as a standing epithet of the ruler of Kaliṅga. In the

fifth century A.D., the southern limits reached even Pishṭapura or Piṭhāpuram in the East Godāvarī district.¹ But usually they stopped at Yellamañchili and Chipurupalle in the Vizagapatam district. A late medieval text carries the southern boundary much farther south to the banks of the Kṛishṇā.² But in the days of Khāravela (second or first century B.C.) Pithuḍa in the Masulipatam region is clearly distinguished from Kalinga proper, and the Aihole inscription of 634 A.D. makes separate mention of Pishṭapura and Kalinga, thus restricting the latter to the region north of the East Godāvarī district. In Sanskrit texts like the *Bharata Nāṭya Śāstra* and the *Bhuvanakośha* of the *Purāṇas*, Kalinga is distinguished both from Kosala in the upper valley of the Mahānadī, and from the Andhra country watered by the Godāvarī and the Kṛishṇā. The Aśokan inscriptions carry the northern boundary in the third century B.C. beyond Tosali (in the Puri district). But Bharata distinguishes the Tosalas from the Kalingas. In the days of Yuan Chwang Kalinga is distinguished from Wu-t'u (Orissa), Kung-yü-t'o (Koṅgodamaṇḍala, a part of the Gañjām district), Kosala, and Andhra (Pedda-Vegi region between the Godāvarī and the Kṛishṇā). In the *Ā'in-i-Akbarī* we have a reference to the *sarkār* (district) of Kalang ḍaṇḍpāt which lay beyond Parsotam (Purushottama-kshetra, i.e. Puri, which was included in the *sarkār* Kaṭaka), but did not extend as far as Rājahmundry which gave its name to a separate *sarkār*.

Pargiter remarks that Kalinga as a settled kingdom appears to have consisted properly of the plain between the Eastern Ghāts and the sea. But its kings seem to have exercised sovereignty over the forests and hills farther inland, for the Amarakaṇṭaka range in which the Narmadā rises is said to be in the western part of Kalinga—*Kalingadeśa paścārdhe parvatē marakaṇṭake*. That large tracts of the country were covered with jungles appears from references to *Kalingāranya* in Pāli texts and to *Trikalingātavi* in inscriptions—*Veṅgiṃaṇḍalam Trikalīṅgātaviyuktam*.

The windows of the capital city in the days of Kālidāsa, as mentioned before, looked out on the sea, and the deep roar of the waves drowned the sound of trumpets :

*yamātmanah sadmani sannikṛishṭo, mandradhvanityājīṭayāmatūryah
prāsādavātāyanadriṣyavichih pravodhayatjarnava eva suptam.*³

In literature we sometimes hear of seven Kalingas. But usually only three seem to be mentioned. That is the meaning usually attached to the name 'Trikalīṅga' which occurs frequently in inscriptions. We have already referred to the expression Modogalingae used by Pliny which is analysed by some scholars as Mūḍu+Galiṅga, that is, three Kalingas or Trikalīṅga. Another

¹ *Isp. Ind.*, xii, 2.

³ *Raghuvamśa*, vi, 36.

² *Indian Culture*, July 1941, 38.

view takes Trikalīṅga to denote not three Kālīṅgas but elevated, high, or hilly Kālīṅga¹—the expanse of hill and plateau that overlooks the plains of Gañjām and Vizagapatam. Modogalingae in like manner may be taken to stand for the Madra-Kālīṅga of the *Jambukhaṇḍa* of the *Mahābhārata*, and for 'Modugula' of the Vizagapatam district. Another people, the Matsya Kālīṅgas, are mentioned in the *Rāmāyaṇa*. The name recalls the Matsyas of the Vizagapatam district mentioned in the Dibbida plates. The connexion of the Kālīṅgas with the Gangaridae of the lower Ganges valley has been discussed above in connexion with early foreign notices of the Deccan. Kālidāsa does not regard the two peoples as close neighbours. He makes the hero Raghu cross the Kapiśā (the Kāsāi river in Midnapore), and take the road pointed out by the Utkalas of northern Orissa towards Kālīṅga, which is expressly mentioned as the region round Mount Mahendra. Utkala thus fitted in between the mouths of the Ganges, occupied by the Gangaridae, and Kālīṅga proper. Pliny himself puts the distance from the mouth of the Ganges to Cape Calington and the town of Dandagula at 625 miles.

As already stated above, Dandagula corresponds to Dantakūra of the *Mahābhārata* and Dantapura of the *Mahāgovinda Suttanta* and of epigraphs. The name of the city probably survives in that of the fort of Dantavakra near Chicacole, north-east of Vizagapatam. Many other capitals of ancient Kālīṅga stood in the same area, e.g. Siṃhapura or Singupuram and Kālīṅganagara, identified by many scholars with Mukhalingam on the Vamśadharā, and by others with Kālīṅgapatam at the mouth of the same river. Rājapura mentioned in the *Mahābhārata* and Kāñchanapura figuring in Jaina works cannot be satisfactorily identified. The *Bhūmikhāṇḍa* of the *Padmapurāṇa* mentions another city in Kālīṅga named Śrīpura. The question of its connexion with Sirpur about forty miles east by north from Raipur must await future discoveries for a solution.

In inscriptions we have reference to a tract called Madhyama-Kālīṅga or central Kālīṅga whose name points to the existence of other parts of Kālīṅga in the north and the south. Madhyama-Kālīṅga included the Bhogipura or Bhogapura *vishaya*, which is perhaps to be identified with the Bhogapuram village and its neighbourhood in the Bimplipatam division of the Vizagapatam district. To its south-west, apparently separated from it by the river Nārada, lay the Elamañchi-Kālīṅga of Eastern Chālukya records, doubtless corresponding to the modern Yellamañchili. To the north-east of Bimplipatam, apparently beyond the River Gostanī, stretched the part of Kālīṅga that included the Rākaluva village, modern Rāgolu near Chicacole. It is referred to in the Rāgolu plates simply as Kālīṅga-*vishaya*. The administrative divisions and districts (*rāshṭra*, *vishaya*), into which Kālīṅga was divided in the days of kings belonging to the Māthara, Vaśishṭha, Gaṅga, Eastern Chālukya, and other families, will be described a few pages farther on.

¹ *Ind. Ant.*, 1933, 35 ff.; *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society*, 1928, 539-47.

Aparānta, Koṅkaṇa

Having attempted a survey of the principal *janapadas* in the centre and on the eastern coast of the Deccan we now turn to the west. The surf-bound littoral to the west of the Sahyādris (*Samudra-tīra-Sahyānta-deśa*), lined with a succession of ports that represented for long ages most of the wealth and strength of a considerable portion of the Deccan, is already known to the *Mahābhārata* as Aparānta, 'Western Border'. The sea-god himself is said to have made for Jamadagni's son (Paraśurāma) on this shore a region (*deśa*) called Śūrpāraka—

*tataḥ Śūrpārakaṃ deśaṃ sāgarastasya nirmame
sahasā Jāmadagnasya so'parāntamahītalam.*¹

Śūrpāraka is the name of a country (*deśa*), a district (*āhāra*) as well as a city. The famous Rāmatīrtha at Śūrpāraka is mentioned in the *Vanaparva* of the *Mahābhārata* as well as a Nāsik cave inscription of Ushavadāta. The city corresponds to Suppāra or Suppāraka of the Pāli texts, Sopāraka or Sopārāga of early Brāhmanic inscriptions, Suppara of the *Periplus*, Soupāra of Ptolemy, and Sūbāra of Alberunī. It has been identified with modern Sopāra in the Thāṇa District of the Bombay Presidency about six miles to the north of Bassein.

As is well known, one version of the Aśokan Rock Edicts was brought to light in this locality. The emperor expressly refers to the Aparāntas (Aparāta), and seems to include under that head the Rathika-Pitnikas, if not the Yona-Kamboja-Gandhāras. A wide meaning is given to the term by certain Purāṇic texts which apply the name Aparānta to the whole of western India, including not only Śūrpāraka but also the Pulindas, Nāsikyās, people dwelling north of the Narmadā, Bhirukachchhas (of Broach), Māheya, and Sarasvatas on the banks of the rivers Mahī and the Sarasvatī in Gujarāt, Kachchas (of Cutch), Surāshtras of Kāthiāwār, Ānartas of the Dwārakā region in north-west Gujarāt and the Arbudas (round Mount Abu). But in the *Kurmayibhāga* section of the *Mārkaṇḍeya-purāṇa* and the *Bṛihatsaṃhitā* Aparāntika or Aparāntaka is used in a much more restricted sense. It is distinguished from Haihaya (in the Narmadā valley) and southern *janapadas* like Bhirukachchha (Broach), Nāsikya (Nāsik), &c. Even Koṅkaṇ finds separate mention. It is the restricted sense of Aparānta which seems to have been known to the court poets of Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi and Rudradāman in the second century A.D. The Nāsik eulogy of Gautamīputra distinguishes Aparānta from Asika (Rishika), Asaka (Aśmaka), Mūlaka, Anūpa, Suratha (Surāshtra), &c., i.e. the Deccan table-land behind the Ghāṭs, the Narmadā valley, and Kāthiāwār. The evidence of the Junāgaḍh rock inscription of Rudradāman points to a similar conclusion. A Kaṇheri Buddhist cave inscription conveys the definite information

¹ *Mbh.*, xii, 49, 67.

that an inhabitant of Kalyāṇa, Calliena of the *Periplus*, modern Kalyan in the Thāṇa District, Bombay, was also an Aparāntika. In other words, Aparānta included Kalyāṇa as it did Śūrpāraka, both being situated in the Thāṇa District. But it lay outside the table-land to the east of the Sahyādris.

Kālidāsa refers to Aparānta in a famous passage which leaves no room for doubt that it lay between the Sahya or the Western Ghāts and the sea. In this connexion he refers to Mount Trikūṭa—‘There he made the Mount Trikūṭa itself a lofty pillar of his victory, in which the marks scored by the tusks of his infuriated elephants looked like distinct inscriptions of his valour.’ The mention of the Trikūṭa mountain cannot fail to recall the famous dynasty of the Traikūṭakas who exercised sway over Aparānta and other countries (*Aparāntādideśapati*) in the fifth century A.D., with seats at Āmraka and Aniruddhapura. Trikūṭa is also mentioned in an Ajanta inscription of about the same age, where it is distinguished from Lāṭa, i.e. the territory round Nava-sārikā, modern Nausārī, in the Baroda State on the south of Surat and some neighbouring lands. The commentary on the *Kāmasūtra* of Vātsyāyana, written probably in the thirteenth century A.D., agrees with earlier authorities in placing Aparāntadeśa on the shores of the western sea. It may be noted that Vātsyāyana, like the writer of the Ajanta epigraph, distinguishes Aparānta from Lāṭa.¹

From the sixth century A.D. a new name, Koṅkaṇa-*vishaya*, appears as a designation of the strip of territory between the Western Ghāts and the sea. A grant of the early Chālukya king Maṅgaleśa (c. A.D. 597-609) refers to a village in the Koṅkaṇa-*vishaya* named Kuṇḍivātaka which has been identified with Kundi in the Saṅgameshwar *tāluk*, Ratnagiri District. Koṅkaṇa or Koṅkaṇ seems at first to have been distinguished from Aparānta (Thāṇa District), as the evidence of the *Bṛihatsaṃhitā* suggests. But already by A.D. 888 it had come to include ‘a territorial division known as the Variavi hundred and sixteen which was the country round the modern Wāriāv just to the north of Surat and formed at that time a part of Lāṭa’. In A.D. 1112 a ruler of the Koṅkaṇa-*rāshṭra* had the title of ‘lord of Gokaṇa, the best of towns’, implying perhaps the inclusion within the southern limits of Koṅkaṇa, of the holy city of Gokaṇa, modern Gokarn in the district of North Kanara. Its sanctity dates back to the age of the *Mahābhārata*—

*atha Gokaṇamāsādyā trishu lokeshu viśrutam
samudramadhye rājendra sarvalokanamaskṛitam.*

The late medieval *Śaktisaṅgama Tantra* describes Koṅkaṇa as a country (*deśa*) lying on the sea coast and extending from Ghatta (the Western Ghāts) to the middle of the district round Koṭīśa. Koṭīśa doubtless refers to Koṭī-*tīrtha* at Gokarn (North Kanara).

The name Koṅkaṇa has several variants such as Kuṃkaṇa, Kuṅkuṇa, and

¹ *Hyderabad Archaeological Series*, Monograph No. 14, p. 11.

Kauṅkaṇa. Alberuni writing about A.D. 1030 calls it Kunkan and mentions Tana (Ṭhāṇa) as its capital.

Fleet refers to a verse in Dr. Gundert's *Malayāḷam Dictionary* which enumerates seven divisions of the Koṅkaṇa:¹

*Kārāṭaṃ cha Virāṭaṃ cha Mārāṭaṃ Koṅkanam tathā
Havyagaṃ Tauḷavaṃ chaiva Keraḷaṃ cheti sapṭakam.*

Here Greater Koṅkaṇa includes not only Koṅkaṇa proper but Kārāṭa, possibly Karād in the Sātāra District; Virāṭa, i.e. Hāṅgal in the Dhārwar District; Mārāṭa (the Marāṭhā country); Havyaga, probably North Kanara; Tauḷava, South Kanara; and Keraḷa, Malabar. Epigraphic records point to the existence of the following divisions of Koṅkaṇa, namely,

1. The Payve, Hayve, or Haive five hundred, identified with North Kanara. Haiga or Hayve apparently means 'the land of snakes', from *hābu* or *hāi*, the local Kanarese for a snake. The Sanskrit rendering of the name was Ahikshetra.

2. The Koṅkaṇa nine hundred which is taken to correspond with the territory round Goa.²

3. Revatīdvīpa, possibly represented by the modern Redī, 'a fortified promontory about eight miles south of Veṅgurla in the Ratnāgiri District, Bombay'. Fleet is inclined to identify it with the Koṅkaṇa nine hundred.

4. The Iridige country, styled a *Mahāsaptama* or Great Seventh (according to Fleet), possibly included the Sāwantwāḍi State and part of the Ratnāgiri District.

5. The Koṅkaṇa fourteen hundred, which had Purī for its chief city. The district comprised Śrīsthāṇaka (Ṭhāṇa) of which the Shaṭshasṭī-*vishaya* (Salsette) was a part. It is also known to have included Nāgapura, possibly the modern Nāgaon, about six miles south-east of Alibāg in Kolāba District, Chemūli, Chaul in the same district, Śūrpāraka (Sopāra, north of Bassein), and the Mahirihāra-*vishaya* possibly the territory round Bhiwandī.³ It is thus apparent that Koṅkaṇa fourteen hundred extended over parts of Kolāba and Ṭhāṇa Districts.

6. The Kāpardikadvīpa or Kavadidvīpa 'lakh-and-a-quarter country'. Fleet identified this territory with the Koṅkaṇa fourteen hundred. But he also expressed the opinion that 'Kāpardikadvīpa is evidently the island, with the adjoining territory, of Shaṭshasṭī, Sāsaṭi or Salsette near Bombay', so named after Kapardin I or II of the Śilāhāra dynasty.⁴

7. The Lāṭa country, including the Variavi hundred and sixteen, which is identified with the modern Surat District with certain adjacent parts of the Baroda State (e.g. Nausārī).⁵

¹ Fleet, *Kanarese Districts*, 283.

² Near Goa stood Chandrapura or Chandor (*Indian Culture* (I.C.), ii, 3, 399), famous in the history of the Śilāhāras.

³ *Ep. Ind.*, xii, 256.

⁴ *Kanarese Districts*, 283, 543, 567.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 283, 310.

Mahārāshṭra

The Koṅkaṇa is popularly regarded as part of a greater unit called Mahārāshṭra. According to Grant Duff 'Mahārāshṭra is that space which is bounded on the north by the Sautpoora [Sātpurā] mountains; and extends from Naundode [Nāndod] on the west, along those mountains, to the Wyne Gunga [Waingāngā], east of Nagpoor [Nāgpur]. The western bank of that river forms a part of the eastern boundary until it falls into the Wurda [Wardhā]. From the junction of these rivers it may be traced up to the east bank of the Wurda [Wardhā] to Manikdroog, and thence westward to Mahoor [Mahur]. From this last place a waving line may be extended to Goa, whilst on the west it is bounded by the ocean.' According to Elphinstone the country lies 'between the range of mountains which stretches along the south of the Narbadā parallel to the Vindhya chain, and a line drawn from Goa, on the sea coast, through Bidar to Chanda on the Warda. That river is its boundary on the east as the sea is on the west.'¹

It will be seen that the area described above includes many of the *janapadas* to which we have already referred, namely, Vidarbha, or Berār, Bhogavardhana, Mūlaka, and possibly a part of Aśmaka. In the *Purāṇas* all these territories are distinguished from Mahārāshṭra. Nay, even Śūrpāraka, Nāsikya, and part of the Kṛishṇā valley find mention in these texts as separate *janapadas*. The evidence of the *Kāvyamīmāṃsā* of Rājaśekhara points to the same conclusion. That work distinguishes Mahārāshṭra from Aśmaka, Vidarbha, Śūrpāraka, Nāsikya, and Kauṅkaṇa. It is obvious that early Hindu geographers used the name Mahārāshṭra in a very restricted sense.² The only region in the present Marāṭhā country which does not seem to be expressly excluded by these authorities is the *desh* or open country behind the Ghāṭs, stretching from the Pravara or perhaps the Junnar-Ahmadnagar hills to the neighbourhood of the Kṛishṇā. No doubt in the *Vāyupurāṇa* we have separate mention of a people called Paṇḍikas whose name recalls the Pūṇaka-*vishaya* of the Talegāon inscription, which is identified with the country round Poona. But the reading is uncertain. The corresponding passage of the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa* has Paurikāḥ, i.e. the people of Purikā, a place mentioned in several early Brāhmī inscriptions found at Bhārhut.

The upper valley of the Godāvarī was occupied in early times by the Daṇḍakas and the Nāsikyās. Besides these, the *Purāṇas* refer, in connexion with the famous river, to a *pradeśa* (district) where stood Govardhanapura

*Sahyasya chottare yāstu yatra Godāvarī nadi
prithivyāmapī kṛitsnāyām sa pradeśo manoramah
Govardhanam puram ramyam Bhārgavasya mahātmanah.*

¹ *A History of the Mahrattas* (by Grant Duff, revised by S. M. Edwardes), i, 3-4.

² Alberuni, too, distinguished Mahratta-desh from 'Kunkan', *Sachau* i, 203.

'Along the northern slopes of the Sahya mountain, where the river Godāvarī flows, is a district conspicuous for its beauty in the whole world; (there stands) the charming city of Govardhana, belonging to the high-minded Bhārgava.'

There is even now a famous place of pilgrimage named Govardhana *tirtha* at a village six miles to the west of Nāsik. It was an important place as early as the second century A.D. when it gave its name to a district (Govardhanāhāra) of the Sātavāhana empire. Its sanctity even at that early date is apparent from a Nāsik cave inscription of Ushavadāta.

Daṇḍaka is the name of a *janapada* as well as that of a great forest in the early epic. Like Vidarbha it is associated with the Bhojas. The *Kauṭīliya Arthaśāstra* refers to a disaster that befell a Bhoja prince of Daṇḍaka as a consequence of his misdeeds. The *Rāmāyaṇa* mentions Madhumanta as the capital of the *janapada*. In the time of the *Sarabhanga Jātaka* this was at Kumbhavatī, while the Mahāvastu gives the honour of being the principal city of this district to Govardhana.

A town of the name of Nāsikya is known to Kātyāyana. Nāsik also finds mention in early inscriptions discovered at Beḍṣā and Bhārhut. A Nāsikya *viśaya* is mentioned in the Dhulia plates of Karkaraja A.D. 779. A Nāsika *deśa* figures in the Wani grant of A.D. 807.

As with the upper valley of the Godāvarī, so also a place not very far from the head waters of the Kṛishnā, viz. Karahātaka, is known to ancient literature, e.g. the *Mahābhārata*. But it is not clear if it was included within the limits of Mahārāshṭra proper. The name Mahārāshṭra is not known either to the *Rāmāyaṇa* or to the longer epic. Therefore the question whether the area covered by it included Karahātaka in the upper Kṛishnā valley, or lay outside that district cannot be solved satisfactorily. In the *Purāṇas* the people of 'Kṛishṇādvipa' (island (?) or a *doāb* (?) are distinguished from the Mahārāshṭras. The origin of the name Mahārāshṭra has been traced by some scholars to the Raṭhikas of the Aśoka edicts and the Mahāraṭhis of the Sātavāhana period. In the *Kṛishkindhākāṇḍa* of the *Rāmāyaṇa* a people called Rishṭikas are placed between the Vidarbhas (in the north) and the Mahishakas (the people of the Mahisha-*viśaya* of Kadamba records, Erumaināḍu of Tamil literature, modern Mysore in the south). It is not clear whether the name corresponds to the Raṭhikas of Aśoka, or to the Rishikas or Asikas of Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi. The first indubitable reference to Mahārāshṭra (Mahāraṭṭha) occurs in the Ceylonese chronicles of the fourth or fifth century A.D., and the Kāmasūtras of Vātsyāyana Mallanāga who must have flourished before Subandhu (seventh century A.D.). The chronicles distinguish Mahārāshṭra not only from Mahisha-*maṇḍala* (Mysore, or as Fleet suggests, Māhishmatī) and Vanavāsa (in North Kanara) but also from Aparāntaka (Northern Koṅkaṇ). The commentator on the *sūtras* of Vātsyāyana carries the northern boundary to the Narmadā and the southern to the borders of Karṇāṭa—

Narmadā Karnātavishayayor madhye Mahārāshṭra vishayaḥ. But it is difficult to say how far he followed the tradition current in the days of Vātsyāyana himself.

We have the next glimpse of Mahārāshṭra in the Aihole inscription of Pulakeśin II (A.D. 634). That record mentions the sovereignty of the Chālukya king over the 'three Mahārāshṭrakas'—*agamad-adhipatitvaṃ yo Mahārāshṭra-kānām navanavati-sahasra-grāma-bhājām trayānām*, 'he acquired the sovereignty over the three Mahārāshṭrakas with their nine and ninety thousand villages (or hamlets)'. As Vanavāsi, the Koṅkaṇas (including apparently Purī, 'the queen of the western sea'), and Lāṭa find separate mention, it is not improbable that the three Mahārāshṭrakas of the Chālukya period occupied much the same area as the Mahārāṭṭha of the Ceylonese chronicles, which is likewise distinguished from Aparānta (the Koṅkaṇ) and Vanavāsa. It possibly lay to the south of the Taptī valley in the north, and north of the valley of the Varadā, a tributary of the Tuṅgabhadrā, on the banks of which stood the city of Vanavāsi. Various suggestions have been offered for the identification of the three regions alluded to in the words '*Mahārāshṭrakānām . . . trayānām*'. According to one scholar the territories implied are Vidarbha, Mahārāshṭra proper, and Kuntala. But the way in which Vanavāsi is distinguished from Mahārāshṭra by the Ceylonese chronicles of the fourth and fifth centuries A.D., and also by the *Purāṇas* and the *Kāvyamīmāṃsā* (about A.D. 900), together with Kuntala and Vidarbha, shows that there are difficulties in the way of accepting this view. It is by no means impossible that the reference is to the traditional *thadis* or dales into which the Marāṭṭha country is divided, namely, *Gaṅg-thadi* (banks of the Godāvarī), *Bhīm-thadi* (banks of the Bhīmā), and *Nīr-thadi* (banks of the Nīrā, a tributary of the Bhīmā). It is interesting to note that in several records of the early Chālukya period a territory is sometimes referred to by the position it occupies in relation to one of two of the rivers named above. The expression *uttaram-Bhaimarathyāḥ*, 'the country north of the Bhīmarathī or the Bhīmā' occurs in the Aihole inscription itself. An earlier record of the reign of Pulakeśin II, dated A.D. 616-17, refers to the grant of a village in a *bhoga* (subdivision) of a territory on the south bank of the Bhīmarathī. The Jejūri plates of Vinayādityā (A.D. 687) mention the district on the north bank of the Nīrā (*Nīrā-nady-uttara-taṭa*).¹ In a later age Rudrabhaṭṭa's commentary on the *Vaidya-jīvana* contains a reference to a city named Shaṭkhetaka in *Godātaṭa-madhyadeśa*.² From the facts cited above it may be presumed that the nomenclature of the great divisions of Mahārāshṭra in the days of Pulakeśin and also in later ages had some reference to the principal rivers that flow through the Marāṭṭha country. The southernmost division may have embraced the district mentioned in the Jejūri plates—*Nīrā-nady-uttara-taṭa*, which formed part of the *Nīr-thadi* of tradition. Next came the territory described

¹ *Ep. Ind.*, xix, 64.

² *Ibid.*, vi, 132 n.

in the Sātāra grant of A.D. 616-17 as lying 'on the south bank of the river Bhīmarathī'. It included the Śrīnilaya-*bhoga*. Together with the country that according to the Aihole inscription stretched 'north of the Bhaimarathī' it constituted the *Bhīm-thadi* of tradition. To its north lay the Goparāshṭra-*viśhaya* of the Nirpaṇ record. *Godātaṭa* is not expressly mentioned in connexion with this *viśhaya*. But the district lay in that region. It is thus possible to trace in inscriptions of the time of Pulakeśin II and his grandson Vinayādityā the parts of the Marāṭhā country known as *Nīr-thadi*, *Bhīm-thadi*, and *Gaṅg-thadi* (*Godātaṭa*), the first two directly, the third by implication. It is to be noted further that two of these divisions are known to have been placed under the brothers of Pulakeśin himself, while the third, the valley of the Nīrā, may have been under his direct rule.

The next glimpse of Mahārāshṭra (Mo-ha-la-ch'a) is afforded by Yuan Chwang, the famous Chinese pilgrim who visited the country in A.D. 641. This country, he informs us, was six thousand *li*, or one thousand British miles, in circuit, and its capital which had a large river on its west side was above thirty *li*, or five miles, in circuit. In the east of the country was a mountain range with 'towering crags and a continuous stretch of piled-up rocks and scarped precipice'. Here was a monastery constructed in a dark valley. 'Its lofty halls and deep side-aisles' were quarried in the cliff. 'Story above story they were backed by the crag and faced the valley.'

In the opinion of Fleet the metropolis to which the pilgrim refers is not Vātāpi, which is mentioned as the Chālukya capital in the epigraphs, but Nāsik. The convent and rock-cut structures in the glen on the eastern frontier of the country have been taken by scholars to refer to the famous Ajanta monuments. If this view be correct the Bhogavardhana country may at this time have been regarded as a part of Mahārāshṭra.

The *Śaktisaṅgama Tantra*, a much later authority, describes Mahārāshṭra as a country that 'extended from Tryambaka to Kaṇṇāta, and comprised Ujjayinī, Mārjāra-tīrtha (or *tīra*) and Kolāpuranivāsini'. Trayambaka has been correctly identified with the ridge of the Western Ghāṭs, in which the Godāvarī takes its rise. It is situated in the Nāsik District. Kaṇṇāta is the Kanarese country which is also referred to as lying on the southern frontier of Mahārāshṭra by the commentator on the *Sūtras* of Vātsyāyana. Ujjayinī, which was in the interior of Mahārāshṭra (*madhye ch-Ujjayinī Śive*), should not be identified with the homonymous city in Malwa, but rather with the modern Ujjayinī or Ujjani in the Sinnar *tāluk* of the Nāsik District.¹ Mārjāra-tīrtha is difficult to identify. If the correct reading is Mārjāra-tīra, then the reference must be to a spot on the *banks of a river*, and the only river that can be thought of in this connexion is the Māñjrā, the famous tributary of the Godāvarī. Kolāpura is the same as Kollāpura, modern Kolhāpur. The reference to this place shows that the Marāṭhā country now definitely extended beyond the

¹ Ibid., xii, 33.

river Kṛishṇā. Kolhāpur may have stood near the borderland of Mahārāshṭra and Karṇāṭa, as it does at the present day.

Karṇāṭa, Kuntala

The boundaries of the Karṇāṭa country that lay to the south of Mahārāshṭra are given by Wilks as follows¹:

‘Commencing near the town of Bidar . . . Following the course of the Kanarese language to the south-east, it is found to be limited by a waving line which nearly touches Adoni, winds to the west of Gooty, skirts the town of Anantapur, and passing through Nandidroog, touches the range of the Eastern Ghāṭs; thence pursuing their southern course to the mountainous pass of Gazzalhati, it continues to follow the abrupt turn caused by the great chasm of the western hills between the towns of Coimbatore, Pollāchi, and Pālghāt; and sweeping to the north-west, skirts the edges of the precipitous Western Ghāṭs, nearly as far north as the sources of the Kistna (Kṛishṇā); whence following first an eastern and afterwards a north-eastern course, it terminates in rather an acute angle near Bidar, already described as its northern limit.’

Rice thinks that the northern limits of the land were probably pushed back by the Marāṭhā raids and conquests. The name Karṇāṭa, Karṇāṭaka, or Carnatic is sometimes erroneously applied to the plains below the Eastern Ghāṭs, embracing some of the Tamil districts of the Madras Presidency and the Telugu District of Nellore. The mistake apparently arose from the expansion of the empire of Vijayanagara, which had its principal seat in Karṇāṭa proper, to the Coromandel coast. The two Karṇāṭas are sometimes distinguished as Karṇāṭa Bālāghāt (uplands, above the Ghāṭs), and Karṇāṭa Pāyanghāt (lowlands, below the Ghāṭs).

The name Karṇāṭa occurs already in the *Jambukhaṇḍa* of the *Mahābhārata*, the *Purāṇas*, and the *Bṛihatsamhitā* of Varāhamihira (sixth century A.D.). These works, however, do not afford a definite clue as to its location. They simply include it in the list of southern *janapadas*. In the Birūr grant of the Kadamba king Viṣṇuvarman I, which is of about the same age as the *Bṛihatsamhitā*, or a little earlier, mention is made of ‘*Vaijayantī-tilaka-samagra-Karṇāṭa-bhūvarga*’. The words clearly suggest that Karṇāṭa included a group (*varga*) of territories (*bhū*), and that Vaijayantī or Banavāsi in North Kanara was its ornament (*tilaka*), i.e. its metropolis. In the eighth century A.D. the name Karṇāṭaka-bala, the Karṇāṭa army, is applied to the forces of the Chālukya king (*Vallabha* Kirtivarman II). This shows that the country over which the early Chālukyas ruled, namely Vātāpi and the surrounding territory, went by the name of Karṇāṭa in that age. The *Kavirājamārga* or ‘the Royal Road of the Poets’, a Kanarese work attributed to Nṛipatuṅga

¹ *Hyderabad Gazetteer*, 100.

(Amoghavarsha I, A.D. 814-77), gives a wide meaning to the name Kaṇṇaḍa (Kaṇṇāṭa):

'Twixt sacred rivers twain it lies—
 From famed Godāvarī,
 To where the pilgrim rests his eyes
 On holy Kāverī.
 If you would hear its purest tone
 To Kisuvōlal go;
 Or listen to the busy crowds
 Through Kōp'na's streets which flow;
 Or seek it in Onkunda's walls,
 So justly famed in song.
 Or where in Puligere's court
 The learned scholars throng.¹

If for the Godāvarī we read the name of its tributary the Māñjrā, the description is not wide of the mark. The important thing to note is that the heart of the Kaṇṇāṭa country is the territory round Kisuvōlal (Paṭṭadakal in the Bijāpur District), Kōp'na (identified by some with Muḷgund in Dhārṇwār, and by others with Kopal in the Hyderabad State,² or with Kupana in the Hagaratage-nādu in the Bijāpur-Gulbarga region,³ Onkunda (Hungund in Bijāpur District), and Puligere (or Lakshmeshwar in Miraj State, Dhārṇwār). The evidence of contemporary records from the end of the fifth to the beginning of the ninth century A.D. would thus suggest the inclusion within Kaṇṇāṭa of the North Kanara, Dhārṇwār, and Bijāpur Districts of the Bombay Presidency and the Raichūr and Gulbarga Districts of the Hyderabad State. What other territories were included within the *samagra-Kaṇṇāṭa-bhūvarga* it is difficult to specify. It has been suggested by some writers that the original Kaṇṇāṭa answers to the Kaṇṇa-*vishaya* of the Hyderabad grant of Vikramāditya I Chālukya, and that it lay at the foot of Śrīśaila.⁴ But there is little evidence in support of such a conjecture. Judging from available epigraphic data Kaṇṇāṭa is more likely to stand for Kār-nāḍu, 'black country' (*vikhyāta-Kṛishna-varṇa-vishaya*),⁵ than for Kaṇṇa (Kaṇṇa)-nāḍu, the realm of Kaṇṇa or Śatakarṇi. The *Śaktisaṅgama Tantra* defines Kaṇṇāṭa as the country that extends from Rāmanātha to Śrīraṅga. Śrīraṅga is certainly to be placed on the banks of the Kāverī, the same river which the *Kavirājamārga* mentions as marking the southern boundary of Kaṇṇāṭa. There may, however, be a reasonable difference of opinion as to whether it refers to the famous shrine near Trichinopoly, or to Seringapatam near Mysore. As Śrīraṅgam in Trichinopoly lies in the heart of the Tamil country, identification with the city in

¹ E. P. Rice, *History of Kanarese Literature*, 29.

² *Hyderabad Archaeological Series*, Memoir No. 12, p. 2.

³ *Ep. Ind.*, iv, 59; xii, 308.

⁴ Dr. N. Venkataramanayya, *Journal of Andhra Hist. Res. Soc.*, x, 89 ff. See also Sircar, *Successors of the Śātarāhanas*, 402-3.

⁵ *Ep. Ind.*, xii, 153.

Mysore seems preferable, as this stands in the genuine Karṇāṭa country. Rāmanātha is possibly to be identified with the famous Rāmeśvara *tīrtha* where Govinda III 'had good sport with wild boars'. According to Rice it is an island a few miles below the junction of the Tuṅga and the Bhadrā, the twin streams which unite to form the Tuṅgabhadrā.

There is evidence to show that the part of Karṇāṭa lying to the north of the Tuṅgabhadrā was being referred to under a new name from the twelfth century A.D., a name which can be traced back to the fifth century. We have seen above that in early Rāshtrakūṭa records the early Chālukyas of Vātāpi are connected with 'Karṇāṭaka'. In later times the name applied to the territory over which the western branch of the Chālukyas ruled is 'Kuntala'¹—*jyeshthah Kuntala-rājalakshmīm-agrahit itaro Veṅgībhuvam*, 'the elder (Pulakeśin II) took possession of the royal fortune of Kuntala, and the second (Kubja Viṣṇuvardhana I) of the country of Veṅgī'.

The name Kuntala already occurs in an Ajanta inscription and the *Bṛīhat-saṃhitā* of Varāhamihira of the fifth and sixth centuries A.D. The appellation may have been known in still earlier times as it is mentioned in the *Jambukhaṇḍa* of the *Mahābhārata* and the *Bhuvanakośha* of the *Purāṇas*. Curiously enough the *Jambukhaṇḍa* draws a distinction between Karṇāṭaka and Kuntala, and between Kuntala and Vanavāsika. In respect of the last point it is in agreement with the evidence of the *Vāyu Purāṇa* and the *Kāvyamīmāṃsā* of Rājaśekhara, who gives the form Vanavāsaka instead of Vanavāsika. How far the distinction is based on an early tradition it is difficult to say. It is possible that the name Vanavāsaka was specially applied to North Kanara and adjacent tracts, watered by the Varadā. Kuntala was the special designation of the basin of the Kṛishṇā '*vikhyāta Kṛishṇavarṇne Taila-snehopalabdhasaralatte Kuntala-vishaye nitarāṃ virājate Mallikāmodaḥ*', 'Mallikāmoda is very illustrious in the land of Kuntala, which is famous for the [river] Kṛishṇā-varṇā, and has a loyalty arising from affection for (King) Taila (II)', and secondarily 'a fragrance of jasmine strongly pervades a braid of hair which has the famous [black] hue of Kṛishṇā, and a smoothness caused by sesame oil'.² Karṇāṭa when distinguished from Vanavāsa and Kuntala may have had the sense given to it by the *Śaktisāṅgama Tantra*.

Fleet, after an analysis of several epigraphic records, shows that Kuntala included 'on the south Banawāsi in North Kanara, Baḷagāṃve and Harihar in (the Shimoga district of) Mysore, and Hampe or Vijayanagara in the Bellāry District; to the north of these places, Hāṅgal, Lakshmeshwar, Lakkuṇḍi, and Gadag in the Dhārwar District; farther to the north, Belgaum, Saundatti, Manoli, and Koṇṇūr in the Belgaum District, and Paṭṭadakal and Aihoḷe in the Bijāpur District; and still more to the north Terdāl in the

¹ *Ep. Ind.*, iv, 88.

² *Ibid.*, xii, 144; the reference may, in addition, be also to the *Kṛishṇa-bhūmi-kshetrās* of the Kanarese country. Sircar, *Successors of the Sātavāhanas*, 261.

Sāṅglī State, Bijāpur itself, and doubtless Kalyāṇi.' To this we need only add that an inscription (No. 137, A.D. 1162, discovered in the Hunsūr *tāluk* of Mysore) places even Gaṅgavāḍi (south Mysore) in the Kuntala country of the Bhārata land (India). Kuntala had thus by the twelfth century come to denote the *whole* of the Karṇāṭa country, a view that accords with the evidence of Bilhaṇa. The poet uses Kuntala and Karṇāṭa as synonyms to designate the kingdom of the Chālukyas of Kalyāṇi. In the time of Harihara II, emperor of Vijayanagara (A.D. 1385), Kuntala is once again mentioned only as a *vishaya* or district of the Karṇāṭa country having a centre at Vijayanagara itself.¹ The foregoing discussion shows that the name Kuntala is used in three different senses. In its widest sense (twelfth century A.D.) it meant the whole of the Kanarese country constituting the empire of Kalyāṇi and including southern Mysore. Usually it was applied only to the northern part of the Kanarese country extending from the valley of the Tuṅgabhadra to the Kṛishṇā, and perhaps even at times to the Māñjra. In its most restricted sense it did not include either the Vanavāsi region or the country to the south of the confluence of the Tuṅga and the Bhadrā in the Shimoga District of Mysore.

From the period of the Chālukyas of Kalyāṇi the name Iraṭṭapāḍi or Raṭṭapāṭi² became the designation of the empire of the Raṭṭas or Rāshtrakūṭas which next passed into the hands of the Chālukyas. It may be regarded as an alternative name for the Kannaḍa country of the Kavirājamārga and Karṇāṭa-Kuntala of Bilhaṇa. It is described as a 'seven-and-a-half-lakh country'. The reference is to the numbers, real, exaggerated, or traditional, of villages, hamlets, &c., included within the area. This is clear from a passage of the *Kumārikākhaṇḍa* of the *Skandapurāṇa*³—*grāmāṇām sapṭalakṣaṇīcha Raṭṭarāje prakīrtitam*, as well as from several analogous instances which Fleet cites from inscriptions.

Yuan Chwang refers to a territory called Kung-kan-na-pu-lo the name of which has been restored as Koṅkaṇapura, and identified by various scholars with Vanavāsi, Ānegundi, Kaukkanūr, and other places. But, as pointed out by Watters, these identifications seem to be all beset with difficulties. The *Fangchi* has the reading Kung-ta-na-pu-lo instead of Kung-kan-na-pu-lo. This suggests that the original name of the country may have been Kuntalapura. There is still a place called Kubattūr in the Shimoga District, Mysore, which was known in ancient times as Kuntala-nagara.

¹ *Ep. Ind.*, 216 n

² *Ibid.*, III, 294, 299 n

³ Ch 39

III

Principal Administrative Divisions from the Rise of the Sāta-vāhanas to the Thirteenth Century A.D.

WE have seen that from the days of the *Brāhmaṇas* the word *janapada* has been used to denote a particular people or territory in ancient India. The term seems to have had at first an ethnic rather than an administrative significance, being applied to a tract of land occupied by a particular race, tribe, or clan rather than an area marked out for administrative convenience by a government. But the *janapada* was not a mere habitat of an unorganized people. It formed a political community. Such was the *janapada* of the Uttara-Kurus and the *janapada* of the Uttara-Madras in the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*. The states into which the greater part of northern India and a considerable portion of the south down to the Godāvārī were divided in the days of the Buddha were styled *mahājanapadas*. Sometimes the word is used in a purely geographical sense as in the name Majjhima-*janapada*, 'middle country'. The expression also occurs in the Aśokan inscriptions in connexion with the emperor's *dharmayātā* (*dharmayātrā*, pious tour), and the duties and responsibilities of the high officials styled *rajūkas* (*rajjukas*). It is not, however, clear whether at this stage the word *janapada* continued to be used in the sense of the realm in general, or in that of a definite administrative unit, like a modern commissioner's division or district. In the Myakadani inscription of the Sātavāhana king Pulumāyi, however, a *janapada* is expressly mentioned as a *district* under a military governor. The word, however, very rarely occurs as a designation of an administrative area in later ages. It continues to be used in compositions of a geographical character, e.g. the *Bhuvanakośha* of the *Purāṇas*, or the *deśa-vibhāga* of the *Kāvyaniimāmsā*, in its original sense of an area associated with a particular race, tribe, or clan often claiming a common ancestry.

The expression that is used in the Vedic and early Buddhist texts in a purely political sense is *rāshṭra*. Thus we have reference in a famous laudatory poem of the *Atharvaveda* to the *rāshṭra*, 'royal territory', of king Parikshit. The *purohita* or royal chaplain is the *rāshṭra-gopa* or 'protector of the realm'. In the early Buddhist texts the word has become a synonym of *janapada* in its political aspect. It is not directly referred to in the Aśokan epigraphs but may be implied by the derivative *Raṭhika*, i.e. *Rāshṭrika*, possibly identical with the *Rāshṭriya* of the Junāgaḍh rock inscription of Rudradāman. Unlike *janapada* it frequently occurs in inscriptions from the fourth century A.D. onwards as the designation of an administrative unit. The *janapada* styled

Sātavāhani-*hāra* in the Sātavāhana period became known as Sātāhani-*raṭṭha* (*rāshṭra*) in the early Pallava age.

The most common designation of an administrative district or *tāluk* in the Sātavāhana age is the *āhāra* (or *hāra*). The term occurs earlier in the Aśokan inscriptions to denote the area under the jurisdiction of a special class of *mahāmātras*. But for specific mention of individual *āhāras* we must turn to a later age. Post-Mauryan epigraphs, mostly of Sātavāhana times, but some belonging to the period of the Bṛihatphalāyanas, the Vākātakas, and the Traikūṭakas, refer to the following :

Kāpura-*āhāra*—on or near the south bank of the Miṇḍhoḷā river in Gujarāt.

Sopāraka(Śūrparaka)-*āhāra*—roughly coinciding with the present Ṭhāṇa District, or part of it.

Govardhan-*āhāra* (in Nāsik).

Māmāl-*āhāra* (Modern Māval, 'sunset land', the hilly portion of Poona and Sātāra districts).

Sātavāhani-*hāra* (in Bellāry District).

Kūdūr-*āhāra* (adjoining Masulipatam).

Iksharaki-*āhāra* (probably in the northern Koṅkan).

Supratishṭh-*āhāra* (identified with the territory included in the Hinganghāt *tahsil* of the Wardhā District of the Central Provinces).¹

The *āhāra* tends to disappear after the Sātavāhana age. It is rarely met with in the succeeding period, and even when the expression actually forms part of the name of a district it is often followed by the term *vishaya*,² which is the most common designation of districts since the period of the Guptas in the north, and the Kadambas in the south. Some of the Pallava and Ikshvāku monarchs show a preference for the old term *raṭṭha* or *rāshṭra*. We have reference in their records to the Sātāhani-*raṭṭha* (Bellāry District), Kammaka-*raṭṭha* (Karmāṅka-*rāshṭra*, parts of Guntūr and Nellore), Toṃpuki-*raṭṭha*, the identity of which is uncertain but which could not have been situated far away from Amarāvati, and Veṅgo-*rāshṭra* (between the Godāvarī and the Kṛishṇā). Like the *āhāras* the *rāshṭras* too are in several cases transformed into *vishayas*. Thus we have reference to a Gopa-*rāshṭra-vishaya* in a Chālukya epigraph attributed to the reign of Pulakeśin II. The Plāki-*rāshṭra* of the time of Indravarmān is referred to in Eastern Chālukya records as Plāki- or Palāki-*vishaya*.³

Side by side with the *raṭṭha* or *rāshṭra* we find another group of administrative units whose names end in *-paṭha*. An early Pallava inscription refers to the Andhrāpaṭha in charge of an official (*vāpata* or *Vyāpṛita*) at Dharmnakaḍa, usually identified with Amarāvati or some neighbouring place. Epigraphs of about the same age also mention Paiṭhāṇa-*paṭha* (apparently connected with

¹ *Ep. Ind.*, xxvi, 158.

² e.g. Kudurāhāra-*vishaya*, Mṛigathanikāhāra-*vishaya*, Khetakāhāra-*vishaya*, &c

³ *Ep. Ind.*, xii, 133.

Paīṭhaṇ on the Godāvari), Śveta-patha,¹ and Kāchu-patha. The Vākāṭakas of the fourth and fifth centuries A.D. showed a preference for the term *rājya* to denote an administrative division. Two of these divisions are known from contemporary records, e.g. the Bojakaṭa-*rājya*, corresponding to northern Berār between the rivers Taptī and Pūrṇā, and the Ārammi-*rājya*, possibly coinciding with the territory round Arvi in the Wardhā District. Another division apparently lay between the Ajanta range and the river Pengaṅgā, and had its centre at Vatsagulma or Bāsim. The *rājya* seems to have been subdivided into *bhogas* or *bhāgas*. Two of these, the Hiraṇyapura-*bhoga* and Beṇṇākārpara-*bhāga*, are known from inscriptions. Hiraṇyapura reminds one of Kāñchanakāpurī of the *Purāṇas*. It has been identified with Songāon near Chāndūr, or with Hirpur near Sāgar.

In the time of the Chālukyas of Vātāpi and Veṅgī, and the Rāshtrakūṭas of Mānyakheta, three designations largely held the field—*deśa*, *maṇḍala*, and *vishaya*. The term *vishaya* occurs most frequently. In the Kanarese areas and certain contiguous tracts we meet with the terms *vāḍi* (e.g. Gaṅgavāḍi, Noḷamba-vāḍi, Naḷa-vāḍi, Māsa-vāḍi, Sinda-vāḍi), *Kheda* (e.g. Āḷuvakheda), *Nād* (e.g. Male-nād, Banavāse-nād, Eḍedore-nād, Sindavāḍi-nād),² and *Nāḍu* (e.g. Vengai-nāḍu).

Deśa

The antiquity of the word *deśa* goes back to the days of the *Vājasaneyi Samhitā* of the *Yajurveda*. But its occurrence in the early Vedic texts is very rare. It is more common in the Buddhist texts where it is sometimes used as a synonym of *janapada*. Thus the Majjhima-*janapada*, 'the central region of India', is also called Majjhima-*deśa*. In the Aśokan inscriptions it appears both singly, as in the Fourteenth Rock Edict, and as part of the compound expression *deśāvutika* which occurs in the Second Separate Rock Edict. Pallava records mention the *deśādhikṛitas* while those of the Śālaṅkāyanas refer to *deśādhīpatīs*. It is clear that *deśa* had become the designation of an administrative unit possibly as early as the time of Aśoka, and certainly in the early Pallava age. In the post-Pallava period *deśa* is at times used as a bigger unit than a *vishaya*. Thus the Vaṭanagara-*vishaya* was a subdivision of the Nāsika-*deśa*. At times *deśa* and *vishaya* seem to have been used as synonyms. In A.D. 779 we hear of a Nāsikya-*vishaya*. A few decades later on (A.D. 807) the same territory appears to be mentioned as Nāsika-*deśa*.³ The *āhāra* stood in the same

¹ Lüders, Ins. No. 547; cf. Śvetapāda, in the northern part of the Nāsik district, *Ep. Ind.*, xix, 70.

² Fleet, *Kanarese Districts*, 572. It seems to have comprised considerable portions of the Bijāpur and Dhārwar districts and contiguous parts of the Hyderabad State. The capital was Erambarage, the modern Yelburga in the Hyderabad State.

³ Among other instances may be mentioned Prolunāṇḍu (*deśa*, *Ep. Ind.*, iv, 53, l. 17; *vishaya*, *ibid.*, l. 29; Attili (*deśa*, *ibid.*, vii, 180; *vishaya*, *ibid.*, 179).

relation to the *deśa* as the *vishaya*. The Iksharakī-*āhāra* was a part of the Aparantādi-*deśa*, but the Khet-*āhāra* of the time of Pulakeśin II was itself a *deśa*. The Khetāhāra-*deśa* has been identified with the Khet *tāluk* of the Ratnāgiri District. While in the early Pallava kingdom an *āhāra* seems to have been converted into a *raṭṭha* or *rāshṭra*, in the Upper Deccan it was usually transformed into a *deśa*, as noted above, or a *vishaya*, as will be shown below. *Deśa*, however, sometimes meant only a country without any administrative significance. Thus we have references to Mahārāshṭra-*deśa*, Vidarbha-*deśa*, Andhra-*deśa*, Tailaṅga-*deśa*, Kalinga-*deśa*, Karnāṭa-*deśa*, &c.

Maṇḍala

Maṇḍala, literally a circle (of territory), is alluded to in the Nāsik eulogy of Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi, in which that great king is described as one 'whose feet were saluted by all provinces' (*sava-maṇḍal-ābhivādita-charaṇa*). The provinces, districts, or *tāluk*s actually named in the inscriptions of the dynasty to which he belonged are, however, styled *āhāras*, as already noted above. We have, however, definite reference to four *maṇḍalas* and *vishayas* of Revatidvīpa in the Goa grant of A.D. 610-11, and to a specific *maṇḍala* in the Harihar grant of the time of the early Chālukya king Vinayāditya (A.D. 694). In that record mention is made of the Eḍeṇḍal-*bhāga* of the Vanavāsi-*maṇḍala*. In an earlier grant of the same reign (A.D. 692) Eḍeṇḍal is styled a *vishaya*, a part of which lay on the north-east of the town of Vaijayantī or Banavāsi (Vanavāsi) in North Kanara. If the Eḍeṇḍal-*vishaya* coincides with the Eḍeṇḍal-*bhāga*, it too must have been a part of the Vanavāsi-*maṇḍala*. In other words, the *vishaya* in this region and at this particular period was a subdivision of the *maṇḍala*.

Another early *maṇḍala* was Veṅgī which is referred to as the Veṅgī-*maṇḍala* in the Alās plates of Govinda II (A.D. 769).¹ A Kigga (Kaḍūr District) inscription of about the same age as the plates of Vinayāditya mentions the Kadamba-*maṇḍala*,² which may have meant much the same area as the Vanavāsi-*maṇḍala*. The Andhra *maṇḍala* of the Piṭhāpuram Pillar inscription (A.D. 1186), over which Goṅka I ruled as a vassal of the Chālukyas of Veṅgī-*maṇḍala*, may have corresponded to the Andhrāpatha of the early Pallava charters and some contiguous tracts, as his ancestor Malla I is known to have been a ruler of the 'Shaṭṣahasra country' on the southern bank of the Kṛishṇā, and his great-grandfather was the ruler of districts lying to the north of it.

The Andhra-khaṇḍa-*maṇḍala* of the Donepūṇḍi grant of A.D. 1338 comprised the area extending from the banks of the Godāvari to the borders of Kalinga. A Piṭhāpuram inscription of A.D. 1195 refers to the Koṇa-*maṇḍala*, also known as Kona-*sthala*, Kon-*āvani*, and Koṇa-*deśa*, which is known from

¹ The designation *nādu* is sometimes used in Tamil inscriptions instead of *maṇḍala*, *deśa*, *mahī*, *bhū*, and *vishaya*, particularly in reference to Veṅgī.

² *Ep. Ind.*, ix, 16.

another record to have been situated on the banks of the Vṛiddha-Gautamī, one of the seven branches of the Godāvarī. It has been pointed out that 'the term Koṇa-*sīma* is in common use in the Godāvarī District, where it is now applied to a portion of the Amalāpuram *tāluk* which, being watered by several branches of the Godāvarī, is as fertile as the *koṇa* or valley.'¹ A Chandra-*maṇḍala* is mentioned in connexion with Śīlāhāra princes of southern Koṇkan.² A Kazipet inscription refers to the Koṇkaṇa-*maṇḍala*.³ The Gaṅga-*maṇḍala* fell outside the limits of our Deccan.

Minor Subdivisions

Before proceeding to give an account of the *vishayas* which constitute the most important administrative units of the post-Sātavāhana period it is necessary to say a few words about the subdivisions known as *bhoga*, *bhāga*, *khaṇḍa*, *nāṇḍu*, and *kheḍa*, and the territorial designation *bhukti*.

The *bhoga* and *bhāga* apparently appear in Vākāṭaka records as a subdivision of the *rājya*. In the Chendalūr plates of Kumāra-vishṇu II Kavachakāra-*bhoga* is a part of Karmāṅka-*rāshṭra*, also known as Kammaka-*raṭha*, Kamma-*rāshṭra*, Kammāṅka-*rāshṭra*, Karma-*rāshṭra*, or Kamma-*naṇḍu-vishaya* (parts of Nellore and Guntūr). *Bhoga* as part of a *vishaya* occurs in the Jejūrī plates of Vinayāditya (A.D. 687). In that record a village on the north bank of the river Nīrā (*Nīrā-nady-uttara-tāsthaḥ*) is placed in the Sātimāla-*bhoga*, in the Paḷayaṭṭhāṇa(Phaltan)-*vishaya*. The *bhoga* is, however, at times synonymous with *vishaya*. The Vaṭanagara-*bhoga* (Vaḍner) in the Chāndvaḍ *tāluk* of Nāsik mentioned in the Vaḍner plates of Buddharāja, A.D. 608, is referred to in the Waṇī grant of A.D. 807 as Vaṭanagara-*vishaya*. A Śrīnilaya-*bhoga* is mentioned in a grant of 616-17. It lay on the south bank of the Bhaimarathī or the Bhīmā, but we have no specific mention of the larger division of which it was a part. A record of A.D. 692 mentions a *bhāga*⁴ (Velahiṇṇu) on the north bank of the river Kṛishṇavernā or the Kṛishṇā. According to Kielhorn *bhāga* and *bhoga* are synonymous terms.⁵ The Eḍevoḷal-*bhāga* has already been noticed above.

The subdivisions *Khaṇḍa* and *Kheḍa* are illustrated by Nāyara-*khaṇḍa* and Āḷuva-*kheḍa* (mentioned in a Māvali inscription in the Shorab *tāluk* in the Shimoga District), all probably parts of the Banavāsī Province or District. The Veṅgi-*nāṇḍu-vishaya* is possibly a subdivision of the Veṅgi-*maṇḍala* or -*deśa*.

Bhukti

Among other territorial terms used in inscriptions of the ancient Deccan mention may be made of the *bhukti*. Students of north Indian history

¹ *Ep. Ind.*, iii, 287; iv, 84, 320.

³ Sreenivasachar, *Corpus*, p. 26.

⁵ *Ep. Ind.*, iii, 259 n.

² Fleet, *Kanarese Districts*, 537.

⁴ Fleet, *Kanarese Districts*, 369.

frequently come across this designation in connexion with the provincial organization of empires. But it is rarely mentioned in southern epigraphs, and where it does occur it is used to denote, not a province of considerable size, but a relatively small unit comparable to the modern *tāluk* or *tahsil*. It is a noticeable fact that the *bhukti* is met with in particular in epigraphs of the Rāshtrakūṭa dynasty which came into intimate contact with the Ganges valley. We have reference in the days of Dantidurga to Koppāraka-pañchaśata-*bhukti*, in the reign of Govinda III to the Pratiṣṭhāna and Rāsiyana *bhuktis*, and in an inscription of Amoghavarsha I to Majjantiya-śaptati-grāma-*bhukti*.¹ Koppāraka may have been in the Sātāra District. Pratiṣṭhāna is the well-known Paithāṇ in the Aurangābād district of the Hyderabad State. Rāsiyana was probably in the Ahmadnagar District.²

Vishaya

We now turn to the *vishaya* which, as already stated, is the most common administrative unit in the Deccan from the fourth century A.D. to the tenth century. The antiquity of the term is carried back to the third century B.C. In the Sārṇāth Pillar Edict of Aśoka we have reference to the *kota-vishava* (*Koṭṭa-vishaya*), 'district round a fort'. The designation did not find much favour with the Sātavāhanas, the Ikshvākus, the Bṛihatphalāyanas, and the early Pallavas, but was popular with the Śālaṅkāyanas, Kadambas, and succeeding dynasties. In the Śālaṅkāyana period the Kūdūr-āharā, governed by a *Vāpata* or official under the Bṛihatphalāyanas, came to be known as Kūdūrāhāra-*vishaya*. This is one among many instances of the conversion of *āharas* into *vishayas*. One of the latest examples is the Khetakāhāra-*vishaya* of the period of the kings of Valabhi. Sometimes a bigger *vishaya* included a smaller one, and the latter is a converted *āhāra*. Thus in the Nausāri plates of Śrīyāśraya-Śilāditya (latter part of the seventh century A.D.) we have the passage *Bāhirikā-vishayāntargata-Kanhavalāhāra-vishaya*, i.e. a *vishaya* of the name of Kanhaval-āhāra included within another *vishaya* styled Bāhirikā. We give below a list of the more important *vishayas* that are known to have formed parts of the Deccan proper and some contiguous areas, namely:

Goparāshṭra-*vishaya*—part of the Nāsik District.

Nāsikka-*vishaya*—Niphād and Nāsik *tāluk*s of the Nāsik District.

Vaṭanagara-*vishaya*—Chāndvaḍ or Chandor *tāluk* of the Nāsik District.

Mṛigathaṇikāhāra-*vishaya*—on the north bank of the Gaṅgā, provided Gaṅgā refers to the Godāvarī, and not to the Bhāgīrathī.

Koṅkaṇa-*vishaya*—stretching from Wāriav, just to the north of Surat, to Kuṇḍi-vāṭaka possibly in Saṅgameshwar *tāluk*, Ratnāgiri District. We have also reference to Koṅkaṇa as a *rāshṭra* and a *maṇḍala*. Koṅkaṇa-*rāshṭra* possibly stretched

¹ Altekar, *The Rāshtrakūṭas and their Times*, 137; Fleet *Kanarese Districts*, 390, 397.

² Fleet, *Kanarese Districts*, 398 f.

southwards as far as Gokaṇṇa in North Kanara. Koṇkaṇa included smaller *vishayas* of the name of Mahirihāra-*vishaya* and Shaṭsashti-*vishaya* (Salsette). The Avaretikā-*vishaya* is mentioned in records discovered in the Chipḷūṇ *tāluk* of the Ratnāgiri District, Koṇkaṇ.

Antarmaṇḍali-*vishaya*—apparently a part of Aparānta or the Koṇkaṇ.

Iridige-*vishaya*—one of the seven Koṇkaṇas. It included the Sāwantwāḍi State and the Ratnāgiri District.

Pūnaka-*vishaya*—in the Poona District.

Paḷayatṭhāna-*vishaya*—identified with the state of Phaltan watered by the Nīrā, a tributary of the Bhīmā.

Karahāṭa-*vishaya*—modern Karāḍ in the Sātāra District. [We learn from certain epigraphic records that the district consisted of 4,000 cities, towns, and villages. One inscription puts the figure at 10,000.]

Pagalati-*vishaya*—included Tumbagi in the Bijāpur District. Fleet identifies it with the Hagaratage-*nāḍu* in the Gulbarga District. It is possible that the *vishaya* in question embraced parts of the Bijāpur as well as the Gulbarga District.

Kaṇṇapurī-*vishaya*—in the Sālotgi region, Bijāpur District.

Kuṇḍi-*vishaya*—also known as Kūṇḍi, included the greater part of the Belgaum District and some adjoining territory. Its capital was at Sugandhavartin, Savandavatti, or Savadhavatti, modern Saundatti in the Belgaum District. Belgaum (Veḷugrāma, Venugrāma, or Venupura) was also at times the seat of government.

Pānuṃgala-*vishaya*—round modern Hāṅgal in the Dhārwar District. The capital Hāṅgal, ancient Pānuṃgal or Hānuṃgal, is also mentioned by the appellation of Pānthīpura, Vairāṭapura, Virāṭana-koṭe and Virāṭanagara. The name Virāṭana-koṭe affords ground for citing the district round it as an instance of a *koṭṭa-vishaya*.

Beḷvola-*vishaya*—this was 'the country round Gadag, Anṇigere, Kurtakoti, and Nargund in Dhārwar, Hūli in Belgaum, and Kukkanūr in the Hyderabad State'.¹

Eḍevol-*vishaya*—on the north-east of Banavāsi in North Kanara. The Toramara-*vishaya* may have been in a neighbouring area.

Sagara-*vishaya*—possibly in the Gulbarga District.

Māsvāḍi-*vishaya*—apparently near Koppal.

Naḷavāḍi-*vishaya*—'in the direction of Bellāry and Kurnool'.

Kaṇṇa-*vishaya*—the exact identity is uncertain. It may have been connected with the Kaṇṇapurī-*vishaya* in the Bijāpur District.

Chakrakūṭa-*vishaya*—represented by modern Bastar.

Rūpāvartanī-*vishaya*—probably to the north of Tekkali now in the Vizagapatam District.

Varāhavartanī-*vishaya* or Koluvartanī-*vishaya*—embraced the coastal region between Chicacole and Tekkali.

Kaliṅga-*vishaya*—included Rākaluva, modern Ragolu near Chicacole. It is either an older name for the Varāhavartanī-*vishaya*, or the parent territory from which that *vishaya* was carved out, along with Rūpāvartanī and a few other *vishayas* named below.

Bhogipura- or Bhogapura-*vishaya*—the Bimlipatam division of the Vizagapatam District.

¹ Fleet, *Kanarese Districts*, 432.

Bārupunāṇḍu-*viśhaya*—the Yellamañchili tract of Vizagapatam.

Plāki-*viśhaya* or *rāshtra*—Chipurupalle region.

Dimile-*viśhaya*—Sarvasiddhi *tāluk* of Vizagapatam. [To the south and west of this lay the area included within the Andhra country proper as distinguished from Kaliṅga. The Varāha river may have formed the dividing line.]

Anmakonḍa-*viśhaya*—apparently the district round Hanamkonḍa and Waraṅgal.

Prolu-nāṇḍu-*viśhaya*—on the southern side of Piṭhāpuram in the East Godāvarī District.

Uttaravarusha-*viśhaya*—close to the Prolun-āṇḍu District.

Guddavāḍi-*viśhaya*—includes the Rajole and Rāmchandrapuram *tāluk*s of the East Godāvarī District.¹

Pagunavara or Pāvunavāra-*viśhaya*—possibly not far from Drākshārāma in the Rāmchandrapuram *tāluk*.

Attili-*viśhaya*—answers to the Tanuku division of the West Godāvarī District.

Reṇḍ-eṇḍu-naḍimi-*viśhaya*—‘Two-rivers-middle-district’ or *Sindhu-yugm-āntara-deśa* between the Godāvarī and the Kṛishṇā.

Veṅḡpura-*viśhaya*—consisting of 1,000 villages, apparently the district round Peddavegi near Ellore. It is possibly identical with the Veṅḡināṇḍu-*viśhaya*.

Kudūrahāra-, Kudrāhāra-, Gudrahāra-, Gudravāra-, or Gudrāra-*viśhaya*—comprises the Bandar and Guḍivāḍa *tāluk*s in the Kṛishṇā District. A Piṭhāpuram inscription mentions a ‘pair of districts named Gudravāra’ (*Gudravāra-dvaya*); the reference may be to Gudravāra proper and a contiguous district to its north, possibly Guddavāḍi.

Velanāṇḍu-*viśhaya*—includes Repalle *tāluk*, Kṛishṇā-Guntūr region.

Konnātavāḍi-*viśhaya*—portion of Sattanapalle *tāluk*. It had for its chief city Śrī-Dhānyāñkapura or Amarāvati.

The Decimal and Allied Systems

A noticeable feature of administrative divisions in the Deccan from the eighth century onward is the gradual adoption of the decimal system recommended by the *Dharmaśāstra* writers. Under this system empires and kingdoms were divided into circles of villages numbering ten or multiples of ten. The duodecimal arrangement, i.e. division into groups of twelve or multiples of twelve, is also met with, but with less frequency, in the Deccan proper. We have also groups of 116 villages. Circles that have other numerical components are met with as well. That the numbers in these cases have reference to villages (and hamlets) was pointed out by Fleet, and is amply attested by epigraphic and even Purāṇic evidence. The *Kumārikākhaṇḍa* of the *Skanda Purāṇa* confirms in many respects the information gathered from inscriptional sources.

We may begin our survey of these village-groups or circles with the Koṅkaṇ. We have references to a Koṅkaṇ nine hundred, i.e. the country about Goa, and a Koṅkaṇ fourteen hundred, extending from about Chaul in

¹ *Journal of Andhra History & Culture*, 1, i (April 1943), p. 45.

the Kolāba District to Ṭhāṇa. Closely connected with the latter is the Kavadivīpa lakh-and-a-quarter country. The northernmost part of the Koṅkaṇ coincided with the Variavi hundred and sixteen.

The decimal, duodecimal, or allied systems did not find much favour in the *desh*, or open country to the east of the Ghāṭs between the Chāndor Hills and the Nīrā. We have no doubt a reference to groups like the Sārākachchha twelve, close to the Godāvarī, in a division that took its name from Paṭhaṇ. But such instances are comparatively rare. The use of the appellation *deśa* without any numerical component seems to have characterized the region when the new system prevailed in Gujrāt and Kuntala. Thus we have a reference to Nāsika-*deśa*, and Seuṇa-*deśa*. The last-mentioned territory stretched from Chāndor in the Nāsik District to Daulatābād in the Aurangābād District of the Hyderabad State.

As we cross the river Nīrā we enter the region where the decimal system had the widest prevalence. We begin with the Pratyāṇḍaka four thousand which included the Vāyvada twelve, identified with the Wai *tāluk* in the northern part of the Sātāra District. To the south of this circle lay the Karahāṭa four thousand (or ten thousand) which derived its name from Karahāṭa, Karahāṭaka, the Karahakāṭa or Karahākāḍaka of Brāhmī inscriptions, modern Karāḍ, the chief town of the Karāḍ *tāluk* in the southern part of the Sātāra District at the junction of the Kṛishṇā and the Koynā.

To the south of Karahāṭaka lay the Toṛagale or Torgal six thousand, apparently in the present Kolhāpur State.

To the east and south-east of Karahāṭaka, stretching from the Bhīmā to the Malprabhā, we have the present Bijāpur District, which embraced the Tardavāḍi thousand (on the south bank of the Bhīmā, including Bijāpur itself), the Bāgaḍage or Bāgaḍige seventy (corresponding to Bāgalkoṭ, watered by the Ghāṭprabhā), the Kisukāḍu ('copper-forest' or 'red forest', Skt. *śulvāśavi*) seventy, of which the chief town was Paṭṭadakal, the ancient Kisuvolal or Paṭṭada-Kisuvolal in the Bādāmi *tāluk*, and finally Keḷavāḍi three hundred to the north of Bādāmi, and west and north-west of Paṭṭadakal.

The greater part of the Belgaum District to the south-west of Bijāpur was occupied by the Kuhuṇḍi or Kūṇḍi three thousand. But the southern portion corresponded with the Palāsige twelve thousand which took its appellation from Palāsikā or Halsī, ten miles to the south-east of Khānāpur.

The Dhārwar District, which lies to the south of the river Malprabhā that separates it from Bijāpur, included the Nareyaṃgal fifty,¹ the chief town of which corresponded to Naregal in the Roṇ *tāluk* in the northern part of the Dhārwar District. This circle finds mention in a record of the time of Vikramāditya II (A.D. 734-46) of the early Chālukya dynasty of Vātāpi. It is one of the earliest instances of the adoption of the decimal system in the administrative arrangement of the Deccan in ancient times. To the south-west of Naregal

¹ A Nareyaṃgal twelve is also known (Fleet, *Kanarese Districts*, 572).

stands Anṇigere, 'the royal city or chief town' of the Beḷvola three hundred. To the south-east of Anṇigere lies Lakshmeswar, known in ancient times as the centre of the Puligere three hundred. The name was also spelt Puṇigere, Poṇigere, Huligere, Pulikara. The city was also known as Dakshina Somanātha. Finally in the southern part of the Dhārwār District stands Hāṅgal, the centre of the district known as the Pānuṃgal five hundred.

The neighbouring district of North Kanara comprised the Hayve five hundred, which stretched up to the shore of the Arabian Sea. A part of North Kanara with the Shimoga District of Mysore and some contiguous territories was known as the Vanavāsi twelve thousand. It had its headquarters in the twelfth century A.D. at Baḷagāmve, eighteen miles to the south-east of modern Banavāsi.

Coming to the Hyderabad State we find mention of the Mānyakheda six thousand and the Hagariṭṭage three hundred in the Gulbarga District, the Sagara five hundred, the Kukkanūr thirty, the Māsavāḍi hundred and forty (near Koppal), the Sabbi one thousand or Sabbi-sāyira which included the famous cities of Anmakonḍa and Waraṅgal and must have corresponded with the Anmakonḍa-*vishaya* of a Kāzipet inscription.

In the eastern Deccan we have the Shaṭsahasra-*jagatī* (the country of 6,000 villages) on the southern bank of the Kṛishṇā. Another circle in the same part of the Deccan is the Veṅgī-*maṇḍala* which is described as a country of 16,000 villages in the Piṭhapurām inscription of A.D. 1186.

IV

Cities and Emporia

WE have no clear reference to any city south of the Vindhya in the Vedic texts. But the cognomen Kauṇḍinya applied to Vidarbhī in the *Bṛihadāranyaka Upanishad* may point to the existence of the city of Kuṇḍina in Vidarbha or Berār in the age of the *Upanishad*. The city was certainly known to the *Mahābhārata* and is possibly represented by the modern Kauṇḍinyapura on the banks of the Wardhā in the Chāndūr *tāluk* of Amraotī. If this identification be correct the city lay to the north of the Sahyādrīparvat, and hence stood outside the limits of the Deccan as defined in these pages. The same remark applies to Bhojakata, Nandivardhana, and several other cities which had the distinction of being graced by the presence of monarchs of Vidarbha in the heroic age or in historical times. The only city of Berār which lies to the south of the Sahyādrīparvat is Vatsagulma or Bāsim whose antiquity can be traced back to the fourth century A.D.

The *Rāmāyaṇa* mentions a Vaijayantapura in the south in the direction of Daṇḍaka. The reference may be to the port of Byzantium or Byzanteion of the classical writers, or to Banavāsi—the Banaouasei of Ptolemy—described in the Aihole inscription as a place ‘which has for a girdle the rose of swans that sport on the light waves of the river Varadā’. The Byzantium of the classical writers is a market-town on the coast, and Ptolemy draws a distinction between it and Banaouasei, which is an inland city. But the latter too is known from Indian evidence to have borne the name of Vaijayantī. It is, however, interesting to note that Alberunī places his ‘Banavas’ on the sea coast. It is possible that foreigners did not always understand the distinction between Vaijayantī-Banavāsi in the interior on the banks of the river Varadā, and its port which may have lain somewhere on the west coast and apparently bore the same name. In a similar way Chinese writers turn the inland city of Kāñchīpura into a South Indian port of departure for Ceylon,¹ apparently confounding the Pallava capital with its port on the Coromandel coast.

The *Rāmāyaṇa* also refers to Murachīpaṭṭana, doubtless the Maruchīpaṭṭana of Varāhamihira, Muziris of the classical writers, modern Kranganur. But it lies far to the south of the Deccan proper.

The *Mahābhārata* knows the city of Śūrpāraka and the famous place of pilgrimage styled Rāmatīrtha, both of which figure in the inscriptions of Ushavadāta. Under the name of Suppara or Souppara it is known to Greek writers, and is mentioned along with Calliena or Kalyāṇa in the Ṭhāṇa District. The early Pāli texts refer to a brisk trade between Suppāraka and

¹ Watters, *Yuan Chwang*, ii, 22.

Suvarṇabhūmi, that is to say, Lower Burma and the Malay Islands. Alberūnī, who refers to it as Sūbāra, testifies to its survival till the eleventh century. A Śilāhāra record of A.D. 1095 refers to tolls on carts coming into Sthānaka (Ṭhāṇa), Nāgapura (Nāgāon near Alībāg), Śūrpāraka, Chemūli (Chaul, the Semylla of the *Periplus* and Simylla of Ptolemy), and other seaports in the Koṇkaṇ fourteen hundred (district). Śūrpāraka is now represented by Sopāra near Bassein, a few miles to the north of Bombay.

An interesting place mentioned in the *Mahābhārata* is the city of Sañjayantī, which probably answers to the Sazantion of Ptolemy. The name may have survived in the present Sañjan, an old village in the Ṭhāna District.

Karahātaka, Karahakaṭa, Karahākaḍeka, or Karād (in Sātāra), Potana, the metropolis of the Aśmakas, Dantakūra and Rājapura, capitals of Kaliṅga, are among other cities mentioned in the Great Epic. Dantakūra doubtless corresponds to the Dandagula of Pliny.

Some of these cities are also known to the early Pāli texts. We have, moreover, references in these works to Patitṭhāna or Pratisṭhāna which was situated on the way from the banks of the Godāvarī to Northern India. It corresponded with the Paethana of the *Periplus* and the Baithana of Ptolemy, 'the royal seat of Siro Ptolemaïos', doubtless identical with Vāśishṭhiputra Śrī Pulumāyi. The *Mahābhārata* knows a Pratisṭhāna, but this is probably to be identified with the city of the same name near Allahābād, and not with the city of Paithaṇ on the Godāvarī in the Aurangābād district of the Hyderabad State. In the Rāshṭrakūta period this city seems to have enjoyed some importance as the headquarters of a *bhukti* or subdistrict.

Kātyāyana, the famous grammarian, whom tradition assigns to the fourth century B.C., mentions the town of Nāsikya or Nāsik. It figures also in several Bhārhut and Beḍṣā inscriptions of an early date. Scholars identify it with the famous Pañchavati of the *Rāmāyana*.¹ It seems to have been the headquarters of an important district or *tāluk* (*vishaya*, *deśa*) in the Rāshṭrakūta period. In the Sātavāhana age it would appear to have been outshone by Govardhana, which lay six miles to the west of it. Ptolemy, however, recognizes its importance in the second century A.D. and places it to the 'west' (really south) of the river 'Namados', i.e. the Narmadā. The name has been analysed as *Nav Sikh*, i.e. nine-peaked. Some find in it a reference to the nose of Śūrpanakhā, sister to Rāvaṇa.

Suvarṇagiri, the seat of the southern viceroyalty of the Maurya empire in the days of Aśoka, has not yet been satisfactorily located. Hultzsch proposed to identify it with Kanakagiri in the Hyderabad State, south of Maskī, and north of the ruins of Vijayanagara. The present writer suggested identification with Songir in the Khāndesh. It may be remembered that a stone inscription referring to the Maurya family who ruled in a part of the Khāndesh

¹ The claim is contested by Bhadrāchalam where 'according to tradition, Rāma, during his exile, built his cottage. Sitā was carried away by Rāvana from this place' (*Some Aspects of Hyderabad*, 91-2).

down to the eleventh century A.D., was discovered at Vāghlī, six miles north-east of Chālisgāon in the Khāndesh.

Tosali (in Purī), Samāpā (in Gañjām), and Isila (in Chitaldroog), the other cities of the south mentioned in Aśokan inscriptions, lay outside the limits of the Deccan proper.

The Hāthīgumphā inscription of Khāravela, king of Kālīṅga, who ruled in the second or first century B.C., mentions Asika-nagara (or, according to an alternative reading, Musika-nagara) on the Kaṇhabemṇā, i.e. the Kṛishṇā, and also Pithuḍa, identified by Sylvain Lévi with Pihuḍa of the *Uttarādhyayana-sūtra* and the Pityndra metropolis of Ptolemy, in the country of Masalia or Maisolia, that is, the Andhra country round Masulipatam. The exact location of the city is uncertain. But Pityndra possibly did not lie very far from Vijayapurī of the Nāgārjunakoṇḍa inscription, Amarāvati and Bezvāḍa in the heart of the ancient Andhrāpatha.

Unfortunately Khāravela's inscription has no reference to the capital city of king 'Śātakarṇi', the great western contemporary of the Kālīṅga monarch. For the great cities of the empire of Śātakarṇi and his successors belonging to the imperial house of the Śātavāhanas we must turn to comparatively later records. In several cave inscriptions of western India we have references to places which are specially associated with rulers of this line, namely, Benākaṭaka and Navanara, besides headquarters of *amātyas*, or district officers, like Govardhana (in Nāsik) and Māmāla (in Māval *tāluk*, Poona District). The word Kaṭaka has the sense of 'camp' or 'royal metropolis'. Benākaṭaka, therefore, possibly signifies the camp or metropolis on the river Benā. As the place in question is definitely connected with Govardhana in the Nāsik District, the river is very probably to be identified with the Karabenā of inscriptions, represented by a tributary of the Ambikā which rises in the Bānsda Hills and falls into the sea between Surat and Daman. Navanara is possibly the same as Navā-nagara, an old name of Kalyāṇa in the Thāṇa District.¹ The principal 'royal seat' of the Śātavāhanas at this period was Paṭhaṇ on the banks of the Godāvari. Two other great cities of the Śātavāhana empire were Vaijayantī-Vanavāsi (Banavāsi) in North Kanara and Dhānyakaṭaka-Amarāvati in the Guntūr District of Madras. Other cities that probably existed in this age, but were specially associated with families that rose to power on the ruins of the empire of the Śātakarṇis, were Kudūra and Veṅḡipura.

Vaijayantī-Vanavāsi has already been referred to above in connexion with the geographical data of the *Rāmāyaṇa*. The name Vanavāsi is spelt in different ways. According to Kittel the etymology is *vana* (*bana*) = 'a forest', and Kanarese *basi* or *base* = 'a spring'. The Sanskrit form 'Vanavāsa' is taken to mean 'settlement in the forest' (of the Pāṇḍava brothers). Dhānyakaṭaka, too, is spelt in epigraphic records in various ways. We have the forms Dhaṇṇakaṭa, Dhaṇṇakaṭaka, or more simply Kaḍaka, Dhānyaghaṭa, Dhānyaghaṭaka,

¹ *Bombay Gazetteer*, xiv, 114.

Dhānyaghātī, and Śrīdhānyāṅkapura. Yuan Chwang calls it T'ê-na-ka-che-ka. The district round the city is called Andhrāpatha in an early Pallava charter and Konnātavāḍi-*vishaya* in the Yenamaḍala inscription of Ganapāmbā. It is also sometimes referred to as 'Kṛishṇaverṇṇā-nadī-dakṣhiṇa-shaṭṣahasrāvāṇī', 'country of six thousand villages on the southern bank of the Kṛishṇā river'. The city which formed its heart and centre was adorned by the shrine of Amareśvara whose beauty was enhanced by the golden pinnacles with which it was endowed in medieval times. The names Dhānyāṅkapura and Amareśvara possibly survive in the present Dharaṇikoṭa and Amarāvati in the Sattanapalle *tāluk* between the Kṛishṇā river and Guntūr town.

Kudūra is identical with the Koudoura of Ptolemy. It is known to have been the headquarters of a district under the Bṛihatphalāyanas and the Śālaṅkāyanas, and possibly also under the Eastern Chālukyas, and is represented by the village Kūdūru which is four miles from Masulipatam and six miles from Ganthasāla, the Kontakossyla 'mart' of Ptolemy, close to the mouth of the Maisolos or the Kṛishṇā.¹ Not far from this mart lay the *apheterion*, the point of departure of ships bound for Khryse (*Suvarṇabhūmi*, Lower Burma and the Malay Islands).

Veṅgipura possibly represents the Benagouron of Ptolemy, the seat of the Salakenoi or Śālaṅkāyanas. It has been identified with Pedda-Vegi about seven miles north of Ellore, and ten miles north-west from Colair Lake. There are extensive ruins and mounds on the way from Pedda-Vegi to Deṇḍalūrū, five miles to the south-east.²

Interesting notices of other towns existing during the early centuries of the Christian era are found in the *Periplus* and in the *Outline of Geography* of Ptolemy. These may be divided into two groups, namely (a) those in the interior, and (b) those on the eastern and western coasts and near the mouths of the great rivers.

Among cities in the interior of the Deccan the *Periplus* regards two as of special importance, namely, Paethana (Paithāṇ on the Godāvarī), and Tagara (identified by Fleet with Ter or Thair in the Osmānābād District). 'There are brought down to Barygaza (at the mouth of the Narmadā) from these places by wagons and through great tracts without roads, from Paethana carnelian in great quantity, and from Tagara much common cloth, all kinds of muslins and mallow cloth, and other merchandise brought there locally from the regions along the sea coast.'³

The city of Tagara finds prominent mention in Śilāhāra epigraphs as an ancestral capital.

Ptolemy knows these cities, as well as Nāsika, Banavasi, and Pityndra, and mentions in addition Hippokoura, the royal seat of Baleokouros, Modogoulla,

¹ Dubreuil, *Ancient History of the Deccan*, pp. 84-7.

² *Indian Antiquary*, xx, 93.

³ Ter, it is said by some, has no tradition for cloth industry at any time, while several places in the Aurangābād District possess such tradition. Could Devagiri be corrupted into Tagara by European writers? The scarp and the spiral passage of the fort there show much antiquity.

Bardamana, and Koroukula. Hippokoura has been identified by some with Hippargi in the Bijāpur District and by others with Kolhāpur. It may really be a form by metathesis of Koppāraka which gave its name to a *bhukti* in the days of Dantidurga (A.D. 754). This could not have lain very far from Peth in the southern part of the Sātāra District and the river Warnā which separates the Sātāra District from the Kolhāpur State.¹ Modogoulla has been identified by some with Mudgal in the Raichūr *Doāb* and by others with Mudhol on the banks of the Ghātprabhā. Bardamana is very probably the Vardhamānapura of the Hanamkoṇḍa inscription of A.D. 1163, represented either by Vardhanpet, twenty miles south-west of Anmakōṇḍa, or by Wadamarri fifty miles from the same city. Koroukula has been identified with the famous city of Waraṅgal in the vicinity of Hanamkoṇḍa which was the metropolis of the Kākatiya kings and of Teliṅgāna before the rise of Golconda and Hyderabad (Bhāga-nagara).

The market-towns on the coast mentioned by the classical writers include two groups, namely, those on the east coast and the emporia on the west. The eastern cities lay close to the mouths of the Kṛishṇā and the Godāvarī, the Lāṅgulinī, and the Vamaśadharā. The most important amongst them is apparently mentioned as the point of departure for ships bound for Khryse. Pliny mentions Cape Calington and the town of Dandagula which were probably situated close to Chicacole at the mouth of the river Lāṅgulinī or Lāṅguliya in the northern part of the Vizagapatam District. Twelve hundred years after Pliny, Marco Polo, the famous Venetian traveller, found to the south-west of the mouth of the Kṛishṇā a famous port which he calls Mutfili, represented by the modern Motupalli. 'It belongs to a queen (Rudramma or Rudrāmbā), a woman of great wisdom. . . . She has ruled her kingdom most justly and equitably . . . in this kingdom there are many mountains in which diamonds are found.' The story of these diamonds reads like some of the tales of the Arabian Nights. Rudramma was evidently carrying on the traditions of her father Ganapatideva, whose Matupalli edict (*abhaya śāsana*), dated A.D. 1244-5, assured safety to foreign traders by sea whose ships might be wrecked on the Andhra coast. Moṭupalli or Moṭṭupalli was also known as Deśyūyakkoṇḍa-paṭṭana.² It lies in the Bāpaṭla *tāluk* of the Guntūr District.

On the west coast of the Deccan classical writers mention in order after Barygaza or Broach near the mouth of the Narmadā the following 'market-towns':

Suppara—ancient Śūrpāraka and modern Sopāra whose identity and importance have been discussed above.

Calliena—Kalyāṇa in the Ṭhāna District. A Kaṇheri (Skt. *Kṛishṇagiri*, identified by some scholars with Ptolemy's Kalligeris) cave inscription places it in the ancient land of Aparānta. Ṭhāna, ancient Sthānaka, is mentioned as a centre of trade in a record of A.D. 1095. Alberunī (A.D. 1030) mentions both Sūbāra and Tāna, that is, Śūrpāraka and Sthānaka, and refers to the latter as the capital of Kunkan (Koṅkaṇ).

¹ *Ind. Ant.*, xi, 108, with Fleet, *Kanarese Districts*, 390.

² *Ep. Ind.*, xii, 189.

Dounga—mentioned by Ptolemy between Souppara and Simylla—it has been identified with Dugaḍ ten miles north of Bhiwandi. But the identification is not beyond doubt.

Simylla or Semylla—Saimur of Mas'ūdī, Chemūlya of Khārepāṭan inscriptions, modern Chaul on the coast, about thirty miles south of Bombay.

Mandagora—has been identified with Mandagaḍ in Dāpoli *tāluk*, Ratnāgiri District, to the south of the Bānkot creek at the mouth of the Sāvitrī river.

Hippokoura—this seaport should be distinguished from the inland city of that name. Ptolemy mentions it after the mart and cape of Simylla, and before Baltipatna. It has been identified by some with Ghoḍegāon and by others with Kuḍā in the Kolāba District. The solution of the problem must await fresh discoveries.

Palaepatnae, Baltipatna—is identified by some scholars with Baleyavattana or Beliapatam in the Malabar District a few miles to the north-west of Cannanore. But this would place the port much too far south to make the suggestion acceptable. The actual position must have been between Chaul (between Alibāg and Kolāba) and Byzantium, apparently in North Kanara. There can hardly be any doubt that the classical writers really mean Valipattana in the '*samudratīra-Sahy-ānta-deśa*', mentioned along with Chemūlya and other places in the Khārepāṭan plates of Raṭṭrāja (A.D. 1008). The exact identity of the port, which is styled a '*mahādurgga*' in the epigraph, is uncertain, but it must have lain in the territory of the Śilāhāras of southern Koṅkaṇ, which according to Fleet very probably comprised the Koṅkaṇa nine hundred, i.e. the present territory of Goa and the Iridige country, including the Sāwāntvāḍi State and the Ratnāgiri District.

Melizegara—The suggested identifications with Janjira, with Jaigaṛh, or with Rājapur can only be regarded as problematical. Of these three places Jaigaṛh seems to have the best claim.

Byzantium—The *Bombay Gazetteer* identifies it with Chiplūṇ, and Schoff with Vizadrog (Vijayadurga), a famous harbour on the western coast—the Gheria of the Marāṭhā period.

Togarum—identified with the modern Devagaṛh. But the validity of the suggestion depends upon convincing proof which is not yet forthcoming. The same remark applies to the identification of the next market-town, Aurannoboas, with Mālvan.

Next follow a number of islands styled Sesecrienae (identified with the Veṅgurla Rocks), Aegidii (identified with Goa or with Anjidiv lying farther to the south), and the Caenitae (identified with the Oyster Rocks). Next comes Chersonesus, 'Peninsula', which is taken to stand for the Kārwar Point in North Kanara, and then the White Island, equated by Schoff with the modern Pigeon Island off the North Kanara coast. Others prefer to place it near Badāgara to the south-east of Mahe. Aiyangar remarks that the Leuke or White Island of the geographers is the same as the vernacular Velliyan Kallu or Tuvakkal, which he apparently identifies with Pigeon Island.

¹ It is tempting to suggest its identification with the Añjanwel port and fort in the Ratnāgiri District. It stands between Bānkot creek (on which probably lay Mandagora) and Jaigaṛh (identified with Melizigara, which is the next port, after Palaepatnae, mentioned in the *Periplus*. Yule and Schoff prefer Dābhol (Daibal) in Dāpoli *tāluk*, Ratnāgiri.

Some Royal Seats of the Post-Sātavāhana Period

Having attempted a survey of the inland cities and market-towns known to foreign writers of the early centuries of the Christian era and, in one case, to Marco Polo, we now proceed to give an account of some of the more important cities that served as capitals of the dynasties that flourished after the Sātavāhanas, including their environs. In the eastern Deccan Vijayapurī or Vijayapura, mentioned in inscriptions discovered at Nāgārjunākōṇḍa and Amarāvati, seems to have occupied an important position under the Ikshvākus. Vijaya-kandarapura seems to have been the chief city of the kings of the Ānandagotra, Veṅgīpura that of the Śālaṅkāyanas, and Īendulūra of some of the Vishṇukundin kings. The last-mentioned city has been identified with Deṇḍulūrū near Ellore, only five miles to the south-east of Pedda-vegi, the modern representative of Veṅgīpura. From the fourth century A.D. another city, Piṣṭapura or Piṭhāpuram in the East Godāvarī District, occupied an important position. It had to face the onslaught of conquerors from the Ganges valley and the western Deccan in the fourth and seventh centuries A.D. In the seventh century it became the seat of a Chālukya principality. The seat of government was removed, in the eleventh century, to Rājahendrapattana or Jananāthapura, modern Rājmundry. Another important city, Vijayavāḍa, Vijayavāṭa, Vijayavāṭikā, modern Bezwāḍa, seems to have risen to great importance from the ninth century A.D. onwards. Its antiquity would be carried much farther back if future discoveries should prove its identity with the Vijayapura of an early Amarāvati inscription.

Coming to the western Deccan we find reference in Kadamba records not only to Vaijayantī, which has already been frequently mentioned above, but also to Palāśikā or Halsi in the Belgaum District, Triparvata (identified with Devagiri or with Trigiri or Tegur in the Dhārwar District, and by some with Murgoḍ in the Belgaum District), and Uchchhaśringī (either in the Chitaldroog or in the Bellāry District). Kadambas of a later age had for their chief cities Pānumgal or Hāṅgal in the Dhārwar District and Gopakapattana, Gopakapurī, or Gove, modern Goa. A city named Purī appears as the 'queen of the Western ocean' and the chief city of northern Koṅkaṇ from the time of the early Chālukyas to that of the Śilāhāras (seventh to the eleventh or twelfth century A.D.). Its exact identity is uncertain. It is, however, important to remember that Alberunī (A.D. 1030) referred to 'Tāna' as the capital of the province of 'Kunkan'. It is perhaps not unreasonable to surmise that we have to look for Purī, the capital of the 'fourteen hundred' province of Koṅkaṇ, at or near modern Ṭhāṇa in the island of Salsette.

None of the cities named above had the honour of being the capitals of the great empires that stretched, after the passing away of the Sātavāhanas, over nearly the whole of the Deccan plateau and considerable portions of the coastal strips beyond the Ghāṭs. The first of these cities which claims that

distinction is Vātāpi. Vātāpi is represented by the modern Bādāmi, sixty-five miles south of Bijāpur. The famous metropolis lay picturesquely at the mouth of a ravine between two rocky hills on its north and south. About three miles from the city flowed the Malaprabhā ('mud-shining'), Malāpahārī ('mud-robbing') or Malaprahārīnī ('mud-shooting'), which falls into the Kṛishṇā at Kapila-saṅgama. Among the hills to the east is Mahākūṭa. Eight miles to the north-east and on the river Malaprabhā stands Paṭṭadakal, also known as Paṭṭada-Kisuvola and Dakṣhiṇa-Vārāṇasī, the centre of the district known as the Kisukāḍ seventy. Paṭṭadakal has the sense of 'the anointing or coronation stone'. Kisuvola means 'ruby' city or city 'having the colour of copper'.

Eight miles farther down the river Malaprabhā stood Ayyāvoḷe, 'priests' holy village', Āryapura in Sanskrit, also styled Ahichchhatra, modern Aihole in the Hungund *tāluk* of the Bijāpur District. A place in the neighbourhood is Arasībīḍi, 'Queen's Route', or Vikramapura, one of the minor capitals of the great Vikramādityā VI, only eight miles south-south-east from Aihole. Popular traditions about Vātāpi and Aihole (Ayyāvoḷe) probably find an echo in the story of Vātāpi and Ilvala, two demon-brothers of the Daṇḍaka forest, who played tricks upon several sages, and were finally reputed to have been destroyed by the sage Agastya.

The Rāshtrakūṭa dynasty that succeeded the Chālukyas of Vātāpi had its ancestral seat probably at Lattalūr or Latūr in the Osmānābād¹ District, twenty-eight miles east by north from Ter, ancient Tagara. But the capital from the time of Amoghavarsha I was at Manyakheta, the Mankir of al-Mas'ūdī, now represented by Mālkheḍ in the Seram *tāluk* of the Gulbarga District, about ninety miles in a south-easterly direction from Sholāpur, and about eighty-five miles west by south from Hyderabad. The identification was first suggested by Wathen and Wilson, and afterwards confirmed by Bühler and Fleet. The distance from the west coast as the crow flies is about 350 miles. The city contains an old fort on the river Kāginī or Kāgnā also called the Tāndūr river, a tributary of the Bhīmā.

The city was either founded by Amoghavarsha I, or else developed and completed by him as the capital. It survived the fall of the Rāshtrakūṭa dynasty, and was occasionally graced by the presence of the sovereign even in the post-Rāshtrakūṭa period. A Mysore inscription of A.D. 902 marks it as the headquarters of the 'Mānyakheda six thousand' province.² The various forms of its name are Mānyakheta, Mānyakheda, Mannakheda, Mannekheda, Mankir, and Malquer.

Forty-eight miles north-eastwards from Mālkheḍ stands Kalyāṇi (ancient Kalyāṇa, to be carefully distinguished from the city of the same name in Ṭhāṇa), which supplanted Mānyakheta as the metropolis of the Deccan empire in the eleventh century A.D. Bilhaṇa tells us in his *Vikramāṅkadeva-charita*

¹ Osmānābād town is close to the site of the old city, Dhārāsīmha, thirty miles north by west of Naldurg.

² JRAS, 1912, 709; Ep. Ind., xiii, 179.

that the city was either founded or adapted as his capital by Someśvara I, father of his hero Vikramāditya VI. The place, however, finds mention as the capital in a record of A.D. 1033-4, which falls within the reign of Jayasimha II, father of Someśvara. It was until recently a *jāgīr* town in the Gulbarga District. Like Mālkheḍ it has a fortress which was invested by the emperor Aurangzeb in A.D. 1656. Bidar, the town which gives its name to the district of which Kalyāṇa is now a part, seems to be referred to in the Telugu poem *Pārijātāpaharaṇam* as Beḍandakoṭa.

Besides the chief imperial cities the sovereigns of the Deccan had a number of minor seats of power or temporary places of residence. The word for the capital city was *rājadhānī*. We also frequently come across the term *nelevidu* which literally means a 'fixed camp', and is sometimes rendered by the Sanskrit *sthira-sivira*. But, as Fleet points out, it is also coupled with the word *rājadhānī*, which means a permanent capital rather than a temporary residence. A record of A.D. 1053 speaks of Kalyāṇa as the *nelevidu* of Someśvara I. The exigencies of war, or the needs of efficient administration, sometimes required the presence of the sovereign in other cities. The evidence of Yuan Chwang suggests that in the early Chālukya period the king had a residence at Nāsik. Vijayāditya had a camp at Rāsenā-nagara, identified with modern Rāsin in the Ahmadnagar District. It was probably the headquarters of a district or *tāluk* in the Rāshtrakūṭa age. Vikramāditya II resided for a time at Raktapura, modern Lakshmeshwar in the Miraj State, Dhārwar. Kirtivarman II once pitched his camp at Bhaṇḍaragaviṭṭage on the north bank of the Bhīmā. Govinda III resided at one time outside Pratishṭhāna. He is also known to have encamped at the Rāmeśvara-tīrtha on the Tuṅgabhadrā, at Mayūrakhaṇḍī, possibly Morkhiṇḍ in the district of Nāsik, or Morkhaṇḍ in the Sātmāla Range, and at Śrībhavana, identified by some with modern Sarbhon in Broach District. The *paṭṭabandhotsava* or coronation-festival of Indra III was performed at Kurundaka which has been identified with Kaḍodā on the Taptī, or Kurundwād in Kolhāpur State. The Chālukya emperor Iṅgiva-beḍaṅga Satyāśraya 'reigned over the whole earth at Tāvareyaghaṭṭa or the mountain pass of Tāvare¹ or Tovare' in A.D. 1007-8. Jayasimha II had minor capitals at Baḷagāmve or Baḷagāmi, also called Balipura or Dakṣhiṇa-Kedāra, in the Shikārpur *tāluk* of the Shimoga District, at Poṭṭalakere in the Bellāry District, and at Koḷlipāke, modern Kulpak, about forty-five miles north-east of Hyderabad.² His grandson, the great Vikramāditya VI, had residences at Naḍaviyuppayaṇa-viḍu, in the direction of Waḍāgeri, near the frontier between Bijāpur and the Hyderabad State; Etāgiri, also in the Hyderabad State, thirty miles south of Mālkheḍ; Vijayapura, modern Bijāpur; Manneyakeṇḇe (Mālkheḍ?); and Vikramapura or Arasibīḍi in the Bijāpur District. Someśvara IV for a time established himself at Anṇigere in the Dhārwar District.

¹ There is a place called Tāvarekere in Hospet *tāluk*, Bangalore.

² Kulpak is 4 miles to the north-east of Aler, a railway station on the N.S. Railway. For the antiquities of Kulpak see *Journal of Hyd. Arch. Soc.*, 1916, pp. 14-36.

The empire of Kalyāṇa fell to pieces towards the close of the twelfth century A.D. Of the kingdoms that rose on its ruins the most powerful had their capitals at Dorasamudra, Devagiri, and Hanamkoṇḍa-Waraṅgal. Of these Dorasamudra, modern Halebīd, in Mysore, lay far to the south of the Kṛishṇā-Tuṅgabhadra frontier of our Deccan. Devagiri was founded by Bhillama, the famous Yādava king, in A.D. 1187. It was situated in *Seuṇa-deśa* 'on the beautiful confines of Daṇḍakāraṇya' (*maṇḍita Daṇḍakāparisara*), and is represented by the modern Daulatābād, a famous hill-fort in the Aurangābād District of the Hyderabad State. The fortress rises on a conical rock, scarped from a height of 150 ft. from the base. Among famous buildings, besides the fortifications, are Mubārak Khālji's Mosque, the Chānd Mīnār, and the Chīnī Maḥall. The ancient city of Devagiri was formerly enclosed by an outer wall.

Before the foundation of Devagiri the Yādava or 'Seuṇa' kings had seats at Chandrādityapura, possibly modern Chāndor in the Nāsik District, Seuṇapura, and Sindinera, the modern Sinnar, in the same district.

Hanamkoṇḍa or Anmakonḍa is a short distance to the north of Waraṅgal, and may be regarded as one of its suburbs. It was the capital of the Kākatīya kings before the removal of the seat of government to Waraṅgal about the end of the reign of Ganapati. The district around it was known as Sabbi-sāyira, 'the Sabbi one thousand' which formed part of the empire of Kalyāṇi. The territory seems also to have been known as Anmakonḍa-*vishaya*. In the neighbourhood of the city tradition located the Hiḍimbāśrama or Hiḍimbālaya. The Sanskrit name of the capital is said to have been Hanumadachala or the Hill of Hanumat (Hanumān), the famous follower of the hero of the *Rāmāyana*. The most conspicuous feature of Anmakonḍa is the 'thousand-pillared' temple built by king Rudra in or about A.D. 1163.

Waraṅgal, which replaced Anmakonḍa as the metropolis towards the close of the reign of Ganapati (c. 1199-1260), is a corrupt way of writing Orukkal, which means 'one rock'. It is translated in Sanskrit texts by Ekaśaila, and is the original from which the name 'Ekaśilānagara' is derived. The Telugu form of the name is Orumgallu. It is identified by some scholars with the Koroukula of Ptolemy. The city occupied a subordinate position in the time of Ganapati's predecessors, but is said to have been embellished by Rudra I. It was provided with a stone wall by Rudra's nephew and successor Ganapati, who removed the seat of government to it toward the close of his reign. The fortifications were completed by his daughter and successor Rudrāmbādevī. The city had to face successive onslaughts in the fourteenth century A.D. Muḥammad bin Tughluq took it in 1323, and renamed it Sultānpur. The total eclipse of the city in the Bahmanid period was followed by the rising glory of Golconda and Hyderabad, the famous seats of the Quṭb Shāhī kings and the House of Aṣaf Jāh.

PART II

PRESĀTAVĀHANAS AND SĀTAVĀHANAS

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- I. Pre-Sātavāhana Period.
- II. Identity and homelands of the Sātavāhanas.
- III. Name and Caste of the Sātavāhanas.
- IV. Early Sātavāhanas—Chronology.
- V. Later Sātavāhanas—Chronology.
- VI. The Sātakarni of the Gurnār Inscription.
- VII. Political History of the Sātavāhanas.
- VIII. Cultural Condition under the Sātavāhanas.

I

PRE-SĀTAVĀHANA PERIOD

THE early inhabitants of the Deccan had developed a distinct form of civilization long before they came into contact with the Āryans. At first the advent of the latter into the Deccan was perhaps peaceful. It was the work of the Vedic Rishis who in quest of peace and solitude ventured to enter the Daṇḍakāraṇya to establish hermitages on the banks of rivers in the thick of the forests. The local inhabitants, called 'Asuras and Rākshasas' by the Āryans, may have committed forays against their settlements, destroyed their sacrifices, and interrupted their penance. The memory of these episodes is preserved in the tradition regarding the advent of Agastya, or a namesake of his, into the south. It is told in the *Rāmāyaṇa* that Agastya met Rāma during his exile in the Daṇḍakāraṇya and narrated to him how he had reclaimed the forest regions; how the hermitages of Rishis had sprung up in the wake of his pioneering work; how the Rākshasas oppressed the Rishis; and how Rāma could help them by destroying the Rākshasas. The *Rāmāyaṇa*, when purged of all exaggerations, interpolations, and anachronisms, is evidence of the solid central fact that Rāma championed the cause of Āryan culture, that he fought against the Rākshasas, and that he gave an impetus to the spread of Āryan ideals and institutions in the Deccan. The different legends regarding the origin of the Andhras, Puṇḍras, Śabarās, Pulindas, and Mutibas, are not without significance. According to the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*, they were the descendants of the fifty sons of Viśvāmitra condemned by his curse to live on the borders of the Āryan settlements. The *Mahābhārata* regards them as created by Vasiṣṭha from his divine cow to be enemies and opponents of Viśvāmitra. *Sāṅkhāyana Śrauta-Sūtra* treats the Śabarās as degenerate people. Shorn of all myth, what lies behind the legends is probably the separation of a section of the Āryan community from the main stock and their fusion with the non-Āryans—the 'Dasyus'.¹ Such a cleavage in Āryan society was not without precedent. In earlier ages the Iranians had followed a similar path of schism and had become the progenitors of the Persians. The Andhras, Śabarās, and Pulindas are known from the *Mahābhārata* and the *Purāṇas* to have been tribes of the Deccan. Typical among the Āryan tribes which for the first time conquered portions of the Deccan were the Ikṣvākus in Dakṣiṇa Kosala, the Bhojas (Yādavas) in Vidarbha, and the Haihayas in Mahiṣmati. Vidarbha (or Western Berar) is mentioned in the *Jaiminiya Upaniṣad Brāhmaṇa*, and a Bhīma, prince of Vidarbha, in the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*. From these

¹ Dasyus, Rākshasas, Asuras, Vānaras, Nāgas, &c., were the names given by the Āryans to the Muṇḍas, Dravidians, and other early inhabitants of India.

references it may be inferred that the Āryans had during the Brāhmaṇa period pushed their conquests into the Deccan as far as Berar.¹ Pāṇini, who flourished about the seventh century B.C., makes mention of Aśmaka which was in the interior of the Deccan watered by the Godāvarī, that is, the south-east portion of the Hyderabad State. Kātyāyana's explanations of the terms Pāṇḍya, Chola, and Keraḷa show that the Āryans had made contact with these peoples of Southern India during the period subsequent to Pāṇini. Tradition refers Kātyāyana to the time of the Nandas.

The caste system accompanied the spread of Brāhminism from its stronghold in the Gangetic Doab into the Deccan and South India. Those who were opposed to the Āryan system retreated to mountain caves and forests, where they have kept up their primitive customs, habits, and languages to the present day.

There is hardly any definite information regarding the early history of the Āryan states which arose in the Deccan; but there is sufficient evidence to show that two forces hastened the pace of the Āryanization of the lands south of the Vindhya: the imperialism of the Nandas and the Mauryas, and the missionary activities of the followers of the protestant creeds of Jainism and Buddhism.

The concept of imperialism in India, which had its origin in the age of the Brāhmanas, aimed at political integration of the country under the *adhirāt* or *ekarāt* (sole monarch). The custom of celebrating its achievements by elaborate rituals of *vājapeya*, *rājasūya*, and *aśvamedha* sacrifices had also come into vogue in this age. At first this imperialism was confined to Northern India, but later it came to embrace as much of the Deccan and South India as possible. This was achieved by the Nandas and the Mauryas who held their court at Pāṭaliputra, the modern Patna, in the province of Bihar. The *Purāṇas* say that Ugrasena-Mahāpadma of the Nanda dynasty up-rooted all the Kshatriyas, brought the whole earth under one royal umbrella and established himself as *ekarāt*.² An inscription of the early thirteenth century A.D. shows that first the Nandas and then the Mauryas ruled over Kuntala which included the Western Deccan and Northern Mysore.³ Another inscription of the eleventh century A.D. found in the Hyderabad State indirectly hints about the prevalence of the Nanda era in South India, which would not have been possible if Nanda rule had not been established over the Deccan.⁴ That there was a Nanda era is made certain by the Hāthigumphā inscription of Khārvela.⁵ A passage in this inscription also states that King Nanda carried away to Magadha as a trophy the statue of the first Jina. In view of the certainty of Nanda's conquest of Kalinga, the subjugation of the territories lying farther

¹ Prof. Martin Haug assigned the composition of the bulk of the Brāhmanas to the years 1400–1200 B.C.; Sir R. G. Bhandarker was for placing them in 1200–900 B.C. (See his *Report on Sans. MSS.*, 1885.)

² *c.* 375–350 B.C.

³ *EC*, vii, pt. 1, no. 225; *Bomb. Gaz.*, i, pt. ii, p. 284.

⁴ *IA*, viii, 187; *Bomb. Gaz.*, i, pt. ii, p. 447.

⁵ *EI*, xx, 79–80.

south does not seem to be altogether improbable. The existence on the Godāvārī of a city called 'Nau Nanda Dehrā' (Nander) also suggests that the Nanda empire included a large portion of the Deccan.¹ From a commercial point of view also the south began to grow in importance at this time. Kauṭilya wished to maintain communications with the Dakṣiṇāpatha 'for the sake of its diamond and gold mines, pearl and chank fisheries, and numerous opulent marts'.²

But Ugrasena Mahāpadma Nanda and his sons were unpopular because of their low origin and their oppressive government. Discontent gathered strength, and the outlying parts of the empire appear to have declared their independence. Finally the Nanda dynasty itself was overthrown by Chandragupta Maurya aided by Kauṭilya about 322 B.C. Traditional accounts of this sanguinary conflict are preserved in the *Purāṇas*, the *Mudrārākṣasa*, the *Mahāvamsa-Ṭikā*, and the *Jaina Parīṣiṣṭaparva*. According to Plutarch, Chandragupta overran and subdued the whole of India with an army of 600,000 men.³ The Junagadh Rock inscription of Rudradāman, which records the construction of the famous Sudarśana lake by an officer of Chandragupta, shows that the first Mauryan emperor pushed his conquests as far as Surāshṭra (Kathiāwar).⁴ Jaina references in literature and epigraphs associating his name with Śravana Belgola in Mysore may be accepted as proof of his acquisition of this part of the peninsula as well.⁵ At the same time a large portion of the Cis-Vindhyan lands appears to have remained unsubdued. For according to Megasthenes the king of the Kālīṅgas had in his service 60,000 foot-soldiers, 1,000 horse-men, and 700 elephants in 'panoply of war', while the Andhras possessed numerous villages, 30 fortified towns, and an army of 100,000 infantry, 2,000 cavalry, and 1,000 elephants.⁶ Kālīṅga was conquered by Aśoka after a terrible war in which 'one hundred and fifty thousand were slain and many times that number died'.⁷ No other conquest is attributed to this great sovereign. Some parts of the Deccan may have been taken by force of arms during the reign of his father, Bindusāra (297-272 B.C.), who was known to the Greeks as Amitrochates which, in its proper Sanskrit form, *Amitraghāta*, means 'slayer of the foe'. According to Tāranāth, the kings of sixteen towns were destroyed by Bindusāra, and 'he made himself master of all the territory between the eastern and western seas'.⁸ Tamil literature contains vague allusions to Mauryan invasions of South India which occurred most likely in the time of this monarch.⁹ Rapson seems to think that the Deccan lay beyond Aśoka's dominions, and that the people of the plateau were not his subjects, though regarded as coming within his sphere of influence.¹⁰ But according to

¹ Macauliff's *Sikh Religion*, v, 236.

² *Arth.*, vii, 12.

³ Plutarch's *Alexander*, lxii.

⁴ *El*, viii, 46-7.

⁵ Lewis Rice, *Śravana Belgola, Mysore and Coorg*.

⁶ M'Crindle, *Ancient India* (Megasthenes and Arrian), pp. 137-41.

⁷ *RE*, xiii.

⁸ Jayaswal, 'The Empire of Bindusāra' in the *JBORS*, ii, 82.

⁹ Dr. S. K. Aiyangar, *Beginnings of South Indian History*, pp. 81-103; Mr. S. S. Desikar in the *IHQ*, iv, 135 ff.

¹⁰ *CHI*, i, 514, 515.

some scholars this surmise is untenable in view of the fact that Aśoka's *Dhamamahāmātras* were employed amongst them to revise and modify judicial sentences in deserving cases.¹ In the Raichur Doab his Minor Rock Edicts have been found at Maskī and Kopbal, at the latter place, on the Gavimath and Palkigunda hills. His Rock Edicts I to XIII were brought to light at Yerragudi in Kurnool District.² A considerable portion of the Deccan was indeed ruled by the vice-regal princes of Suvarṇagiri and Tosali, the *Mahāmātras* of Isila and Samapa, and the officers in charge of the Āṭavi or forest country.³ The southern frontier of Aśoka's empire did not extend much beyond the locality of the southernmost group of his inscriptions discovered at Siddāpur, Jatiṅga-Rāmeśwara, and Brahmagiri in the Chitaldrug district of Mysore. Roughly speaking, it touched the line which may be drawn along the north latitude 14°. Beyond this line to the south lay the independent states of the Cholas, Pāṇdyas, Keraḷaputras, and Sātiyaputras.⁴

The Nanda and Maurya imperialism must have exerted enormous influence on the lives of the people of the Deccan. It may have given them a uniform system of administration based upon Āryan polity which served as a model for the future indigenous governments in the south. More than this, the ideas of the Cis-Vindhyān peoples were gradually moulded in the cast of Vedic, Jaina, and Buddhist creeds. A strong Jaina colony was established at Śrāvana Belgola in Mysore about the end of Chandragupta Maurya's reign. In due course of time the Jaina influence in the Deccan manifested itself in their early religious and secular works which are composed in what is known as Jaina Mahārāshṭrī, a vernacular closely allied to early Marāṭhī. After his conversion to Buddhism Aśoka sent missions to various places in and outside India. In order to implement his scheme of evangelism, Mahādeva worked in Mahiṣamaṇḍala and Mahādharmaṛakṣita in Mahārāshṭra.⁵ The former established his school of Buddhism known as Chetyavāda at Amarāvati.⁶ The Deccan also served as a cauldron in which Āryan and non-Āryan languages were fused to create a Prākṛit dialect which obtained wide currency even in those parts where Dravidian languages are spoken to-day. The direct manner in which Aśoka addressed the peoples of the south indicates widespread literacy among them. The failure of Aśoka's successors to maintain their hold on the Deccan for any considerable length of time not only checked this progress of Āryanization but even caused the loss of some vantage-ground which had been won under their great predecessors.

¹ RE, v.

² Dines Chandra Sirkar, *Select Inscriptions*, i, 52.

³ Suvarṇagiri = Kanakagiri in the Hyderabad State. Isila = Siddāpur.

⁴ RE, ii and xiii.

⁵ Geiger, *Translation of Mahāvamsa*, p. 82.

⁶ After the second Buddhist council at Vaisālī in 386 B.C., the church divided itself into two schools: the Sthavīras and the Mahāsāṅghikas. A section of the latter appears to have attached great importance to the worship of the *stūpa* or *chaitya* and got the name of Chaityakas. See N. Datta, 'Notes on Nāgārjunakonda Inscriptions' in *Ind. Hist. Quart.* vii, 468 ff.; B. Bhattacharya, *Buddhist Iconography*, p. x.

The vast empire of Aśoka disintegrated soon after his death. He himself had initiated the process, though unconsciously, by outlawing war in remorse for the horrors involved in the conquest of Kāliṅga. He called upon his sons and grandsons to avoid fresh conquests, and to take pleasure in patience and gentleness.¹ Such a policy of pacifism must have seriously impaired the military efficiency of the empire. At any rate it proved inadequate to maintain cohesion in the time of his successors when disruptive forces were let loose by the insubordination of vassal states, the disloyalty of ambitious ministers, and the aggression of foreign foes.

It is unnecessary here to wade through the uncertain genealogy, chronology, and history of the later Mauryan kings who reigned during the interval between the death of Aśoka and the final overthrow of his dynasty.² The *coup-de-grâce* to the Mauryan empire was given at a military review by Pushyamitra Śuṅga, the Commander-in-Chief, who there slew his master Bṛihadhratha. It was merely the last scene of the drama which closed the Mauryan epoch and installed the Śuṅgas on the throne of Pāṭaliputra. According to the *Purāṇas* this revolution took place 137 years after the accession of Chandragupta, i.e. c. 185 B.C. Pushyamitra acquired by his bloody deed only an apology for an empire. His efforts to extend the kingdom over wider regions are described in the drama *Mālavikāgnimitra* by Kālidāsa. Therein is also related the story of the bitter struggle between Pushyamitra and the ruler of Vidarbha from which the former emerged victorious. But the very existence of the struggle itself clearly signifies that Magadha was no longer the overlord of the Deccan, which appears to have seceded from the empire soon after the demise of Aśoka. Both the Sātavāhana or the Andhra kingdom of Dakṣiṇāpatha and the Cheta or Cheti kingdom of Kāliṅga figure prominently among the Cis-Vindhyan lands at this time.

¹ RE, XIII.

² CHI, I, 511-13.

II

IDENTITY AND HOMELANDS OF THE SĀTAVĀHANAS

THERE is a great deal of controversy about the origin of the Sātavāhanas, and the date of their emergence into power. Inscriptions found in the caves of Nānāghāṭ and Nāsik in the Western Deccan mention the names of several kings of 'Sātavāhan-*kula*'. These names as well as their order of succession are mostly in agreement with those of the Paurāṇic genealogies of the kings of 'Andhra-*jāti*'. Some *Purāṇas* style them as Andhrabhṛtyas. Hence on the basis of certain names common to various kings mentioned in the two sources some scholars identified the Sātavāhanas of the epigraphical records with the Andhras of the *Purāṇas*; others strongly objected to this identification because in no inscription or coin are the Sātavāhanas called Andhras and similarly in no *Purāṇa* are the Andhras mentioned as Sātavāhanas.¹

According to Sir R. G. Bhandarkar,² the earliest writer on the subject, 'the Āndhrabhṛitya dynasty of the *Purāṇas* is the same as the Sātavāhana dynasty of the inscriptions'. He explained the term 'Āndhrabhṛitya' as meaning Andhras *who were once servants* or dependants. They came to power under the leadership of Simuka who uprooted the Śuṅgas and the Kaṇvas in 73 B.C. In his opinion Dhānyakāṭaka (near modern Dharanikoṭa in the Guntur District) was their eastern capital. Dr. J. Burgess wrote in 1887 that 'the Sātavāhanas or Āndhras held sway for about four centuries from the second century B.C. till the end of the second or the beginning of the third century A.D. . . . their conquests extended far to the north and to the western coast. . . . Their first capital is said to have been on the Krishṇā at Śrī-kākulum about 19 miles west of Masulipatam, and founded according to legend by Sumati, a great emperor; by whom is probably meant Simuka the first of the dynasty. It was afterwards transferred to Dhānyakāṭaka or Dharanikoṭa, and thence to other places.'³ According to Dr. V. A. Smith,⁴ the Andhra community in the days of Megasthenes occupied the delta of the Godāvarī and Krishṇā rivers and possessed a military force second only to that of the Mauryas; the capital of the state 'is believed to have been then Śrī-kākulam', on the lower course of the Krishṇā; in the days of Aśoka, their *rājā* appears to have been in some measure subordinate to him; and soon after the close of the reign of that great emperor or possibly even before its close, they asserted their independence about 240 or 230 B.C. under a king named

¹ For inscriptions see *ASWI*, v; *LI*, viii; for coins see *CIC*; and for *Purāṇas* see *DKA*.

² *EHD*, p. 41. ³ *BSAJ*, pp. 3-4. ⁴ *EHI*, pp. 217-19; *Oxford History of India*, p. 119.

Simuka, and within a short period their authority spread as far west as Nāsik. Smith also says that 'the Āndhra kings all claimed to belong to the Sātavāhana family and many of them assumed the title or bore the name Sātakarṇi'. Prof. E. J. Rapson is of the same opinion as Dr. Smith;¹ he adds, however, that at the time of Pushyamitra Śuṅga's incursion into Vidarbha the Andhras had 'extended across the Deccan from the eastern coast'. Dr. L. D. Barnett states that their earliest capital was Śrī-kākulam,² then Dhānyakataka, and finally in the first century A.D. it was at Pratiṣṭhāna in the centre of their western provinces.

Prof. P. T. Srinivasa Ayyangar,³ while accepting the Andhra-Sātavāhana identity, treated the theory of an eastern origin of the Sātavāhana power in the Andhradeśa as misconceived. He put forth arguments to show that the Andhras were a Vindhyan tribe, that their kings originally ruled over Western India, and spoke Prākṛit and not Telugu, and that the extension of their authority was from the west to the east down the Godāvarī-Krishṇā valley. When their power declined in the west, the name Andhramanḍalam travelled to their eastern districts and became established there.

Dr. V. S. Sukthankar questioned the very basis of the Andhra-Sātavāhana identity.⁴ His main arguments are: (i) nowhere in their records are the Sātavāhanas called Andhras; (ii) other contemporary or nearly contemporary records, as the Hāthi-Gumphā, Gīrnār, and Talagunda inscriptions, always refer to them as Sātavāhanas and never as Andhras; (iii) Khāravela says that he 'without entertaining any fear of Sātakarṇi, sent a large army to the west'. If this Sātakarṇi was in fact ruler of the Andhras, Khāravela's army should have been sent to the south; (iv) all their inscriptions and coins were discovered in Western India. They had undoubtedly overrun and conquered the Andhra country; but their earliest possessions were, as revealed by archaeological discoveries, in Western India. The terms 'Sātavāhanihāra' and 'Sātāhani-raṭṭha' occurring in the Myākadoni inscriptions and Hīrahaḍagalli plates were considered by Sukthankar as sufficient pointers to the solution of the problem. Myākadoni and Hīrahaḍagalli being in the modern Bellary District, he suggested that this region or round about it should be taken as the original habitat of the Sātavāhanas. He drew support for his theory from the fact that at one time it was a common practice in many districts to name the country after its early inhabitants. Sātavāhanihāra, he suggested, was so named. His whole theme is that the Sātavāhanas did not belong to the Andhra area, as the field of their early activity was confined to the west of India, and Paiṭhan was their capital. If the Paurāṇic statement, he said, be accepted literally as implying that the Sātavāhanas were Andhras, he had two suggestions to make: either that the Sātavāhanas 'separated themselves from the main stock of the Āndhras' of the Godāvarī and Krishṇā deltas even before the time of Simuka (the founder of the Sātavāhana dynasty) and settled in the

¹ *CHI*, 1, 519.

² *Ibid.*, p. 599.

³ *IA*, xlii, 276 ff.

⁴ *ABI*, 1, 21 ff.

west; or that the Andhras themselves at first occupied Sātavāhani-hāra and then migrated from that centre towards the west and towards the east. But in his view the Sātavāhanas 'may not have been Āndhras'. Their connexion with the Andhradeśa was, according to him, the result of a migration from the west to the east. He further argued that 'some of the *Purāṇas* call these kings Āndhras; others call them Āndhrabhṛtyas; and there are others still who call them by both names'. In his opinion the correct designation of this dynasty is really Andhrabhṛtya, a *tatpuruṣa*, meaning 'the feudatories of the Āndhras'. The feudatories of the Andhras need not necessarily be themselves Andhras.

Mr. K. P. Jayasval also denied the Andhra-Sātavāhana equation.¹ He regarded the Sātavāhanas as probably representatives of the Sātiyaputras of Aśoka's records, their oldest coins being struck in the name of Sāta. He thus indirectly supported the theory of the non-Andhra origin of the Sātavāhanas.

Prof. Raychaudhari appears to subscribe to the views of Dr. Sukthankar but adds: 'the name Āndhra probably came to be applied to the kings in later times when they lost their northern and western possessions and became a purely Āndhra power governing the territory at the mouths of the river Kṛishṇā.'²

Mr. V. S. Bakhle is inclined to identify the Sātavāhanas with the Satiyaputras.³ He enumerates more or less the same arguments as those advanced by Dr. Sukthankar and says: 'to assert that the Sātavāhanas came from the Āndhradeśa is going further than is warranted by evidence.' He, however, does not accept Dr. Sukthankar's identification of the original home of the Sātavāhanas with Sātavāhani-hāra in the Bellary District, which they 'made their home in later times'. He emphatically declares that the Sātavāhanas were not Andhras. Why the Sātavāhana kings of the epigraphical records are treated as Andhras by the *Purāṇas* is explained by this critic as follows: 'The *Purāṇas* were written only after the third century A.D., when the Sātavāhanas, driven out of Western India by the powerful forces of the Kshatrapas, had migrated to the Āndhradeśa. . . . That [fact] explains their mention of these kings as Āndhras.' Dr. K. Gopalachari, like the above two scholars, maintains that the centre of gravity of the early Sātavāhana power lay in the Western Deccan, that the early Sātavāhanas did not rule over the Andhradeśa, and that the first authentic Sātavāhana records begin to appear in the Andhradeśa only with the reign of Vāsiṣṭhīputra Śrī Puṣumāvi; but unlike them he asserts that they were Andhras by tribal connexion.⁴ He suggests that either they were the scions of the royal family in the Andhradeśa or Andhra fortune-hunters who accepted service in the Western Deccan under the Mauryan suzerains, thereby getting the Paurāṇic appellation Andhrabhṛtya, and that after Aśoka's death their descendants may have struck a blow in

¹ JBORS, iii, 442 note.

³ JBBRAS (new series), iii, 44 ff.

² PHAI, 3rd edition, p. 280.

⁴ EIAC, pp. 15-16, 26-7.

their own interests in the land of their adoption. But he himself finally characterizes this suggestion as a mere conjecture, in favour of which 'at present we have no evidence'.

Amidst this medley of conflicting theories and contradictory opinions one has to move warily to arrive at answers to two questions: (1) were the Sātavāhanas Andhras, or were they called Andhras by the Paurāṇic writers simply because they were found ruling in Andhra at the time of the compilation of their works, and (2) where did they begin their political career?

It is true that no inscription or coin calls the Sātavāhanas Andhras. But it should be clearly borne in mind that in those days the custom was merely to note the family name in inscriptions, as is demonstrated by the records of the Śālaṅkāyanas, Br̥hatphalāyanas, Viṣṇukuṇḍins, Pallavas, Gaṅgas, Kadambas, Chālukyas, Vākāṭakas, &c. None of these dynasties made any reference to their community, tribe, or race. The same is the case with regard to the records mentioning Nahapāṇa and Rudradāman. The former is called a Khakharāṭa (Kshaharāṭa) and the latter a Karddamaka. This custom had such a strong grip that the inscriptions of even the latest Sātavāhana princes discovered in the Andhra area do not call them Andhras although their rule was confined only to the Andhra districts. When the *Purāṇas* call them Andhras, it can be reasonably assumed that they gave only the community or tribal (*jāti*) names of kings who actually belonged to the family (*kula*) of the Sātavāhanas.

The term 'Andhrabhṛtya' does not militate against this assumption, when, as interpreted by Sir R. G. Bhandarkar, it means Andhras who were servants. Dr. Sukthankar's interpretation of the term creates unnecessary difficulties; if the Sātavāhanas were not Andhras but the servants of these, and if at the time of their rise the Andhras were 'powerful potentates in the Deccan,' it is inexplicable how no vestige of the power of the latter is to be found in the contemporary records—literary, epigraphic, and numismatic. Since the self-same kings are termed by the *Purāṇas* both 'Andhrabhṛtyah', and 'Andhra-Jāṭiyah', it must be that the terms were interchangeable. These kings were, then, Andhras by community, and at the same time acquired power as servants of some other sovereign. The Paurāṇic testimony should not be lightly dismissed. The mention of Śrī-yajña as the reigning prince found in three independent manuscripts of the *Matsya Purāṇa* moves the date of its compilation well into the second century A.D. Moreover the earliest *Purāṇa*, the *Bhaviṣya*, from which the *Matsya*, *Vāyu*, *Bhāgavata*, and *Viṣṇu* derived their account, stops with the fall of the Andhras and the rise of 'their servants'.¹ Thus so near were the compilers of the *Matsya* and the *Bhaviṣya* in point of time to the Sātavāhana kings that they could not have in their ignorance foisted the name Andhra on to the Sātavāhana princes simply because they found or knew them only as rulers of Andhra. The fact is that the *Paurāṇikas*

¹ *EIAC*, pp. 22-3.

were dealing with them in the larger context of their tribal or communal affinity. Thus it appears most likely that the Sātavāhanas belonged to the Andhra community.

Much has been made of the language of the inscriptions of the Sātavāhanas in order to deny their connexion with the Andhras. The form of Prākṛit they used is likened to 'some kind of Proto-Mahārāshṭrī, having no affinity with the Telugu, the language of the Āndhradeśa.'¹ It is implied in this statement that Prākṛit was the mother tongue of the Sātavāhanas, which is far from being true of the Andhras. But as has been ably pointed out by Mr. Somasekhara Sarma,² it is not true that the language of the inscriptions was necessarily the language of the country where these Sātavāhanas had their home, nor is it by any means certain that this was introduced into the Andhra country by the successors of Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi. For the much earlier Bhāṭṭiprolu, Ghantaśāla, and Amarāvati inscriptions in the Andhra area are inscribed in Prākṛit. Indeed Prākṛit was the language of the inscriptions not only of the Sātavāhanas but of all the other ruling families of India, with very few exceptions, from 300 B.C. to A.D. 300. It was the language of the court and of the cultured. It was the sacred medium of religious literature and orations. The teachings of Buddha and Mahāvīra were immensely popular during these times and the Pāli they employed for their purposes was only the earlier form of Prākṛit written and spoken in those days. As Sanskrit was to the Vedic age, so was Prākṛit to this epoch. Whatever had any touch of religion or culture about it came to be expressed in Prākṛit. The Sātavāhana and other records of the times registered gifts to Śrāmaṇas and institutions, Buddhist or Jaina. Hence the employment of Prākṛit in Sātavāhana records. The celebration of Vedic sacrifices by Śrī Sātakarṇi (II) does not affect this argument in the least. For some time later when Sanskrit was restored to its former eminence Nannaya Bhaṭṭa, the first and greatest Telugu poet, wrote his Telugu grammar in Sanskrit. Therefore, it cannot be said positively that the language of the Sātavāhanas was 'Proto-Mahārāshṭrī'. The Prākṛit of their inscriptions does not in any way militate against Sātavāhana-Andhra identity.

Assuming now that the Sātavāhanas were Andhras, the area of their early political activity can be ascertained only after correct location of the habitat of the Andhras in the earliest historical times. Whatever be the difference of opinion regarding Andhra-Sātavāhana affiliation, almost all scholars are agreed that the home of the Andhras then, as in later times, was the Telugu country, on the eastern side of India between the rivers Godāvārī and Krishṇā. As the Chōlas and Pāṇḍyas appear to have from time immemorial occupied approximately the same geographical positions in which they are found at the dawn of history, it is very likely that the Andhras did the same. Buddhist literature of an earlier period locates the Andhra country south of Telivāhana, a tributary of Mahānadi. The Andhras existed as a great power

¹ P. T. Srinivasa Iyengar, *IA*, xlii, 278.

² *Bharati*, Prabhava, Vaiśākh, pp. 96-9.

in the days of Chandragupta with considerable military force and 'thirty walled towns'. These walled towns may well have been held by a number of Andhra chieftains. In Aśoka's Rock Edict XIII these appear to have nominally accepted his suzerainty. They are classed together with other semi-independent peoples of the Deccan. Of them, since the Bhojas are located in the Western Deccan, the Andhras with their thirty walled towns must have been in the Central and Eastern Deccan. On the whole it would appear that, as suggested by Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar, the land of the Andhras must have at this early period consisted of certain parts of the Central Provinces together with the Vizagapatam District, and may have also included the Godāvārī and Krishṇā districts.¹ Thus there is no question of the Eastern Deccan having been called Andhra after its conquest by the Sātavāhanas. Andhradeśa existed where it is to-day even before the name of the Sātavāhanas came into prominence.²

Whether the Sātavāhanas started their political career in the Andhradeśa proper or outside it is another difficult problem. That they came to power from the Andhradeśa is held to be unwarranted mainly on four grounds: (1) their earliest records, epigraphic and numismatic, have been discovered at Nānāghāt and Nāsik in the Western Deccan; (2) in Khāravela's inscription the dominions of the contemporary Sātakarṇi are spoken of as being to the west of Khāravela's own kingdom of Kalinga; (3) Gotamī Balaśrī's inscription recounting the territorial possessions of her son, Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi, makes no mention of any locality in the Andhra area; and (4) the first available Sātavāhana records begin to appear in Andhradeśa only during the reign of his successor Vāśiṣṭhīputra Śrī Pulumāvi.

But these arguments are based upon inadequate appreciation of the available records. If the discovery of records is to be taken as the *only* criterion for determining territorial possessions of a power, then the early Sātavāhanas will lose their title even to the Central and Southern Deccan. It is true that their earliest records have been found in the Western Deccan; but they are only two in number for twenty predecessors of Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi. Apart from this the inference drawn from them is not quite independent. It is derived from the preconceived notion that the Sātavāhanas had nothing to do with Andhradeśa until the reign of Pulumāvi. It is forgotten that the earliest great Sātavāhana king Sātakarṇi (II), of the Nānāghāt record, who performed two *Aśvamedha*, one *Rājasūya*, and other sacrifices, bore the title *Dakṣiṇāpathapati*. The author of the *Periplus* distinguishes the market-towns of 'Dachinabades' from those of 'Limyrika', i.e. the Tamil lands. In this context *Dakṣiṇāpatha*, whether as mentioned in inscriptions or as noticed by the Greek writer, appears to cover the whole of the Deccan in contrast to the Tamil lands of the south. If it is conceded that the Sātavāhanas were Andhras, and that they were masters of the Deccan, then the sentence 'heedless of

¹ *Aśoka*, 2nd edition, pp. 35-6.

² K. R. Subramanian, *BRA*, pp. 8-10.

Sātakarṇi, he sent his forces to the west' in Khāravela's inscription does not mean that Sātakarṇi's dominions were confined *only* to the west of Kalinga and had no connexion with the Andhra area. That the earlier Sātavāhana rulers included the latter in the countries over which they ruled is proved by one of the *Gāthas* in Hāla's *Sattasai*, which states that there was no royal house equal in prowess and nobility to that of the Sātavāhanas in all the country wherein the Godāvarī rises, flows, and falls into the sea. Another Prākṛit work, *Līlāvatīpariṇīya*, contains a tradition of Hāla's marriage on the banks of Saptagodāvarī, identified with the tank at Dakṣārām in the East Godāvarī District.¹ Gotamī Balaśrī's inscription cannot be said to have completely ignored the Andhra area: it refers to Siritana, Mahendra, and 'Assaka', as within her son's dominions. The first is the Śrīśaila hill in the Kurnool District; the second refers to the Eastern Ghats; and the last, even according to Bakhle, comprised the south-east province of the Hyderabad state and the Godāvarī District. The same record also notices that her son restored the glory of the Sātavāhanas by uprooting the Śakas, Yāvanas, and Pahlavas. Surely it cannot be maintained that the Śakas were masters of the area comprising Siritana, Mahendra, and 'Assaka'. A more probable sequence of events would be that the Sātavāhanas had been masters of both Andhra and Mahārāshṭra since at least the downfall of the Mauryan empire. When Nahapāna ousted them from the west coast they retained their hold over the rest of the empire including Andhra, and when Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi put an end to the alien rule, the Sātavāhana power was restored over the entire Deccan. It is this event which enabled his son Pulumāvi to resume the title of (*Dakṣiṇā*)*patheśvara* which is reminiscent of the title of the earlier Sātavāhana ruler Sātakarṇi (II) of the Nānāghaṭ record. When the Sātavāhanas were finally driven out of Mahārāshṭra by Rudradāman they retired to their homelands in the Andhra area.

As regards their capitals, the suggestion of Śrīkākulam cannot stand scrutiny, since it is based upon unreliable and much later legend.² Dhānyakaṭaka (Dharaṇikoṭa in Guntūr District) appears to have been one of the early strongholds of Andhra power. It may indeed have been one of the 'thirty walled towns'. When Mahārāshṭra also became part of the Andhra empire, Paithan became the seat of Sātavāhana government in the west. It is significant that in one of the inscriptions Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi is called 'Lord of Dhanakaṭa'³—a reminiscence of his early position before his victory over

¹ Cited by Prabhakara Sastri, *JAHR*, iv, 29–30.

² *IA*, xlii, 276.

³ Nāsik No. 3 in *EI*, viii, 65 contains the term *Dhanakaṭasamanehi*. Its equation with *Dhanakaṭasamanehi* is out of the question for reasons given by Sir R. G. Bhandarkar and Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar (see *FHD*, 3rd edition, p. 30, note 13; *IA*, 1913, p. 280). M. Senart suggested *Benakaṭa* as an alternative reading for *Dhanakaṭa* 'considering the general similarity of *b* and *dh*'. But he himself was not prepared to maintain his suggestion 'against those who worked from the stone itself'. Hence Sir R. G. Bhandarkar's equation of *Dhanakaṭa-samanehi* with *Dhanakaṭa-sāmineli*, i.e. 'lord of Dhanakaṭa', must stand. *Dhanakaṭa* = *Dhanakataka* = *Dhānyakaṭaka*.

the Khakharāṭas—and his son Puḷumāvi,¹ who had inherited the conquests of his father, resumed the title of 'the lord of the Deccan'.

The events leading to the occupation of Mahārāshṭra and the establishment of government at Paiṭhan by the Sātavāhanas are shrouded entirely in mystery. The Purāṇic epithet 'Andhrabhṛtya' applied to them perhaps offers a clue to the riddle. This term, as pointed out before, means Andhras who were servants. In Aśoka's Rock Edict XIII Andhras figure in a somewhat subordinate position. From such a position it was easy to assert themselves after the death of Aśoka, and to build up a state much more extensive and powerful than it had been in the days of the first Mauryan Emperor and Megasthenes. The growing menace of the foreigners may have necessitated the fixing of their headquarters at Paiṭhan.

¹ This name is variously spelt: in inscriptions it is Puḷumāvi or Puḷumāyi; in the *Purāṇas* the variants are Puḷomāvi, Pulomat or Pulomā (*Matsya*), Patimāvi or Patumāvi (*Vāyu*), and Patumān or Pulimān (*Vishṇu*). In this chapter the form PUḼUMĀVI is adopted.

III

NAME AND CASTE OF THE SĀTAVĀHANAS

WE have pointed out above that Sātavāhana was the dynastic or family name of the kings of the Andhra race. But Sātavāhana is only one of the many forms found in the *Purāṇas* for these rulers. Sātakarṇi is very often used besides the other forms such as Śātakarṇi, Svātikarṇa, and Santikarṇi. Hemacandra's grammar gives Śālivāhana as an *apabhramśa* of Sātavāhana.

Various derivations have been suggested for the term Sātavāhana. According to the *Abhidhānacintāmaṇi*, it means 'he who enjoyed a comfortable mount'.¹ The *Kathāsaritsāgara* has it that the name Sātavāhana was derived from Sāta, a Yaksha who carried the prince.² Recently it has been suggested that the term may mean 'one who obtained a *vāhana*', alluding to a high position in Mauryan military service.³ Sātakarṇi may have first appeared as a by-name,⁴ later becoming the family name.⁵ But these are merely conjectural explanations. The actual origin of the word is unknown.

Like the derivation of the name Sātavāhana, the question of the caste of these princes has also given rise to much controversy. Evidence bearing on the issue is available only in the later Sātavāhana records, those of Gotami Balaśrī, at Nāsik. In these the title *ekabamhaṇasa* is applied to Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi. Senart translates it as 'the Unique Brāhmaṇa'.⁶ Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar, however, stands by Sir R. G. Bhandarker's rendering as 'the only protector of Brāhmaṇs',⁷ which is far from making Sātavāhanas Brāhmans. Mr. V. S. Bakhle is emphatic that the epigraphic evidence 'points definitely to the Sātavāhanas as Brahmins', and that Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi 'was not a Kṣatriya but a Brahmin'. Jayaswal says that both the Śuṅgas and the Sātavāhanas were Brāhmans.⁸ Dr. K. Gopalachari on the other hand maintains with Dr. Bhandarkar that 'the Sātavāhanas were Kṣatriyas and bore the *gotras* of their mothers. They got this institution of tracing descent by mothers through intermarriages with Kṣatriya families in certain localities'.⁹

There seems to be no reason why we should not understand the *ekabamhaṇasa* of the record as we do the other epithets in the same inscription given to Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi, namely, that he was the *ekadhanudara*,

¹ JBBRAS, x: *Sātam dattasukham vāhanam Yasya iti*.

² *Sātena Uasmād ūdhobhūt tasmāt tam Sātavāhanam nāmnā Cakāra*, &c.

³ EHAC, p. 31.

⁴ The colophon to Dr. Peterson's *Manuscripts of Sattasaī*, 3rd Report of Search for Sanskrit Manuscripts, p. 349, reads '*Sātakarṇopānāmakaḥ*'.

⁵ V. S. Bakhle, op. cit., p. 52.

⁶ EI, viii, No. 2, pp. 60 ff.

⁷ Ibid., xxii, 32 ff.

⁸ JBBRAS, (N. 4.), iii, 52; JBORS, xvi, 259, 265.

⁹ Op. cit., p. 48.

ekasūra, &c., unless, of course, there is anything so very repugnant in Sātavāhanas being Brāhmins. For aught we know, during that Buddhistic age which lowered the prestige of the Vedic faith, when the Kshatriyas, who had been the protectors of Brāhmins and Brāhmanism for centuries, became converts to Buddhism in their hundreds, many Brāhmins may have felt it necessary to call themselves Kshatriyas directly in order to protect the Vedic faith so dear to their hearts. The Śuṅga and Kaṇva dynasties of Magadha were dynasties founded by the Brāhmins. A similar and contemporaneous development in the Deccan was certainly to be expected. It is true that the Sātavāhanas showed admirable toleration for men of other faiths to whom they gave many a benefaction. No persecution of non-Brāhmanical opinion or practices existed. But that Brāhmanism itself was again ascendant may easily be gathered from the Nānāghaṭ inscription in which King Sātakarṇi is stated to have celebrated numerous Vedic sacrifices.

Nor can we ignore the expression *Khatiyadapamāna madanasa* applied to Gautamīputra and the extent to which it reinforces the *ekabamhaṇasa* of the same epigraph. Dr. Bhandarkar went far out of the way to identify this Khatiya not with the obvious Kshatriya caste but with an obscure tribe of the name, the Xathroi of Arrian, placed by him on the confluence of the Chenāb and the Indus. According to Dr. Bhandarkar these were the Kshatriyas of Kauṭilya, Manu, and Ptolemy. The 'Bhraṣṭarājās' of the Girnār inscription whom Rudradāman restored to their thrones may well have been the Khatiyas of the Nāsik record who are said to have suffered at the hands of Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi.¹ Gotamī Balaśrī was, however, certain in her mind that the Khatiyas were definitely distinct from the *bamhaṇa* that was her son.

The only fact that lends support to the Kshatriya affinity of the Sātavāhanas is that in the inscription in question Gotamī Balaśrī describes herself as one who fully worked out the ideal of Rājaṣi's wife. It is true that Rājaṣis are distinct from Brahmaṣis and Devaṣis. But the term *Rājan* is suggestive indeed of royalty, of position, but not of caste, though it is true that the kings were mostly Kshatriyas. As has been shown above, Brāhmanism demanded urgently that Brāhmins should hold the reins of government and administration and the Sātavāhanas did not fail to respond to this demand. As a result of the long sway of Buddhism the old social order had become very much impaired. The attempt to build it anew was bound to allow for some sort of relaxation in all those rules of conduct laid down of old for the four castes of Hindu society. Otherwise no Brāhman would have been eligible for the kingly office. But Śuṅgas and Kaṇvas were Brāhmins and yet were kings. No Brāhman was permitted to perform *Aśvamedha* and *Rājasūya* sacrifices which were carried out exclusively by ambitious princes of the Kshatriya clan. Yet Pushyamitra Śuṅga did perform *Aśvamedha*. It is against this background that we must picture and interpret the actions of Śrī

¹ *EI*, xxii, 33

Sātakarṇi described in the Nānāghāṭ record. To establish his sovereignty he performed these sacrifices, which had long come to be regarded as the preserves of Kshatriya princes alone. In spite of all such practices Pushyamitra remained a Brāhman. We need not at all surmise either that Śrī Sātakarṇi lost his caste. We should, therefore, always bear in mind that after the fall of the Mauryas the rājās were no longer necessarily of the Kshatriya caste. A good many of the ruling families came to be Brāhman by caste. And if Gotamī Balaśrī adhered so strictly to all those observances as to merit the appellation *rājaṣivadhū*, we need not deny her Brāhman caste, but rather praise her for remembering and practising all her life the observances and functions taken over and maintained by her husband and his forefathers.

IV

EARLY SĀTAVĀHANAS—CHRONOLOGY

THE Andhra-Sātavāhana kings may be divided into two groups, the one earlier and the other later. The break in their rule in Western Mahārāshṭra, Gujerāt, and Malwa explains this division. Until very recently, not much was known of the history of kings 4 to 22 of the *Matsya* list. A closer study of the potin and copper coins of Western India bearing the legend *Rano Sātakarnisa* seems to reveal a second Sātakarṇi, the 6th of the *Matsya*, the 3rd of the *Vāyu*, and the 5th of the *Vishṇu* lists. A large copper coin from the Central Provinces gives us the name of Apilaka, the 8th king on the *Matsya* list; and the *Brhatkathā*, *Saptaśati*, and *Līlāvati* offer some account of Hāla, the 17th king on that list. Even of these rulers the available information is too meagre to give an idea of the extent of their dominions. After the rule of a few early Sātavāhanas their sovereignty over the western regions of their dominions gave way to that of foreign invaders. These latter held control over those lands for a considerable time, until finally Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi appeared on the scene, recovered these regions from the aliens, destroyed the Śakas, Yavanas, and Pahlavas, and put an end to the dynasty of the Khakharāṭas. Thus the rulers of this dynasty, from Simuka to Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi, are treated as Early Sātavāhanas and the rest as the Later Sātavāhanas.

But like every other problem of Andhra-Sātavāhana history the question of their chronology is very difficult to solve. Except for the testimony of the *Purāṇas* and a couple of difficult but possible synchronisms, we are indebted entirely to palaeography for our scanty knowledge of the regnal periods of these princes. And palaeography seems to authorize such widely divergent views that we are never absolutely sure of anything at all. The Nānāghāṭ inscriptions of the Sātavāhanas, for instance, are assigned, for palaeographical reasons, to anywhere between the middle of the second century B.C. and the latter half of the first century B.C.,¹ to any time 'between the Besnagar pillar inscription of Heliodorus (about the beginning of the first century B.C.) and the Hāthigumphā inscription of Khāravela (end of first century B.C.)'.²

The *Purāṇas* themselves hardly appear to improve matters, for they are replete with contradictory statements. The four *Purāṇas*—*Matsya*, *Vāyu*, *Vishṇu*, and *Bhāgavata*—contain statements regarding several of the ancient Indian dynasties, the total duration of rule by each dynasty, the number of princes

¹ R. P. Chanda, *MAI*, No. 1, H. C. Raychoudhari, *PHAI*, 4th edition, pp. 337 ff.

² R. P. Chanda, op. cit., and D. C. Sircar, *Select Inscriptions*, p. 186, n. 1 and p. 206, n. 1. The dating of the Hāthigumphā epigraph itself varies from the beginning of the second century B.C. to the end of the first century B.C.

making up each of the ruling families, and in most cases their names as well. Allowing for a few discrepancies, they are all agreed that the Mauryas ruled for 137 years, the Śuṅgas for 112, and the Kaṇvas for 45 years. Of the Andhras, the *Vāyu*, *Vishṇu*, and *Bhāgavata* declare that there were 30 princes, while according to *Matsya* there were only 29 of them. Their total regnal period was 460 years according to *Matsya*; 456 years according to *Vishṇu* and *Bhāgavata*; and 411 or 300 years according to *Vāyu Purāṇa*. Though not much discrepancy is discernible here among their general statements, this is far from the case when they begin to give more exact particulars of the individual reigns. The following table illustrates these disagreements :

ANDHRA KINGS

	<i>Vāyu</i>		<i>Matsya</i>		<i>Vishṇu</i>		<i>Bhāgavata</i>	
	No. of princes	Total reign	No. of princes	Total reign	No. of princes	Total reign	No. of princes	Total reign
General statements	30	411 or 300	29	460	30	456	30	456
Details	17	272½	30	448½	24	..	22	..

It will be noted in the above table that the number of names actually enumerated by each authority differs from the number given in the general statement, and that consequently the total of their regnal years also differs from the total duration of each dynasty mentioned in a general way.

Sir R. G. Bhandarkar sought to reconcile the conflicting statements of the *Vāyu* and *Matsya Purāṇas* about the duration of the dynasty and the number of princes, by supposing that the longer period and the corresponding list of princes are made up by putting together the reigns and names of the several branches of the Andhra dynasty. He accepted the particulars given in the *Vāyu Purāṇa* in preference to those given in the *Matsya Purāṇa*. Commenting on a statement of *Vāyu*, 'Andhras will have possession of the earth for three hundred years', Sir R. G. Bhandarkar writes: 'the period of three hundred years and the seventeen names given in the *Vāyu Purāṇa* refer probably to the main branch. The *Matsya* seems to me to put together the princes of all the branches and thus makes them out to be thirty. . . . Thus then both the *Vāyu* and the *Matsya Purāṇas* each give a correct account, but of different things.'¹

This argument is hardly tenable. The compiler of the *Matsya Purāṇa* might well be spared this somewhat arbitrary justification of his alleged inability to distinguish the crowned from the uncrowned princes of the Śātavāhana line. A glance at the table will show that both the *Vāyu* and the *Matsya* list are in agreement about the names of the kings from Paṭimāvi the 5th of the former and Puḷumāvi the 15th of the latter to Gautamīputra the 13th and the

¹ EHD, pp. 57-8.

The Matsya and Vāyu Lists of Andhra Kings

(See EHD, pp. 55-6; CIC, pp. lxvi-lxvii)

<i>Matsya</i>			<i>Vāyu</i>		
No.	Names of kings	Years of reign	No.	Names of kings	Years of reign
1	Śisuka (= Simuka of Inscr.)	23	1	Sindhuka . . .	23
2	Krishṇa (Kaṇha of Inscr.)	18	2	Krishṇa . . .	10 or 18
3	Śrī-Mallakārṇi . . .	10			
4	Pūrṇotsaṅga . . .	18			
5	Skandastambhi . . .	18			
6	Śātakarṇi ¹ . . .	56	3	Śātakarṇi ¹ . . .	56
7	Lambodara . . .	18			
8	Apīlaka . . .	12	4	Apīlavā . . .	12
9	Meghasvāti . . .	18			
10	Svāti . . .	18			
11	Skandasvāti . . .	7			
12	Mrgendra Svātikarṇa . . .	3			
13	Kuntala Svātikarṇa . . .	8			
14	Svātikarṇa . . .	1			
15	Puḷomāvi . . .	36	5	Paṭimāvi or Paṭumāvi . . .	24
16	Gaurakṛṣṇa . . .	25	6	Nemikṛṣṇa . . .	25
17	Hāla . . .	5	7	Hāla . . .	1
18	Mandulaka . . .	5	8	Mandalaka . . .	5
19	Purīndrasena . . .	5	9	Purīkasena . . .	21
20	Sundara Svātikarṇa . . .	1	10	Śātakarṇi . . .	1
21	Cakora Svātikarṇa . . .	1	11	Cakora Śātakarṇi . . .	1
22	Śivasvāti . . .	28	12	Śivasvāti . . .	28
23	Gautamīputra . . .	21	13	Gautamīputra . . .	21
24	Pulomat (Puḷumāvi of Inscr.) . . .	28			
25	Śiva Śrī . . .	7			
26	Śivaskanda . . .	7			
27	Yajñaśrī . . .	29	14	Yajña Śrī . . .	29
28	Vijaya . . .	6	15	Vijaya . . .	6
29	Candaśrī . . .	10	16	Daṇḍaśrī . . .	3
30	Puḷomāvi (Puḷumāvi of Inscr.) . . .	7	17	Puḷomāvi . . .	7

23rd respectively of those *Purāṇas*. With slight differences, not of much significance, both of them give these nine kings the total regnal period of 126½ years and 126½ years respectively. Again, the names of the kings beginning with Yajñaśrī Śātakarṇi and ending with the last of the line are fairly similar. But *Vāyu* is silent as regards three princes whose reigns intervened between those of Gautamīputra and Yajñaśrī. Bhandarkar would ask us to believe then that these three—Puḷomat, Śiva Śrī, and Śivaskanda—were not crowned kings at all, but that they died as princes without succeeding to the ancestral throne. But Bhandarkar himself admitted that 'Puḷumāyi' (Puḷomat of *Matsya*) reigned in his own right for at least four years.²

¹ Other variants of this name are Svātikarṇa, Śāntakarṇa, Śātakarṇi, &c. In the following pages the last form is adopted.

² EHD, pp. 59-60. Puḷumāyi = Puḷumāvi = Pulomāvi = Paṭimāvi. In the text the form 'Puḷumavi' is adopted.

It is clear, therefore, that the omission of thirteen names and a corresponding reduction in the total duration of the Andhra rule must be accounted for in a different way. Might it not be that the *Vāyu* was paying greater attention to the *more important phase* of the Sātavāhana rule which began with Paṭimāvi or Puṣumāvi (I)? Dr. V. A. Smith¹ pointed out that the difference between the *Vishṇu*'s 456 years and the *Vāyu*'s 300 years is nearly made up by total duration assigned by the *Purāṇas* to the Śuṅgas (112) and the Kāṇvas (45), and that the shorter reckoning of *Vāyu* must be taken to date from the close of the Kāṇva dynasty. If *Vāyu* mentioned four other predecessors of Paṭimāvi this was in consonance with its own observation in the preface that it would mention only the leading names (*Pradhānyataḥ Pravakṣyāmi*).²

The *Matysa*, therefore, may be accepted in preference to the other *Purāṇas*, for it is fuller in the details it furnishes as regards the princes and their names. For the duration of their reigns, however, *Vāyu*'s version may be accepted, where available and not contrary to epigraphic evidence.

All the *Purāṇas* agree in stating that the Andhra dynasty followed that of the Kāṇvas. But the statements of the *Vāyu* and *Matsya Purāṇas* regarding this are held by Sir R. G. Bhandarkar to warrant a conclusion that the Śuṅga and Kāṇva dynasties 'reigned contemporaneously, and hence the 112 years that tradition assigns to the Śuṅgas include the forty-five assigned to the Kāṇvas'. If in agreement with Kern we take it that the coronation of Chandragupta Maurya took place in 322 B.C., then the simultaneously uprooting of the Śuṅga and Kāṇva dynasties and the rise of the Andhra dynasty will have to be assigned to $322 - (137 + 112) = 73$ B.C.³

The passage in question runs as follows:

काण्वायनस्य (मंत) तो मृत्युः सुशर्माणं प्रसह्य तम्।

मुक्तामां चैव यच्छेषं जययित्वा बलं तदा ॥

सिन्धुको अन्धजातीयः प्राप्स्यतीमां वसुधराम् ॥

Sir R. G. Bhandarkar translated it thus: 'A servant of the race of the Andhras having destroyed Suśarman of the Kāṇva family by main force, and whatever shall have been left of the power of the Śuṅgas, will obtain possession of the earth.'

Since the Kāṇvas are spoken of as Śuṅgabhr̥ṭyaś, Sir R. G. Bhandarkar concluded that 'when the princes of the Śuṅga family became weak, the Kāṇvas usurped the whole power and ruled like the Peshwas in modern times, not uprooting the dynasty of their masters but reducing them to the character of nominal sovereigns . . .'⁴ We may remark at once that the reference to the Kāṇvāyanas as the servants of the Śuṅgas does not imply their joint rule with the Śuṅgas. The analogy of the Peshwās is unfortunate, because, in spite of all their power, they acknowledged themselves vassals of the

¹ ZDMG, 1902, 1903.

² JBORS, xvi, 264.

³ Bhandarkar, EHD, pp. 53-4.

⁴ EHD, p. 53.

family of Śivājī. No evidence can be adduced to show that the Kaṇvāyanas ever admitted any such fiction of legal suzerainty in their relation to the Śuṅgas. The *Purāṇas* clearly state that before Vāsudeva Kaṇva assumed power, he slew the Śuṅga king Devabhūti, and this is fully corroborated by Bāṇa's *Harshacarita*.¹ We cannot, therefore, ignore the dynastic succession as given in the *Purāṇas*. The verse under discussion has to be understood as having a different significance. When the Kaṇvāyanas usurped the throne, they did not secure all the territory that the Śuṅgas had acquired, but only a large part of it. Whatever part of the original power of the Śuṅgas was obtained by the Kaṇvas was destroyed by Sindhuka² when he slew Suśarman, the last of the family of the Kaṇvāyanas. The Śuṅgas and the Kaṇvas were thus successive and not contemporary dynasties. The fall of the Kaṇvas and the accession to power of the Sātavāhanas must then be placed in $322 - (137 + 112 + 45) = 28$ B.C.

If then we accept 28 B.C. as the starting-point of the Sātavāhana power and work out the individual reigns of the princes on the basis of the *Matsya Purāṇa*, we shall be taking their rule well into the fifth century A.D., which is absurd. Hence Smith, Jayaswal, Bakhle, and other scholars are inclined to accept the general statement of the *Purāṇas* where they give the total number of princes with 400 years and more for the complete inclusive duration of their reigns, and to ignore their formula that 'Āndhra Simuka would slay Suśarman', the last of the Kaṇvāyanas. These scholars would ascribe to some descendant of Simuka this seizure of the Imperial power of the Kaṇvas. Mr. V. A. Smith says: 'the independent Āndhra dynasty must have begun about 240 or 230 B.C., long before the suppression of the Kānvas about 28 B.C.; and the Āndhra king who slew Susarman cannot possibly have been Simuka.'³

Jayaswal's conclusions are somewhat similar to those of Smith.⁴ But he drew support for his views from the Hāthigumphā inscription, where it is said that in his second year Khāravela sent his armies west, heedless of the Sātakarṇi. This Sātakarṇi is generally identified with the third in the Purāṇic list and with the one mentioned in the Nānāghāt inscription. As the relievo epigraphs in the Nānāghāt cave mention only Simuka and Sātakarṇi, leaving out Kaṇha (Kṛishṇa), it has been presumed that Sātakarṇi was the son of Simuka and not of Kṛishṇa as stated by the *Purāṇas*.

But though the Sātakarṇi of *Vāyu Purāṇa* stands third in the list, he cannot be given a like position in the order of succession. We cannot identify him with the similarly named king of the Nānāghāt records, the performer of innumerable Vedic sacrifices, for in that case the *Purāṇas* could not possibly

¹ *Nirnayasagara* edition, p. 199.

² The *Matsya Purāṇa* gives the name as Śisuka. In the Nānāghāt inscription it is written as Simuka. According to Pargiter, Simuka was misread 'Sisuka' and then Sanskritized into 'Śisuka'.

³ *EHI*, 4th edition, pp. 216-17.

⁴ *JBORS*, xiii, 221-46.

have mistaken his name : for the *Matsya* calls its 3rd king Mallakārṇi, and the *Bhāgavata* styles him Śāntakārṇi. The *Vishṇu* has a Śātakārṇi for its 5th king, in place of the 6th of *Matsya*. The *Vāyu*'s 3rd must be taken to correspond to this Śātakārṇi. For among the *Purāṇas*, the *Vāyu* and the *Matsya* provide the regnal periods of these kings. If the reigns tally exactly with regard to any king, then the strong presumption is that both the *Purāṇas* must be referring to the same individual. In this case Śātakārṇi, the 6th of *Matsya*, is given a reign of 56 years and so is the 3rd of *Vāyu*. If we remember that *Vāyu* names only 17 out of the 30 kings with whom it invests the dynasty, it is natural to assume that between Kṛishṇa and this Śātakārṇi *Vāyu* must have omitted the mention of certain rulers whose contribution to the greatness of the dynasty was either non-existent or comparatively insignificant.

The *Purāṇas* are quite clear that Kṛishṇa was the father of his successor Śātakārṇi. To this categorical statement is preferred the evidence of the six Nānāghāt relief inscriptions. But this 'evidence' is no more than a mere conjecture, based on the common location of the two names. Of the six epigraphs, four bear distinct terms of relationship. Nāyanikā is the *Devī* of Rājā Śrī Śātakārṇi. The next Bha(ya) is a *Kumāra*; Hākusiri and Sātavahana are again *Kumāras*. Mahārathi Tranakayiro, coming in between them, is taken to be the father of queen Nāyanikā (Nāganikā). But no such terms appear with the name of Simuka. He is called merely Rāya Simuka-Sātavāhano Sirimāto. The inference is obvious. If these figure-labels represent the family of Śātakārṇi, Simuka finds a place there only as the founder of the line. Otherwise some term of relationship would have been affixed to his name. This idea is not alien to the evidence, especially when we recall the recent suggestion that the missing passage in line two of Nāganikā's record was

Simuka-Sātavāhanasa *Vamsa-Vadhanasa*.¹

It is evident, therefore, that the Śātakārṇi of the Nānāghāt record was not the son of Simuka or of Kṛishṇa. He certainly came later than Śātakārṇi, the son of Kṛishṇa, and third in the Purāṇic list of the Andhra kings. He was the contemporary of Khāravela for the 'alphabet of the Nānāghāt inscription agrees generally with that of the Hāthigumphā epigraph. . .'. But Chanda and other scholars believe that the Hāthigumphā record was later than that at Nānāghāt, for palaeographical reasons. Mr. Chanda identified Hāthigumphā Śātakārṇi with No. 6 of Pargiter's list and tentatively assigned him to the period between 75 and 20 B.C.² This date, however, is not acceptable. Chanda's argument runs directly against that of Dr. Bühler who had given the Nānāghāt record the date 200-150 B.C. on palaeographic grounds.³ Now palaeographic evidence as to date can be reliable if we allow a margin

¹ Dr. Sircar, *Select Inscriptions*, p. 187, n. 2.

² *IA*, 1919, 214; *MASt*, no. 1.

³ *ASWt*, v, 73.

of about fifty years on either side. So we agree with Dr. Bühler regarding the date of the record and Sātakarṇi's contemporaneity with Khāravela of Kalinga, and we agree with Chanda that this Sātakarṇi must have been the sixth of the *Matsya* list.

But so far as the rise of the Sātavāhana power is concerned, the place of this Sātakarṇi in the *Matsya* list does not make any considerable difference. Khāravela's date, and therefore that of the Sātakarṇi king, may now be fixed. The Hāthigumphā record speaks of Yavanarāja Dimita who was defeated and forced to withdraw owing to the valour of Khāravela, in the 8th regnal year of the latter. This Dimita was Demetrios, son of Euthydemos, who flourished during the first half of the second century B.C. The *Gārgi Samhitā* hints at the retreat of the Greeks from India due to troubles at home. The allusion is evidently to the struggle between Eukratides and Demetrios in Bactria. According to Meyer, Demetrios retired in 175 B.C.¹ This was in the eighth year of the Kalinga king. His expedition to the west in defiance of the contemporary Sātakarṇi took place in his second year, i.e. 181 B.C. Whether this Sātakarṇi be the third or the sixth of the *Matsya* list, the conclusion is inevitable that the slayer of Suśarman in 28 B.C. was not Sindhuka or Simuka, but was some one of his descendants.

We may here hazard a suggestion that the Andhra-Sātavāhana king who destroyed the Kaṇvāyanas was very likely Puḷumāvi, the fifteenth prince of the *Matsya*, Paṭimāvi, the *Vāyu*'s fifth, and Paṭumān, the ninth of the *Vishṇu Purāṇa*. The close correspondence between the versions of the *Vāyu* and *Matsya Purāṇas* with regard to the number, names, and total duration of the reigns of the princes following this Puḷumāvi (I) has been made clear above. A study of the table of the Sātavāhana princes enumerated by the different *Purāṇas* will also convince us that next to the name Sātakarṇi that of Puḷumāvi was one of the most popular among the Sātavāhanas. The *Matsya* gives as many as three of the line bearing this name. The importance of the name Puḷumāvi is further emphasized by the statement in the *Matsya*, viz. : 'as to the Āndhras, they are the Puḷomas, that is, those succeeding the king Puḷumāvi.'² The significance of this parenthetical statement seems to be largely lost on those scholars who were intent on proving that the Sātavāhanas were rulers of the Andhra country only from the time of Puḷumāvi (II), the son of Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi. The truth seems to be that with Puḷumāvi (I), the fifteenth of the *Matsya* list, the kingdom of the Sātavāhanas ceased to be confined merely to the Deccan. It took long strides and extended itself rapidly, when this Puḷumāvi, destroying the last of the Kaṇvas, helped it to assume the role of an All-India power.

Puḷumāvi (I), then, was ruling over the Sātavāhana kingdom of Dakṣiṇāpatha when he extinguished the Kaṇva power of Magadha in 28 B.C. The *Matsya Purāṇa* gives this king thirty-six years of rule, while the *Vāyu* makes

¹ JBORS, xiii, p. 242.

² Pargiter, *Dynasties*, p. 58; JBORS, iii, 248.

him king for only twenty-four years. To have achieved so much this monarch must have been reigning some years before his invasion of the north. If he reigned for some fifteen years before he ventured on this successful enterprise, then his accession would have to be assigned to c. 43 B.C. According to the *Matsya*, fourteen princes preceded him on the Sātavāhana throne with a total reign of 228 years. Simuka then must have come to power about the year $(43 + 228 =) 271$ B.C.¹ Simuka and his four successors had ruled for eighty-seven years altogether when in 184 B.C. (271-87), king Sātakarṇi (II), the sixth of Pargiter's list, ascended the throne. As, on the showing of the *Matsya*, he ruled for fifty-six years, from 184 to 128 B.C., he may well have been the contemporary of Khāravela, the great Cheti ruler of Kalinga. Though in the beginning Kalinga had the better of him, King Sātakarṇi (II) lived long enough to make the Sātavāhana power unassailable throughout the Deccan. With him began the Sātavāhana bid for an imperial position in India. The task was well begun, but a full hundred years were to roll by before Puṣumāvi (I) brought it to fruition when he destroyed the power of the Kaṇvāyanas in Magadha in 28 B.C.

¹ Simuka cannot have founded an independent State. He appears to have begun his political career as a 'servant' of the Mauryas. *Rāja* or *Rājā* was associated with his name in later records by his descendants, who actually reigned as kings (see *infra*). Such a practice was not uncommon. Gupta and Ghatotkacha, who were mere local chieftains of Magadha, have been called *Mahārājās* by Samudragupta in his Allahābād pillar inscription.

V

LATER SĀTAVĀHANAS—CHRONOLOGY

FROM Puṣumāvi (I) to Gautamīputra Sātakarni is a very long leap. With the latter begins what may be called the later Sātavāhana period in the history of the Andhras. During the 105 years since the accession of Puṣumāvi seven Sātavāhana kings had successively ruled the land, when in A.D. 62, according to our chronology, Gautamīputra came to the throne. Both the *Vāyu* and the *Matsya Purāṇas* give him twenty-one regnal years, but inscriptions show him to have been king for at least twenty-four years; thus his reign actually closes in A.D. 86.

But this dating of Gautamīputra's reign from A.D. 62 to 86 runs counter to various other theories now in the field. So many have been the dates assigned and so different that they range from c. 40 B.C. to A.D. 124. This may indicate what a headache the chronology of the later Sātavāhanas is to the student of Andhra history. Having relied so much on the *Purāṇas*, even in fixing the very identity of the Sātavāhanas, it will not be right to abandon their evidence without examining whether the chronology warranted by them would or would not meet the synchronisms suggested by other available evidence. And it will be seen, on closer examination, that there is not much in the *Purāṇas* about the Andhras that is inherently impossible. As Mr. Girindra Sekhar Bose has remarked, 'No Āndhra king has been endowed [in the *Purāṇas*] with any fabulous longevity, nor has any been made the hero of an impossible feat.'

We may here indicate the difficulties that dog our steps at every turn when we try to fix Gautamīputra's initial date, in spite of the fact that plenty of evidence is available. Curiously enough, however, none of this information emanates from any of Gautamīputra's own records. We may also note that he appears as the first Sātavāhana sovereign to have issued any epigraph in his own name. As in all other records relating to this dynasty, his inscriptions give only the regnal year of the king, which in one instance was his 18th. As no era is mentioned to which the date belongs it is in itself not of much assistance for our inquiry. Nor is there in the body of the epigraph a reference to any non-Sātavāhana family or individual, unless it be that the Ushabhadāta (Sanskrit: Rishabhadatta) of the record¹ is identical with him of the Nāsik records,² who was the son-in-law of Nahapāna Kshatrapa. But this identity is a point of dispute and no definite inference can possibly be drawn from it.³

A good deal of circumstantial evidence is, however, forthcoming from the

¹ *EI*, viii, Nāsik No. 4.

² *Ibid.*, Nāsik Nos. 10, 11, and 12.

³ See *infra*.

Nāsik cave inscription of Gotamī Balaśrī, the mother of Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi.¹ It is dated in the 19th regnal year of her grandson, Vāśishṭhīputra Puḷumāvi, and refers to the glories of her son's achievements. Gautamīputra is credited with victories over the Śakas, Yāvanas, and Pahlavas. He is also stated to have destroyed the race of the Khakharāṭa (Kshaharāṭa).

It is fairly certain that among these Khakharāṭas must be counted either the Kshatrpa Nahapāna, or one of his successors, not far removed from him in time. The conquests of Gautamīputra, recapitulated by his mother, include those lands where the influence of Nahapāna's son-in-law, Ushabhadāta, and of Nahapāna's minister, Ayama, had earlier been paramount. Again a large hoard of coins, all bearing the name of Nahapāna, has been discovered at Jogalthembi. Most of these coins are found restruck by Gautamīputra. If this does not definitely mean that Nahapāna himself was supplanted and lost his throne, it is at least quite certain that his successors were replaced by Gautamīputra. Nahapāna's last known date, found on the record of his minister Ayama at Junnar, viz. year 46, may in fact actually indicate the year of Gautamīputra's conquest of the Khakharāṭas. But this year 46 is not referred to any era, nor do we know the time lapse between Nahapāna's end and the said victories of Gautamīputra.

Perhaps it was this very Nahapāna that the *Periplus* intended when it referred to Mambares or Nambanus. But the date of this work is variously fixed, and the Mambares-Nahapāna identity is questioned.

If Nahapāna's last years could be fixed with any reasonable accuracy, the earliest limit of Gautamīputra's reign could then be determined from the year when the Khakharāṭas were vanquished. But even here we are confronted with a great many difficulties. Ptolemy, the Greek geographer, seems to suggest that Chasṭana of Ujjain and Puḷumāvi of Paiṭhan were contemporaries. But Chasṭana's dates are not known, except that he cannot have reigned long after A.D. 130, the date of the Andhau inscription which shows his grandson Rudradāman holding equal power with him. Writers like Prof. Rapson think that there must have been a break in between the reigns of Chasṭana and Rudradāman. But opinions are not wanting that they may have ruled conjointly.

Ptolemy died in A.D. 161. But scholars differ as to the dates or the periods of which he wrote. If his information could be exactly dated, it would not be difficult to find the dates of Puḷumāvi's reign. We might then proceed to identify the earliest date of Puḷumāvi as being also the latest of his father, Gautamīputra. But here the Bhandarkars postulated a joint rule for father and son. This, if accepted, introduces another uncertain element.

These several difficulties must then be got over and reasonably explained in any scheme of chronology suggested for the later Sātavāhanas. It will be seen

¹ *EI*, viii, Nāsik No. 2.

in the sequel that our date, A.D. 62–86, for Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi meets each of the requirements.

The question of Nahapāna's exact date is regarded as important for the student of later Andhra chronology. But unfortunately there is considerable uncertainty about it. The inscriptions at Nāsik and Kārle of Nahapāna's son-in-law, Ushabhadāta, and that of his minister Ayama at Junnar, show that it ran from year 41 to 46 of an unknown era. As the term *Varsha* stands for the year everywhere in the inscriptions of the Western Kshatrapas, as it does in the majority of the Śaka dates,¹ Prof. Rapson referred the dates of Ushabhadāta's and Ayama's inscriptions to the Śaka era. He argued

'... it would seem improbable that Nahapāna's reign could have extended much beyond the last recorded year 46 = A.D. 124. Gautamīputra's conquest of Nahapāna seems undoubtedly . . . to have taken place in the 18th year of his reign. We therefore have the equation: Gautamīputra's year 18 = A.D. 124, or A.D. 124 + x. On this synchronism, on the recorded regnal dates in the inscriptions of other Andhra sovereigns, and on the known date, 72 = A.D. 150, of Rudradāman as Mahākṣatrapa rests at present the whole foundation of the later Andhra chronology.'²

The supposition is that Nahapāna did not live long after A.D. 124, when he came into direct conflict with Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi. The latter's triumph was so complete and for Nahapāna so disastrous that Gautamīputra well deserved his mother's praises that he was the *Khakharātavasa niravasesakara*. It is sought to strengthen the view that Gautamīputra destroyed Nahapāna himself by citing the evidence of the hoard of coins discovered at Jogalthembi. Of the 13,270 coins, about 9,270 had been countermarked by Gautamīputra; but not even one of those 13,000 and more bears the name of any Kshatrapa other than Nahapāna. If there were any Kshatrapa princes between Nahapāna and Gautamīputra, they would have struck coins in their own name, as Bhūmaka had done before Nahapāna. Nahapāna cannot have been a remote predecessor of Gautamīputra. If additional support for this view were required, we have it in Nāsik No. 4 and Kārle No. 19. The latter refers to the gift of a village of Karajaka to some monks by the king—whose name is missing. But this village was certainly the same as that earlier granted to the same monks by Nahapāna's son-in-law, Ushabhadāta.³ Nasik No. 4 transfers a field held by Ushabhadāta, presumably Nahapāna's son-in-law, to the monks mentioned therein by an order to the minister in Govardhana. Prof. Rapson therefore declares that 'Gautamīputra's conquest of Nahapāna seems undoubtedly to have taken place in the 18th year of his reign',² which, as shown above, was A.D. 124. This places Gautamīputra's accession in A.D. 106.

Before we discuss the point of view presented above, we may, however,

¹ Kielhorn, *IA*, xxvi, 153.

² *CIC*, p. xxvii.

³ *EI*, vii, Kārle No. 13.

note that Gautamīputra's conquests did not result literally in the extinction of the Khakharāṭa race. Nahapāna was sovereign of more extensive regions than were conquered by Gautamīputra. The place-names in Balaśrī's record at Nāsik certainly include Ushabhadāta's sphere of political influence which comprised South Gujerāt, the Northern Konkan from Broach to Sopārā, and the Nāsik and Poona districts. Even after these were conquered by the Andhras, the Khakharāṭas still retained the districts farther north 'since Puškara in Ajmer, the place of pilgrimage to which Ushabhadāta resorted after his victory over the Mālayas, may be supposed to have lain within the dominions of his lord (bhaṭṭāraka)'. Nor is there any evidence in Balaśrī's record to show that Gautamīputra destroyed Nahapāna himself. The mother of a *mahārāja* and the grandmother of another *mahārāja*, Gotamī Balaśrī could not be ignorant of the significance of her son's victory over Nahapāna, who was not less important than any other of his contemporary monarchs. We may, therefore, remark with Dr. V. A. Smith that 'it is not necessary to believe that Gautamīputra Āndhra fought with Nahapāna *personally*'.¹

With reference to the name Ushabhadāta appearing in the Nāsik record, No. 4, Dr. Bhandarkar felt that too much had been presumed on the ground that 'this name (Ushavadata) is not very common.'² Prof. K. A. Nilakanta Śāstri says: 'it is very unfortunate that all the considerations urged so far about the Ushavadata inscriptions should have the effect of throwing serious doubts on what appeared a fairly secure foundation for Andhra chronology, viz. Professor Rapson's equation: Gautamīputra's year 18 = 46 Nahapāna + x = A.D. 124 + x (*catalogue* xxvii).'³ The record referred to (Nāsik No. 4) registers a grant of a field in Western Kakhadi, a field which was held by Ushabhadāta. The relevant passage runs thus: *ya khetam ajakālakiyam Ushabhadātena bhūtam*. Bühler and Bhagavanlal Indrajī took the crucial word *ajakāla* for the Prākṛit form of *adyakāla*. Bühler understood the passage as 'the field which has been possessed by Rishabhadatta up to the present time'. Senart denied that *ajakālakiyam* stood for *adyakālikam* and held that this word was the name of the field.⁴ Ajakālaka as a proper name does appear in a Bhārhut inscription.⁵ While this looks plausible enough, Prof. Nilakanta Śāstri denies that this 'Ushabhadāta', who held a single field in Govardhana, was the son-in-law of Nahapāna.³ Ushabhadāta may not have been such a rare name. But there is nothing in the record to suggest or imply that this Ushabhadāta did not hold many more or even all the other lands of the village. These districts had certainly formed part of Ushabhadāta's dominions during Nahapāna's reign. The objection raised by Prof. Śāstri ignores the context of the grant. It would surely not be required of the donor of a field which had earlier belonged to another individual to recount all the other possessions of that individual, or to make out a list of all those owners with properties

¹ *EHI*, 4th edition, p. 232.

² *IA*, 1918, p. 73 and Senart, *EI*, vii, 56.

³ *JRAS* for 1926, p. 657.

⁴ *EI*, viii, p. 72.

⁵ *Lüders*, No. 795.

similar to or other than the subject of the grant. More serious is Senart's objection to Bühler's and Indrajī's equation of *ajakāla* with *adyakāla*. If this objection be valid then we cannot be certain that Gautamīputra came into the possession of those lands so soon after Ushabhadāta. The *ajakāla* of the passage may, however, stand for *adyakāla*. In that case, the passage may mean 'the field which had been Ushabhadāta's of old'. This would suggest a lapse of time between Ushabhadāta and Gautamīputra.

Far from supporting Prof. Rapson's theory, 'the study of the great Jogalthembhi hoard of more than 13,000 coins of Nahapāna proves that the coinage extended over many years, although always bearing the name of Nahapāna, who . . . was dead before Gautamīputra extirpated his family or clan.'¹ Pandit Bhagavanlal Indrajī believed that Nahapāna lived to a ripe old age, the changing features of the face on the coins corresponding to the increase in his age. The Rev. H. R. Scott's was the most minute and thorough study of the coins.² He found that the coins showed 'indeed faces varying greatly in age and not in age only, but in every feature'. He suggests that 'we may have here the coins not of a single king, but of a series of kings, sons and grandsons perhaps of Nahapāna, who retained on their coins the name of their great ancestor as a title of honour . . .'. The Rev. H. R. Scott finally suggests that 'judging from the condition of the coins, I should say that they must have been a very long time in circulation, and that both before and after being counter-struck'.

The theory of a Gautamīputra-Nahapāna synchronism thus appears to be insecurely founded. It is shattered completely by the discovery of the Andhau (Cutch) inscriptions,³ dated in year 52 (Śaka) = A.D. 130 and in Rudradāman's time. The quaint wording of the inscriptions, viz. '*Rano Chashtanasa Yasamotikaputrasa, rano Rudradāmasa Jayadāma putrasa vasa 52 . . .*', permits the inference that Chashtana and Rudradāman ruled conjointly. This suggestion by Prof. R. C. Majumdar is accepted by Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar.⁴ Prof. R. D. Banerji, taking the earlier suggestion by Dr. Bhandarkar that the word *pautrasya* was omitted, refuses to have anything to do with the theory of such a conjoint rule.⁵ But as Dr. Gopalachari pointed out, unlike the other records of the Western Kshatrapas of the Chashtana line, in the Andhau inscriptions, the names of Chashtana and Rudradāman precede those of their fathers.⁶ The practice of father and son ruling concurrently as Mahākshatrapa and Kshatrapa respectively is found among the later Western Kshatrapas. Chashtana was a Mahākshatrapa. Jayadāman is known to have been only a Kshatrapa. Rudradāman 'won for himself the name of Mahākshatrapa'. While Chashtana was a Mahākshatrapa, Jayadāman predeceased him as a Kshatrapa, to which place Rudradāman succeeded. After Chashtana's death (some time

¹ V. A. Smith, *EHI*, 4th edition, p. 232.

² *JBBRAS*, 1907, pp. 223 ff.

³ Edited by D. R. Bhandarkar and R. D. Banerji, see *JBBRAS*, xxxiii; *EI*, xvi, 19 ff.; *JRAS*, 1917.

⁴ *IA*, xlvii, 154, n. 26.

⁵ *EI*, xvi, 22-3.

⁶ *EHAC*, p. 52.

between 52 and 72) the Kshatrapa Rudradāman would have become a Mahāshatrapa in his turn.¹

But Prof. Rapson believes that there was a break between the reigns of Chashtana and Rudradāman.² According to him this interval, during which there was no Mahākshatrapa, may have been the result of some defeat, probably at the hands of Gautamīputra. Mr. Hari Charan Ghose has delivered a vigorous attack on the theory of joint rule propounded above.³ This theory is based upon 'unproven and gratuitous assumption', he declares. His main arguments are that it 'ignores the fact that Jayadāman ruled as an independent Kshatrapa and also assumes that he died before Chashtana'; the wording of the Andhau inscriptions makes no distinction at all between the titles of Chashtana and Rudradāman, and if conjoint rule existed, at any rate one of the two must have been pre-eminent. Again Cutch is one among the several conquests of Rudradāman recounted in his Girnār inscription dated in the year 72 (A.D. 150).

'Nowhere have we any evidence that Cutch was within the territory of Chashtana. Coins do not prove it, while Ptolemy's evidence distinctly runs counter to it, who places the Cutch region not under his sway . . . The Andhau records belong to the reign of Rudradāman alone . . . The records show that in c. A.D. 130 Rudradāman alone was ruling. So his father Jayadāman ruled before him and before Jayadāman ruled Chashtana.'

This contention of Mr. Hari Charan Ghose leaves the wording of the record unexplained: why should the names of Chashtana and Rudradāman have appeared together with similar titles and why should Jayadāman's have been mentioned with no ceremony at all except to suggest that he was the father of Rudradāman? If no earlier evidence proves Chashtana to have been lord of Cutch, and if the inscription gives identical titles to Chashtana and Rudradāman, the explanation is simple. Cutch must have been brought under Chashtana's rule very recently by the exertions of Rudradāman. *Chashtana was still living in the year 52 (A.D. 130)*. But he was so advanced in the infirmities of old age that he had practically retired from active rule. Hence the theory of the joint-rule of Chashtana and Rudradāmana, which is indicated by the Andhau inscriptions, stands unimpaired. Ptolemy noticed the contemporaneity of Chashtana and Puṣumāvi. It is admitted on all hands that the year 52 of the Andhau inscriptions is dated in the Śaka era. If Nahapāna's last known year, as noted in the Junnar record of Ayama, also belongs to that era, the interval of six years is too short for (1) the end of Nahapāna's reign, (2) the destruction of the Khakharāṭas, (3) Gautamīputra Sātakarni's rule and his death, (4) the accession of his son Puṣumāvi, (5) Chashtana's reconquest of the lands between Cutch and Malwa, and (6) his rise to power in these regions as Mahākshatrapa.

Mr. Hari Charan Ghose demonstrates 'a territorial conflict which cannot be

¹ Prof. K. A. Nilakanta Śastri, *JRAS*, 1926, p. 660.

² *CIC*, p. cxvii; *IA*, 1918, p. 154.

³ *IHQ*, vi, 1930, p. 755.

explained away on any hypothesis¹—a conflict which arises from the assumption that Ushabhadāta's and Ayama's years were dated in the Śaka era. The history of the Nāsik and Kārle regions illustrates this quite clearly.² These important districts are not specifically mentioned in Balaśrī's record. Prof. Rapson explains it on the plea that not all the dominions of Gautamīputra are included in the place-names found in the epigraph. The better and more reasonable assumption would be that one of those geographical names comprehends the Nāsik and Kārle districts as well. Such a name was Aparānta. The *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa* places the Nāsik region in the Aparānta country. In the *Sahyādrīkhaṇḍa*, the country of Aparānta is extended to include places other than those in Konkan. A record from Kānheri (certainly a place in Aparānta) refers to the donor as a Nāsikaka.³ We may now proceed with an account of these regions; and the following table may be studied with advantage:

<i>Gotamī Balaśrī's Nasik record dated in 19th year of Puṣumāvi. Gautamīputra's dominions.</i>	<i>Girnār Inscription of Rudradāman dated 72 (150 A.D.) Rudradāman's dominions.</i>	<i>Rudradāman's conquests from the Andhras.</i>	<i>Retained by the Andhras after Rudradāman's conquests.</i>
Asika, Asaka, Muḷaka, Suratha, Kukura, Aparānta, Anūpa, Vidabha, Ākara and Avanti. Mountains Vijha, Chavata, Pāricāta, Sahya, Kaṇhagiri, Maca, Siritana, Malaya, Mahida, Seṭtagiri, and Cakora.	Eastern and Western Ākarāvanti, Anūpa, Anarṭta, Surāśhṭra, Srabhra, Maru, Ka-chcha, Sindhusauvīra, Kukura, Aparānta, Nishāda, and other territories.	Suratha, Kukura, Aparānta, Anūpa, Ākara, and Avanti.	Asika, Asaka, Muḷaka, Vidabha, and other portions of the Deccan.

The Aparānta country which included Nāsik and Kārle was a western Kshatrpa dominion until the year 46. In that year, which was his 18th, Gautamīputra wrested it from them. He held it for the remaining six years of his rule. Puṣumāvi's inscription dated in his twenty-second year was found at Nāsik, a fact which shows that he retained those districts in his power. Two of Puṣumāvi's successors, who together ruled for fourteen years according to the *Purāṇas*, continued in possession of Aparānta. Then came Yajña Śrī Sātakarṇi, whose records show him as lord of Nāsik in his 7th year. Thus from the year 46 to 101, Aparānta must have been under the Andhras.⁴ But the Girnār inscription presents Rudradāman as Lord over the Aparānta country actually in the year 72 (A.D. 150). Here is a riddle which defies solu-

¹ H. C. Ghose, *IHQ*, vi, 750 ff.

² For Prof. Rapson's summary of the history of N. Mahārāshṭra and Aparānta, see his introduction to *CIC*, p. 695. Also Banerji in *JRAS*, 1917, p. 276. Prof. Nilakanta Śāstri is unable to accept Mr. Rapson's theory, see *JRAS*, 1926, p. 659, n. 2.

³ *Lüders*, No. 985; *IHQ*, vi, 752.

⁴ Mr. Ghose evidently gives only twenty-two years for Puṣumāvi and dates the last year of Andhra hold on Nāsik as 96 (if year 46 was its beginning).

tion so long as Ushabhadāta's and Ayama's years are also referred to the same (Śaka) era.

Any chronological scheme which treats Ushabhadāta's and Ayama's years as of the Śaka era is thus found to be very unsatisfactory. Two ways were open to scholars to get over the difficulty created by such a scheme. One was to attribute those years to some other era. This was actually done and we shall come to it presently. The second way out was to postulate the theory of a conjoint rule for Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi and his son Vāśishthīputra Puṣumāvi. Sir R. G. Bhandarkar suggested this long ago and Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar supported and restated it in 1914 and 1918.¹ Prof. Rapson's equation and the epigraphic evidence which gives Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi a reign of twenty-four years, take his last date to A.D. 130 (A.D. 124 + x was Gautamīputra's 18th year), which is the date of Rudradāman's Andhau inscriptions. If Ptolemy's statement that Chashtana and Puṣumāvi were contemporaries be valid—and none has so far doubted it, then Prof. Rapson's scheme, by which the Bhandarkars swear, requires the conjoint rule not merely of Chashtana and Rudradāman but of Gautamīputra and Puṣumāvi as well. This point having been noted, we may now enter on a critical analysis of this theory of the Bhandarkars.²

We have already observed that Sir R. G. Bhandarkar sought to explain the differences among the *Purāṇas* in the reckoning of the total duration of the Andhra dynasty by the plea that the shorter period referred to the main branch of the family which succeeded to the throne at Dhanakataka, while the longer period included the reigns of subsidiary princes who ruled at Paiṭhan but died before they became kings at Dhanakataka. Nāsik inscription No. 2 calls Gotamī Balaśrī the mother of the Great King and grandmother of the Great King, these monarchs being identified as Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi and Vāśishthīputra Puṣumāvi respectively. Nāsik record No. 3 refers to Gautamīputra as *Dhanakatasami*. The inference is that both father and son were ruling simultaneously, the former at Dhanakataka, identified with Dharanikoṭa, and the latter at Paiṭhan. If her son and grandson were great kings at different times, he argued, Gotamī Balaśrī could not have any 'special claim' to honour, for 'every queen belonging to a dynasty in power is the mother of a king and grandmother of a king'.³

Prof. Nilakanta Śastri has pointed out that Nāsik inscription No. 5 in the year 24, which is a continuation of No. 4 dated in the eighteenth year of Gautamīputra, specifically mentions Gotamī Balaśrī as *Jivasūtā*, and that her son was then living, whereas a postscript to Nāsik inscription No. 2, dated in the nineteenth year of Puṣumāvi, records a gift, the merit being made over to the

¹ *JBBRAS*, xxxiii, 'Epigraphic Notes and Questions'; *IA*, 1918, 'The Deccan in the Sātavāhana period'.

² Sir R. G. Bhandarkar did not have before him the evidence of the Andhau inscriptions. These were discovered later and used by D. R. Bhandarkar.

³ *EHD*, pp. 32-3 and n. 17.

father (*Pitupatiyo*). As pointed out by Senart, 'such an application of merit can be made only in favour of deceased persons'.¹

Sir R. G. Bhandarkar would argue that 'if it was a fact that Gautamīputra was dead, when the cave-temple was dedicated and Puḷumāyi alone was reigning', one certainly would not expect 'that a king who had been dead for nineteen years should be highly extolled in the inscription and the reigning king altogether passed over in silence.' But, as Prof. Śastri remarks, this absence of a eulogy on Puḷumāvi 'cannot by itself form the foundation of so far-reaching a theory as that of the simultaneous rule of these two princes'.² We may with greater reason ask, if it be true that her son was alive at the time, how it was that Gotamī Balaśrī, who so elaborately extolled her son, failed to date the record in *his* regnal year. The relevant inscriptions come from the same place and are even found in the same cave. With Mr. Hari Charan Ghose we may observe that 'it is certainly very astonishing that kings who were supposed to be ruling together should never have been mentioned together'.³ The explanation seems to be that, as Prof. Dubreuil pointed out,⁴ the excavation was begun under the orders of Gautamīputra and that this inscription was 'the funeral oration on the great king delivered by an inconsolable mother'. The solicitude of Puḷumāvi for the maintenance of the ascetics living in the Queen's cave also points to the fact that he (Puḷumāvi) was then ruling alone.

One more argument remains to be considered which is inferred by Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar from the Nāsik inscriptions. Nāsik No. 5 records an order in the name of Gautamīputra and his mother. It runs: 'we have here on the mount Tiraṇhu, formerly given to the mendicant ascetics dwelling in the cave which is a pious gift of ours, a field in the village of Kakhadi.' This record is dated in the 24th year. The queen-mother had dedicated this very cave to the monks of the same hill in the 19th year of Puḷumāvi. This latter, therefore, must have preceded the former. If then Gotamī was a *jīvasutā* (having a son living) at the time of the later record, would she be otherwise six years earlier when the dedication was originally made in the 19th year of Puḷumāvi? He goes even further and states that although the Nāsik record No. 5, dated in the 24th year, records a donation of Gautamīputra, it must be referred not to his, but to Puḷumāvi's reign. But, as shown by Prof. Nilakanta Śastri, the answer to this argument is minutely archaeological and even architectural. This argument is admirably treated by Mr. R. D. Banerji.⁵ He says

'The cave which is called *āmha-dhama-dāne leṇe* in inscription No. 5 by Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi is not cave No. 3 as it stands to-day. The cave to which the phrase . . . refers was not dedicated in the 19th year of the reign of Puḷumāyi. . . . The grants of land made by Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi which are recorded in inscriptions Nos. 4

¹ *LI*, viii, 65.

² *JR AS*, 1926, p. 647; see also R. D. Banerji in *JRAS*, 1917, p. 281.

³ *IIQ*, vii, 1931, p. 117.

⁴ *AHD*, pp. 38 ff.

⁵ *JRAS*, 1917, pp. 281 ff.: and *ibid.*, 1925. For an account of the cave, see Havell, *AMAI*, pp. 80-1.

and 5 were not given to the monks living in the larger cave (cave No. 3 as it stands to-day) excavated by his mother; but to the ascetics living in the smaller cave in the north-eastern corner of cave No. 3, who are called the Tekirasi ascetics in inscription No. 4.¹

In the 18th year of Gautamīputra the cave was planned on an ambitious scale but was constructed only in part. Six years later, when his health was on the decline, his mother took it up, but she took a long time over it and the whole construction was completed only in the 19th regnal year of Puṣumāvi. Then came her great inscription, Nāsik No. 2. The great eulogy of Gautamīputra's exploits, as well as the dating of the record in Puṣumāvi's reign, are thus easily explained. Prof. Nilakanta Śāstri's interpretation of the Nāsik records on the basis of the method of their dating is quite revealing. In all those cases where the dates come at the end, the word *ānapayati* is found introducing a royal order. On the other hand those cases where dates appear in the beginning are records of private or non-official benefactions. The former must be referred to the reigns of princes issuing the order: the dates 18 and 24 of Nāsik inscriptions 4 and 5 would then belong to the reign of Gautamīputra and 'could not by any means be transferred to Puṣumāvi'.² Puṣumāvi must have succeeded his father *in due course*.

If, then, Prof. Rapson's arrangement of the Andhra chronology cannot be sustained without the hypothesis of a conjoint rule of Gautamīputra and Puṣumāvi, the question which would naturally arise is: to which era should we attach the years of Ushabhadāta's and Ayama's inscriptions? If they are not of the Śaka era and furnish so very little information for the period of the later Sātavāhanas, have they in fact any great importance for the study of the earlier Sātavāhana history?

General Cunningham suggested a long time ago that Nahapāna's years must be referred to the Vikrama era, which brings Nahapāna's last known date to 12 B.C. This would mean a very long interval between Nahapāna and Chashṭana. This was not acceptable to Prof. Rapson,³ who would however place Bhūmaka, Nahapāna's predecessor, much near Azes in time, as the result of a study of Bhūmaka's coins.⁴ As he would have Nahapāna's years in the Śaka era, he must have resigned himself to place him far later than Bhūmaka. Later studies, however, shortened this interval by a great many years, so that Nahapāna was placed much nearer to Azes than he would have been allowed to be by the chronologists of the Rapson school. Mr. R. D. Banerji is definite that Ushabhadāta's inscriptions must have been earlier than the Mathurā inscription of Śoḍāsa, dated in year 72.⁵ Their characters are indeed so very much earlier that 'it is impossible to place Rudradāman twenty-six years after Nahapāna'. This view of Mr. Banerji finds ample corroboration in the observations of Bühler in his work, *Indian Palaeography*. According to him, while

¹ *JRAS*, 1925, p. 7.

² *JRAS*, 1899, p. 365.

⁴ *JRAS*, 1904.

³ *JRAS*, 1926, pp. 648-50.

⁵ *IA*, 1908, p. 63.

the script of Girnār *prasasti* agrees with the later southern alphabet, 'the traces of the southern peculiarities are faint or entirely wanting' from the records of Ushabhadāta at Nāsik. What is more, the script of Ushabhadāta's epigraphs is 'very similar' to that of the inscriptions of Gautamīputra or of Puḷumāvi.¹ But 'it is a similarity which is only to be expected', says Prof. Nilakanta Śāstri, 'if the area of their location had been ruled by the Khakharāṭas for some time before Gautamīputra recovered it for the Sātavāhanas'.² He, therefore, found no difficulty at all in bringing Ushabhadāta's dates nearer to Śoḍāsa's date, viz. year 72.

The coins of Nahapāna discovered at Jogalthembi definitely support the above hypothesis. As on the coins of the Parthians and on those of Hagāna and Hagāmasha, the Satraps of Mathurā, so also on Nahapāna's coins the arrow and the thunderbolt make their appearance. The Satraps mentioned above are separated from Śoḍāsa only by one more ruler, by Rājuvula, the father of Śoḍāsa, of the year 72. Dr. V. A. Smith would, therefore, certainly connect the Western Kshatrapas of Junnar with those of Mathurā.³ After a close study of the different language-scripts of the legends on Nahapāna's coins, the Rev. H. R. Scott stated that 'Bühler's tables give specimens of Brāhmi ranging from 350 B.C. to A.D. 350.⁴ The characters on our coins belong to somewhere near the middle of that period', which is nearly the time ascribed to Nahapāna if his years were of the Vikrama era. Nahapāna was distinctly earlier than Chashtana, and, if further argument be required, we have it from Prof. Dubreuil, who claimed a very early date for the style of Nahapāna's monuments.⁵ The architectural characteristics of Nahapāna's monuments at Nāsik and Kārle 'bespeak a date approximately contemporary with the Sāñchī *Toranas*'. Sir John Marshall assigned these to the latter half of the first century B.C.⁶ Messrs. Fergusson and Burgess believed that Nahapāna's hall at Nāsik must have belonged to the same period.⁷ Now that Prof. Sten Konow has referred Śoḍāsa's year 72 to the Vikrama era,⁸ Prof. Nilakanta Śāstri would accept Cunningham's suggestion, because 'it seems to accord best with all the evidence and to make an intelligible story of the relations between the Sātavāhanas and their foreign enemies'.⁹ Mr. V. S. Bakhle also argued on the above lines.¹⁰ He fixed 17 B.C. as Nahapāna's earliest date and assigned the period between 25 and 20 B.C. for the conquest of Mahārāshṭra by the Kshatrapas. Like General Cunningham and Prof. Nilakanta Śāstri, Mr. Bakhle also ascribed Nahapāna's years to the era that started with 58 B.C., but which according to him was founded by Azes I. Whether it was the era of Azes or the Vikrama era the conclusion looks extremely obvious. If Rudradāman's Andhau and Girnār records of years 52 and 72 were Śaka years, and if the conjoint rule of Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi and his son Puḷumāvi is

¹ *IA*, 1904, App., pp. 41-3.² *JRAS*, 1926, p. 652.³ *EHI*, 4th edition, p. 232.⁴ *Op. cit.*⁵ *AHD*, pp. 21-2.⁶ *CHI*, i, 637.⁷ *CTI*.⁸ *EI*, xiv, 137.⁹ *JRAS*, 1926, p. 656.¹⁰ *Op. cit.*, pp. 66-9.

far from admissible, Nahapāna's years and those of Chasṭana's dynasty cannot possibly belong to the same era.¹

Mr. Hari Charan Ghose fully endorsed the view that any adherence to Rapson's chronology is bound to bring in entanglements from which there is no way out.² But he was not prepared to allow any long interval between Nahapāna's death and the conquest of the Khakharāṭas by Gautamiputra. He would therefore argue that 'this ascription of the dates of Nahapāna to the Vikrama era presents insuperable difficulties, which cannot be removed on any hypothesis'.

In attempting to resolve this so-called difficulty, the *Periplus of the Erythraean sea* was his authority for the period. Now the above work is dated differently by different scholars. McCrindle assigned it to A.D. 80-9; Kennedy (*JRAS*, 1918, p. 112) to about A.D. 70; and Schoff to A.D. 60. Ghose, however, assigned its completion to A.D. 90. His reasons were: (i) the *Periplus* speaks of a *contemporary* king, Malichas, the king of the Nabataeans; (ii) this kingdom was annexed by Trajan in A.D. 106; (iii) but the king mentioned may be Maliku III who reigned for more than thirty years, from A.D. 39 to 70; (iv) the series of Nabataean inscriptions ends abruptly in c. A.D. 95. Therefore the *Periplus* must have been completed before A.D. 95, say in c. A.D. 90.

But this is curious reasoning. If the 'Malichas' of the *Periplus* was indeed Maliku III, as Mr. Ghose himself said he might be, then the *Periplus* must have been written while that king was living. That king ruled from A.D. 39 to 70 and the *Periplus* could not therefore be any later than A.D. 70 on this reasoning. And since Mr. Ghose assigned the work to c. A.D. 90 and proceeded to argue that Nahapāna 'must have been on the throne some time before A.D. 90', one would naturally expect that he would have extended Nahapāna's reign to that date. 'The explicit mention of Nahapāna as a reigning monarch in the *Periplus*', which he discovered, would leave him no alternative.³ However Mr. Ghose did nothing of the kind, but closed Nahapāna's reign at about this same date of A.D. 70.⁴ 'The defeat of the Kshaharāṭas

¹ See R. D. Banerji, *JRAS*, 1917, p. 285. Mr. Banerji suggested that the years on Ushabhadāta's and Ayama's inscriptions represent Nahapāna's regnal years. Dr. K. Gopalachari finds support for this view in 'the numerous coins of Nahapāna and . . . the tradition preserved in the *Pattāvaligāthās* and Jinasa's *Harivamśa* which assign a period of 40 and 42 years respectively to Naravāha (a corruption of Nahapāna)'—*EHAC*, p. 59.

K. P. Jayaswal maintained that Nahapāna's years refer to an earlier Śaka era of 123 B.C.

² *IIQ*, 1930, pp. 754-55; 1931, pp. 118 ff. Dr. Gopalachari does not refer Nahapāna's years either to the Śaka or the Vikrama era. But he states mysteriously that 'the years may then refer to an era which started somewhere in the closing years of the first century B.C., or in the beginning of the first century A.D.' (*EHAC*, p. 58).

³ *IIQ*, 1931, p. 122.

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 119 ff. Mr. Ghose allows only a small interval between Nahapāna's death and the defeat of Khakharāṭas by Gautamiputra.

Dr. K. Gopalachari, like Schoff, gave the date A.D. 60 for the *Periplus*. He stated that 'Nahapāna would seem to have been ruling twenty-two years before the accession of Gautamiputra'. *EHAC*, p. 58.

took place in c. A.D. 96. But Nahapāna himself must have reigned a few years earlier and closed his reign about A.D. 70.' And again 'Nahapāna himself was not defeated by Gautamīputra. He must have been a successor, possibly his son-in-law Ushabhadāta.' His difficulty is obvious. If he had given Nahapāna a date later than A.D. 70, he could not easily explain the wear and tear which was noticed by the Rev. H. R. Scott in the coins of Nahapāna both before and after their being restruck by Gautamīputra.

A few observations may be made here in order to assess the value of the *Periplus* for the period in question. Mamberos (McCrindle) or Nambanus (Schoff) is rightly identified by Abbé Boyer with the Western Kshatrapa Nahapāna.¹ But the *Periplus* was concerned more with the kingdom of Nahapāna than with the individual. 'Beyond the gulf of Baraca', it reads, 'is that of Barygaza and the coast of the country of Ariaca, which is the beginning of the kingdom of Nambanus and of all India. . . . The metropolis of this country is Minnagara,² from which much cloth is brought down to Barygaza.³ Art. 48, referring to Barygaza, continues: 'inland from this place and to the east, is the city called Ozene, formerly a royal capital . . .'. One may see from the above that there is no mention at all of the king who reigned over this kingdom, least of all that it was Nahapāna. This may be better appreciated when it is compared with the reference to the king of the Nabatæans in the *Periplus*. 'Now to the left of Berenice . . . there is another harbour and fortified place, which is called White Village, from which there is a road to Petra, which is subject to Melichas, king of the Nabatæans.' The point need not be laboured any further. At the time of the work, viz. A.D. 60, Nahapāna was already dead; but the kingdom itself came to be called after this king who had become so famous. In view of the proved fact that long after his time his successors continued his legend on their coins, there is no wonder that the author of the *Periplus* came to know that land as the 'Kingdom of Nambanus'.

The geographical names found in the *Periplus* have been taken by Mr. Ghose as indicating the extent of Nahapāna's dominion in such a way as to include Paithan and Tagara,⁴ respectively twenty and thirty days' journey from Barygaza.⁵ But this inference is fantastic and is not borne out by any passage in the work. Having described the kingdom of Nambanus, whose chief market city was Barygaza, the author of the *Periplus* proceeded to speak of the 'regions' beyond Barygaza. This inland country which he styled as Dachinabades, reaching back from the coast towards the east, 'comprises

¹ 'Journal Asiatique, 1897, 'Nahapāna et l'era Saka.' Mr. K. P. Jayaswal, who assigned the *Periplus* to A.D. 83-4, believed that Mamberos was Māndara, which, written in the uncial script of the first century A.D., could easily be misread as Mambara. According to him Mamberus was Mahendra Sātavāhana, who was the immediate predecessor of Kuntala Sātakarni of A.D. 75-83.—*JBORS*, xviii, 1932, p. 9.

² Bakhle identifies it with Junnar. Bhandarkar's identification of the name with Māndasor near Ujjain appears unlikely.

³ The *Periplus*, translated by Wilfred H. Schoff, p. 39, Art. 41.

⁴ *IHQ*, 1931, p. 119.

⁵ *Periplus*, Art. 50-2.

many desert regions and great mountains . . . ; and *many populous nations*, as far as the Ganges'. He then described the great amount of trade that flowed into Barygaza from Paithan and Tagara, the market-towns of Dachinabades, this being 'of special importance'. It was not easy to reach Barygaza from those places 'through great tracts without roads'. The coast country had other ports besides Barygaza, such as 'Suppara and Calliena'. But this latter 'in the time of the elder Saraganus became a lawful market-town; since it came into the possession of Sandares the port is much obstructed, and the Greek ships landing there may chance to be taken to Barygaza under guard'.¹ There has been great controversy over the identification of these two Saraganuses or Sātakarnis. 'Sandares' was certainly the later one. This was probably the twentieth of the *Matsya* list, viz. Sundara Svātikarna. He ruled for only a year, according to the *Matsya*. The rule of Sandares or Sundara Sātakarni must have marked the culmination of the extension of Kshatrapa power over the entire western sea-coast, comprising the districts of Nāsik, Kārle, and Junnar. Hardly half a year after Sundara, Śivasvāti was at the helm of Sātavāhana affairs. His reign lasted for twenty-eight years, a sure sign of the stability that he imparted to the Sātavāhana power. There is no evidence that he reopened the port of Kalyāṇa. The *Periplus* is useful in so far as it depicts the influences that were at work beyond the Sātavāhana frontiers on the west. These conditions continued to prevail there up to A.D. 60 when the *Periplus* was written, and even later until A.D. 80 when Gautamīputra Sātakarni suddenly attacked the Khakharāṭas (Kshaharāṭas) to snatch those regions back for the Sātavāhanas, eighteen years after his accession in A.D. 62.

Mr. Hari Charan Ghose tried to fix the later Andhra chronology quite independently of Nahapāna's years and the era to which they belonged. His study of the history of the Aparānta country enabled him to formulate a new equation, which deserves respectful consideration.² This equation needs a few adjustments, required by Purāṇic and epigraphic evidences. But it will be seen that it has much greater probability than Rapson's.

The new equation proposed is formulated thus: 'The 16th year of Śrī Yajña + y = A.D. 153.' The explanation is that Śrī Yajña (or Yajña Śrī) was in possession of Aparānta country up to his 16th regnal year, as may be inferred from his record at Kānheri, presumably belonging to that region.³ The Girnār *prasasti*, dated in year A.D. 72 = 150, shows that part of the country under the sway of Rudradāman. Therefore Yajña Śrī must have lost that territory some time after his 16th year, say in the year 16 + y (which according to him is not greater than ten in value). Now Mr. Ghose argues that the Girnār date 72 represents only the year when the lake was repaired. But the record itself was inscribed later, say in year 75, as a 'close internal examination of the record' would show. 'It is thus clear', says Mr. Ghose, 'that

¹ *Periplus*, Art. 52. Barygaza = Broach (Bharoc); Callien = Kalyāṇa.

² See *infra*.

³ *IHQ*, 1930, pp. 753 ff.

Rudradāman had finished his conquests about the year 75 Śaka, i.e. A.D. 153.¹ Hence according to the above equation Śrī Yajña's accession must have occurred in the year A.D. 137—y. Simplifying it still further, Mr. Ghose places Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi's accession in A.D. 77,¹ and not about A.D. 106, as Rapson's equation would require.

Mr. Hari Charan Ghose has not revealed to us any of the reasons which decided the post-dating of the Gīrnār epigraph. The year 72 (presumably of Śaka) found on the record may not indicate the actual time of its inscribing. But it must be taken to represent the latest possible date for the completion of all the achievements implied in the *prasaṣṭi* of Rudradāman. The year 72 (= A.D. 150) would give if anything an earlier date than this for Rudradāman's conquests, but most certainly not a later one. Our first correction of the formula must, therefore, be :

sixteenth year of Śrī Yajña + y = A.D. 150;

first year of Śrī Yajña + y = A.D. 134.

A similar correction is required of the year A.D. 77, which according to Mr. Ghose was the year of Gautamīputra's accession. According to the *Matsya Purāṇa* Gautamīputra ruled for 21 years; Puṣumāvi for 28; and Śiva Śrī and Śivaskanda ruled for 7 years each. This reckoning gives us an interval of 63 years between the accessions of Guatamīputra and Yajña Śrī. But as inscriptions show that Gautamīputra ruled up to his 24th year, we have to extend this interval by three more years and make it 66. The date of Gautamīputra's accession may then be represented thus :

first year of Gautamīputra = A.D. (134-66) - y = A.D. 68 - y.

It is clear from the above amended equation that the year A.D. 68 represents the year when Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi came to the throne and some more years as indicated by the unknown value of y. The chronology we have suggested earlier assigns the event to A.D. 62, thus investing y with the value of 6 (which is 4 short of the value Mr. Ghose was prepared to allow to y). However, Mr. Ghose's equation thus amended supports fairly exactly our chronological system for the later Sātavāhana kings.

But Mr. Ghose's further attempt to find corroborative evidence for his formula in Ptolemy's writings lands us in unnecessary complications. He maintains that the Greek geographer supports his position and relieves him from the necessity of proving 'the conjoint rule of Chasṭana and Rudradāman, and of Gautamīputra and Puṣumāvi, an inevitable entanglement born of an adherence to Rapson's chronology'. Yet his own arguments do in fact lead to the very entanglements from which he thought he had been spared. He accepted the contemporaneity of Chasṭana of Ujjain and Puṣumāvi of Paithan on the authority of Ptolemy. But he argued that Ujjain was only a part of the 'Larīke' of Ptolemy which included Barygaza and Nāsik as well; that Chasṭana was lord of all these regions; that Chasṭana and the Khakharāṭs

¹ He gave Vāsishṭhiputra Puṣumāvi twenty-two years only.

lost all control over these lands when Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi set out on his victorious campaign in his 18th regnal year (in A.D. 95); and that if Chashtāna was ever sovereign over Nāsik and the surrounding region, this was possible only before Gautamīputra's conquests—say c. A.D. 90. He drew support for his theory of Chashtāna's conquest of the Andhra territory from the silver coins of that ruler which bore the *chaitya* symbol, a common type of the Andhras. Chashtāna was both a Kshatrapa and a Mahākshatrapa; his son Jayadāman was merely a Kshatrapa, while after him Rudradāman 'won for himself the name of Mahākshatrapa'. Like Rapson, Ghose was of opinion that the interval during which there was no Mahākshatrapa 'may have been the result of some defeat'. He, however, admitted that 'the date of Jayadāman is not known for certain'. According to him 'he must have come sometime before A.D. 130 as his son was on the throne on this date (cf. Andhau inscription). . . . If he and Chashtāna ruled for 20 years each, Chashtāna must have been lord of Ujjain in A.D. 90.' According to him Chashtāna lost Ujjain in A.D. 95, when Gautamīputra conquered him.

But there is nothing to show that Chashtāna suffered an eclipse after he became a Mahākshatrapa. The Andhau inscription shows him living in A.D. 130. There is a serious flaw in his chain of arguments; he makes Pulumāvi a ruler contemporary with his father Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi—a situation which he himself had earlier rejected.

There is nothing in Ptolemy's geography to contradict the amended formula of Mr. Ghose, while there is much to be said in favour of it. Ptolemy rose to fame even in his lifetime. Yet 'nothing in fact is known for certain regarding him further than that he flourished in Alexandria about the middle of the 2nd century of our era, in the reign of Antonius Pius, whom he appears to have survived'.¹ He is generally believed to have died in A.D. 161. Sir R. G. Bhandarkar referred Ptolemy's account to A.D. 132.² But the Andhau inscriptions were then unknown. Mr. K. P. Jayaswal remarks that Ptolemy's 'recorded observations are from A.D. 127 to A.D. 151 and the date of his geography must be before A.D. 150 (the date of the Jūnāgaḍh inscription of Rudradāman) and is probably before A.D. 130 (Andhau inscription) when Rudradāman was ruling, and Rudradāman as a ruler was unknown to him'.³ But since the Andhau records are now known, we may have to push Ptolemy's reference back from A.D. 130 to 110. Mr. Bakhle says 'A difference of forty years in the case of Ptolemy is not much'. . . . 'Olympiodorus says that when Ptolemy was at Canopa in A.D. 147 he had already been making astronomical observations for more than forty years, which will place Ptolemy's works between A.D. 104 and 147'.⁴ Ptolemy's geography is based generally on the

¹ McCrindle's *Ancient India as described by Ptolemy*, edited S. N. Majumdar.

² *Bombay Gazetteer*, i, pt. 2, p. 159.

³ *JBOR*s, xvi, 1930, p. 248 n. (The Gīrnār inscription is also known as the Jūnāgaḍh inscription.)

⁴ *JBBRAS*, iii, 1927, pp. 78-9.

accounts of other navigators, in especial that of Marinus of Tyre, which he made 'the basis of his own treatise'.¹ As S. N. Majumdar has noted, Ptolemy was in fact indebted for almost the whole mass of his materials to Marinus of Tyre.² Ptolemy himself acknowledged his debt to Marinus, whom he compliments very highly for his careful and diligent observation and eagerness for verification. Now this work of Marinus is unfortunately lost. But he flourished about A.D. 120. We shall not be wrong in concluding, therefore, that the references by Ptolemy under consideration were true of the period between A.D. 104 and 120. Chashtana's power did not necessarily have an eclipse and a resurgence during and after Gautamīputra's victories. It may equally well have been a continuous process, as our chronology would show :

Gautamīputra Śātakarni	A.D. 62-86
Vāśishthīputra Puḷumāvi	A.D. 86-114
Śiva Śrī Śātakarni	A.D. 114-21
Śivaskanda	A.D. 121-8
Yajña Śrī Śātakarni	A.D. 128-57

According to our table, A.D. 80 must have been the year when Avanti, with its chief city of Ujjain, became a possession of Gautamīputra Śātakarni. The earliest piece of evidence to indicate the date when first some part of Gautamīputra's territories were lost is that which we obtain from Ptolemy. According to Ptolemy, Chashtana was ruling in Ujjain and his contemporary at Paiṭhan was Puḷumāvi. This account of Ptolemy must be referred to the period between 104 and c. A.D. 120. But Puḷumāvi died, as we know, in the year A.D. 114. Thus the event justifying Ptolemy's notice, viz. Chashtana's conquest of Ujjain, must have taken place earlier than A.D. 114.

It will be remembered that Balaśrī's inscription eulogizing her deceased son for his resounding successes is dated in the 19th regnal year of this Puḷumāvi, which is A.D. 105. There could hardly have been any diminution in the extent of the empire up to A.D. 105. For even a disconsolate mother may be expected to respect the feelings of her dutiful grandson. Had Puḷumāvi lost any of Gautamīputra's conquests praises of the one would have implied gratuitous insult to the other. And Balaśrī, who prided herself as a *mahārāja-mātā* and *mahārājapitāmāhī*, would not have been guilty of discourtesy to her grandson. The empire of Gautamīputra must have been completely intact until Vāśishthīputra Puḷumāvi's 19th regnal year. Chashtana's conquest of Ujjain from Puḷumāvi occurred therefore between A.D. 105 and A.D. 114, and they were indeed contemporary kings, as Ptolemy relates, but for no more than a single decade.

¹ McCrindle, op. cit., Introduction, p. 3.

² Ibid., editor's Introduction, p. xviii.

VI

THE SĀTAKARṆI OF THE GIRNĀR INSCRIPTION

THE process of snatching away the Sātavāhana provinces begun by Chasṭana continued with repeated and increasing aggressions so that by the year A.D. 150, Chasṭana's grandson Rudradāman could claim to have twice defeated Sātakarṇi, the Lord of Dakṣiṇāpatha, in fair fight, and even won fame for leaving him personally unharmed because their relationship was not remote. This Sātakarṇi can only have been Gautamīputra Yajña Śrī Sātakarṇi who ruled from A.D. 128 to 157. But the not remote *sambandha* between them is not specified. There can be little doubt, however, that this relationship must have been the result of a marriage referred to in a record from Kānheri.¹ This record registers the gift of a water-cistern by Sateruka the confidential minister of the *Devī* of Vāśiṣṭhīputra Sātakarṇi. She was descended from a family of Karddamaka kings and was the daughter of a '*mahākshatrapa Ru . . .*' 'Ru . . .' must have been Rudra and the letters of the Kānheri inscription being an exact counterpart of the Girnār record, this Rudra has been identified by Bühler and other scholars with Rudradāman.²

But the identity of this Vāśiṣṭhīputra Sātakarṇi of the Kānheri record and his relationship to Yajña Śrī Sātakarṇi are not easily settled. Prof. Rapson and Dr. Smith were definitely wrong in taking him for Vāśiṣṭhīputra Puṣumāvi. The latter is not known to have ever affixed 'Sātakarṇi' to his name. Puṣumāvi could not possibly have married his own contemporary's great-granddaughter. Had he been the son-in-law of Rudradāman, he would not be termed a 'non-remote' relation. The confidential Minister Sateruka can be assumed to have known about his own master. Vāśiṣṭhīputra's wife, the princess of Karddamaka descent, could not well have been ignorant of her own husband's name.

Hence the son-in-law of Rudradāman, Vāśiṣṭhīputra Sātakarṇi, must be sought for among the successors of Puṣumāvi or their closest of kin. Pandit Bhagavanlal Indrajī discovered an inscription at Nānāghāt,³ wherein the king is referred to as Chatarapanasa Vāśiṣṭhīputra Sātakarṇi. Pandit Bhagavanlal and Dr. Bühler believed that this Sātakarṇi was identical with that of the Kānheri record who was Rudradāman's son-in-law. According to the Pandit, a coin of Yajña Śrī found at Sopārā bears the legend *Chatarapanasa Gotamīputakumāru Siri Sātakarṇi*. He concluded that Chatarapana was

¹ *Liders*, 994; Bühler, *ASWI*, v, p. 78, no. 11.

² But Mr. H. C. Ghosh thought that the Ru . . . might stand for Mahākshatrpa Rudradāman and Mahākshatrpa Rudra Śirṇha, *IHQ*, 1931, p. 122.

³ *JBBRAS*, xv, 313.

the father of Yajña Śrī. Prof. Rapson rejected both this reading of the legend and the inference drawn from it.¹ As regards the Nānāghāṭ inscription, he remarked that Pandit Bhagavanlal 'was no doubt correct in his estimate of the period to which the inscriptional characters belong; but it is impossible to determine whether this king Vāśishṭhīputra Chatarapana Sātakarṇi is a member of a dynasty otherwise unknown . . .'. Prof. Nilakanta Śastri could only suggest that the Sātakarṇi of the Girnār record 'may have been Śiva Śrī Sātakarṇi, the successor of Puḷumāvi.² . . . The husband of the Karddamaka queen, the daughter of Mahākshatrapa Rudra, may have been the brother or son of Śiva Śrī Sātakarṇi and his successor, viz. Vāśishṭhīputra Śrī Chandra Sāti.'

The twice defeated Sātakarṇi of the Girnār record can be no other than Gautamīputra Yajñaśrī himself, as may be seen from the chronology suggested above. Obviously he was no son-in-law of Rudradāman, who was a Vāśishṭhīputra. The Girnār date, A.D. 150, being the 16th regnal year of Śrī Yajña + y, the marriage of the Karddamaka princess, Rudradāman's daughter, with Vāśishṭhīputra Sātakarṇi of Kānheri, must have been celebrated earlier than that year, viz. A.D. (128 + 16) = 144 + y. For after that occurred the defeat and release of Śrī Yajña by the prowess and grace of Rudradāman. But Vāśishṭhīputra Chandra Sāti was definitely a later king, coming second in succession after Yajña Śrī.

Among the predecessors of Yajña Śrī Sātakarṇi, the *Purāṇas* mention only two kings, Śiva Śrī and Śivaskanda, as successors of Vāśishṭhīputra Puḷumāvi. Whilst Śiva Śrī's name does figure on both coins and inscriptions, Śivaskanda's is completely absent from both. We need not wonder either, for this is true of the majority of the Sātavāhana rulers and does not constitute a denial of their existence. Mr. V. S. Bakhle made a similar assertion with regard to Chatarapana Vāśishṭhīputra Sātakarṇi of the Nānāghāṭ epigraph dated in the 13th year of his reign and maintained that 'the *Purāṇas* have probably ignored this king since his rule was confined to Western India'.³ According to Mr. Bakhle, Śiva Śrī ruled only in Āndhradeśa and his name is indeed very dissimilar from that of Vāśishṭhīputra Sātakarṇi of the Kānheri grant; Vāśishṭhīputra Sātakarṇi's name is sufficiently distinctive to identify him with the ruler of the Kānheri record; he was the real and immediate successor of Puḷumāvi; he appointed a viceroy over the eastern provinces; this was probably Śiva Śrī; Śiva Śrī and Śivaskanda are similar names; together they ruled for fourteen years, according to the *Purāṇas*; the same period must be assigned to Vāśishṭhīputra Sātakarṇi, whose Nānāghāṭ record is dated in his thirteenth year. 'The *Purāṇas* have given two names of one and the same king, the Śiva Śrī of the coins. The *Purāṇas* mention only the viceroy who was ruling in the Andhradeśa, instead of the king himself who ruled over Mahārāshṭra,' for the Andhradeśa was nearer Magadha, where the *Purāṇic* account grew up. Yet the real king, who was Vāśishṭhīputra Sātakarṇi, won such resounding

¹ Op. cit., paras 50 and 72.

² *JRAS*, 1926, p. 659.

³ *JBBRAS*, iii, 80.

successes against the Kshatrapas that after his death, Rudradāman avenged himself on this Vāsishthīputra's successor Yajña Śrī by twice defeating him and wresting away all the western regions of his dominions.¹

We cannot accuse the compilers of the *Purāṇas* of ignorance just when it suits our convenience. If the *Purāṇas* ignored the existence of Vāsishthīputra Sātakarṇi of the Kānheri record, they had good reasons for that, as will be indicated below. It is not necessary to suppose that the Sātakarṇi of the Kānheri record must have necessarily ruled as one in the line of succession of the Sātavāhana kings. I agree with Pandit Bhagavanlal, Dr. Bühler, and Mr. Bakhle that the Vāsishthīputra Sātakarṇi of the Kānheri record is identical with Chatarapana Vāsishthīputra Sātakarṇi of the Nānāghaṭ epigraph. Since the latter inscription is dated in the 13th year of the king, I shall even accept the suggestion that the Sātakarṇi of the Kānheri record may have ruled over those regions where the inscriptions are found. But when did he rule, and in which capacity? These are questions of great importance and far-reaching implication. We can be certain of one fact only, viz. that the marriage alliance between a Vāsishthīputra Sātakarṇi and Rudradāman preceded the defeats of Yajña Śrī Sātakarṇi by the Mahākshatrapa. For aught we know Vāsishthīputra Sātakarṇi may have governed those western regions during the times that followed Yajña Śrī's discomfiture.

But Mr. V. S. Bakhle would assume the existence of an independent rule by this Vāsishthīputra Sātakarṇi over lands so extensive that he found it necessary to appoint viceroys in the east. According to him Śiva Śrī, a king in the Purāṇic lists, was his choice for the post. We hope that Mr. Bakhle did not suggest this hypothesis as a counter-blast to the earlier theories of an eastern capital for the kingdom and a western viceroyalty at Paithan. Mr. Bakhle also gauged this Vāsishthīputra's prowess by the absence of the title of Mahākshatrapa with the name of Jayadāman. He argued that Chashtana was the ruler of Ujjain, Malwa, Kāthiāwāḍ, and Gujerāt. 'This territory, which was lost by Puṣumāvi, was certainly not reclaimed by him; and it must have been his successor, Vāsishthīputra Sātakarṇi, who did this.' Mr. Bakhle, therefore, hazarded a conjecture that 'Vāsishthīputra Sātakarṇi conquered that country while it was under Jayadāman; and the latter made peace with him by a matrimonial alliance'.²

This argument in the manner of Rapson but in a different context ignores the evidence of the Andhau inscriptions, which show Chashtana alive and ruling conjointly with his grandson Rudradāman in A.D. 130. Bakhle's chronology for these kings (viz. Chashtana A.D. 86-110, Jayadāman A.D. 110-25; Rudradāman A.D. 125-50) overlooks the fact that Chashtana survived his son and the question, therefore, of the latter's purchasing peace by matrimony does not arise. There is no evidence to prove that while he was the contemporary of Vāsishthīputra Puṣumāvi (A.D. 86-114), Chashtana extended his sway any-

¹ *JBRAS*, iii, pp. 79-84 and also pp. 97-100.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 82 and 89.

where beyond the kingdom of Ujjain. The superstructure built on this doubtful premiss of Chasṭana's suzerainty over Kāthiāwāḍ and Gujerāt cannot, therefore, stand.

But if the information of the Andhau inscriptions be properly appraised, this difficulty does not arise at all. During the later part of Puḷumavi's reign Chasṭana seized Ujjain from him. Puḷumāvi died soon after this, in A.D. 114. His two successors, Śiva Śrī and Śivaskanda, had brief reigns of seven years each. These kings were probably less enterprising. Taking advantage of the change on the Sātavāhana throne, Chasṭana began to extend his sphere of political power over wider regions. This policy had proved eminently successful as early as A.D. 130, as the location of the Andhau inscriptions shows. Chasṭana was fast getting old. So his son Jayadāman probably took the field against the opposing Sātavāhana forces. His death as a mere Kshatrapa and during the lifetime of his father may be explained as having occurred during the conflict with the Sātavāhanas over these regions of Malwa, Gujerāt, and Kāthiāwāḍ. Rudradāman intervened to retrieve the position. His victories brought him recognition in the form of the extension of the empire of Ujjain over Malwa, Gujerāt, Kāthiāwāḍ, and Cutch. He was also hailed as a Mahākshatrapa and as an associate of his grandfather Chasṭana in the government of the country.

By that time, in A.D. 128, Yajña Śrī Sātakarṇi had assumed the crown of the Sātavāhana empire. The discovery of a large number of his coins in Kāthiāwāḍ and Gujerāt does not necessarily prove that Yajña Śrī's authority extended over those regions. But it is certain that the prosperity of his kingdom encouraged the flow of commerce across the various frontiers. Either on the advice of Chasṭana, who was now becoming an old man, or because of his own military needs, Rudradāman desired the division of the Sātavāhana house. He befriended Vāśishṭhiputra Sātakarṇi. The latter must have been a brother of Śiva Śrī Sātakarṇi. He may well have distinguished himself in the Sātavāhana conflicts with the Kshatrapas of Ujjain and thereafter have felt greatly disappointed that Yajña Śrī should get the throne and that he should lead a life of comparative insignificance in the north-west. But with his marriage into the family of the Kshatrapas of Ujjain, who were the traditional enemies of the Sātavāhanas, Vāśishṭhiputra's chances of succeeding to the throne became still further diminished. If he was indeed identical with the Vāśishṭhiputra of the Nānāghāt record, his name, with the prefix 'Chatarapana' added to it, would seem to indicate how profoundly he was influenced by Kshatrapa traditions. He could never hope to be a lawful king of the Sātavāhanas and he never became one. Hence the omission of his name in the Purāṇic list. The Kānheri record furnishes a strong proof of this Vāśishṭhiputra's submission to Kshatrapa authority and influence. Admittedly the script of his record is the 'exact counterpart' of that of the Girnār inscription.

If then the language of the Girnār *prasaṣṭi* was Sanskrit at a time when Prākṛit held a position of supreme dominance, it was not a solitary linguistic island in the midst of the Prākṛitic ocean. There exists a second example in Vāśiṣṭhīputra's Kānheri record. When we recall that the language of the Andhau records is Prākṛit it is not difficult to assume a later date for this Kānheri record. When after some years of preparation Rudradāman took the field against Yajña Śrī Sātakarṇi about the sixteenth regnal year of the latter, and after inflicting two crushing defeats on him, robbed him of his western provinces, this Vāśiṣṭhīputra Sātakarṇi, the son-in-law of Rudradāman, was holding his court in the west as a feudatory of Ujjain. The Nānāghāṭ inscription of his thirteenth year may be taken to indicate the duration of his newly found authority.

No. of kings		Names of Sātavāhana kings	Reigns in years			Period assigned
Vāyu	Matsya		Vāyu	Matsya	Accepted	
						B.C.
1	1	Simuka	23	23	23	271-248
2	2	Kṛishṇa	18	18	18	248-230
	3	Sātakarṇi (I) . . . . .	..	10	10	230-220
	4	Pūrṇotsaṅga . . . . .	..	18	18	220-202
	5	Skandastambhi . . . . .	..	18	18	202-184
3	6	Sātakarṇi (II)	56	56	56	184-128
	7	Lambodara . . . . .	..	18	18	128-110
4	8	Apilaka	12	12	12	110-98
	9	Meghasvāti . . . . .	..	18	18	98-80
	10	Svāti . . . . .	..	18	18	80-62
	11	Skandasmāti . . . . .	..	7	7	62-55
	12	Mṛgendra . . . . .	..	3	3	55-52
	13	Kuntalasvāti . . . . .	..	8	8	52-44
	14	Svātikarṇa . . . . .	..	1	1	44-43
5	15	Puṣumāvi (I)	24	36	24	43-19
6	16	Gaurakṛishṇa	25	25	25	B.C. 19-A.D. 6
7	17	Hāla	1	5	1	A.D. 6-7
8	18	Maṇḍulaka	5	5	5	7-12
9	19	Purīndrasena	21	5	21	12-33
10	20	Sundara-svātikarṇi	1	1	1	33-34
11	21	Chakora Svātikarṇa	1	1	1	34-34
12	22	Śivasvāti	28	28	28	34-62
13	23	Gautamīputra-Sātakarṇi	21	21	24 ¹	62-86
	24	Puṣumāvi (II) . . . . .	..	28	28	86-114
	25	Siva Śrī . . . . .	..	7	7	114-121
	26	Śivaskanda . . . . .	..	7	7	121-128
14	27	Yajña Śrī	29	29	29	128-157
15	28	Vijaya	6	6	6	157-163
16	29	Chandra Śrī	3	10	3	163-166
17	30	Puṣumāvi (III)	7	7	8 ¹	166-174

¹ Throughout this chapter, Vāyu regnal periods have been accepted wherever available; a departure, however, has been made in the case of Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi and Puṣumāvi (III) in view of the epigraphic evidence. In the other cases, the Matsya data have been followed. Regarding Kṛishṇa, see *infra*, p. 114, n. 2.

VII

POLITICAL HISTORY OF THE SĀTAVĀHANAS

IN attempting the history of Sātavāhana rule, we are treading on uncertain and controversial ground. It is more or less an essay in probabilities. An inscription here and a coin there, mixed-up relievo figures and doubtful architectural alinements, disputed synchronisms and uncorroborated Purāṇic texts, undated or insufficiently dated epigraphs with palaeography as the only guide to determine their sequence in time; this in brief is the nature of the material on which any history of the Sātavāhanas must be based.

This uncertainty surrounds the figure of Simuka, the reputed founder of the Sātavāhana line of the sovereigns of Andhradeśa. The Purāṇic statement which makes him the destroyer of the last of the Kaṇvas has already been shown to be unacceptable. Neither coins nor epigraphs of his are available. For epigraphic mention of Simuka we have to go to the Nānāghāṭ inscription of queen Nāganikā.

Simuka is called a Rājā by the *Purāṇas* and he is styled Rāya Simuka in the Nānāghāṭ inscription. This title itself need not mislead us into thinking that he was in any sense of the term the supreme sovereign of an independent state. The inscription was a later one, subsequent to the attainment of *Sārvabhaumatva* by a descendant of Simuka. The authors of the *Purāṇas* were writing the past history of a contemporary royal family, an old old family of unbroken succession, which could proudly trace its beginnings to the early half of the third century B.C. If through the whole line the succeeding chieftains were all kings, the authors would surely not refer to their great ancestor as being anything less than a king.

The fact is that Simuka had not founded an independent state. Nor could he have known of his destiny as the first of a great dynasty. The Andhras with their 'thirty walled towns' were already powerful potentates, though it may be that they belonged to different family groups. They were easily forced into subserviency by Bindusāra to the imperial power of Magadha. Simuka was probably the first to bring these several Andhra groups together and to oblige them to recognize him as their mutual and unique leader. He emerges as a prominent figure about 271 B.C., a year after the accession of the great Aśoka Maurya. If the Buddhist sources are reliable then Aśoka waged a bitter war of succession lasting for four long years.

In the meanwhile an inevitable consequence of the Civil War was the decision of Aśoka to make war against Kāliṅga, with a view to overawing all his potential enemies and possible rebels against his rule. But the Kāliṅga War, an overwhelming success as a show of force, was also the harbinger of an era of peace. Simuka and his associates were content for the time being with

their semi-independent status. The R. E. XIII of Aśoka includes the Andhras among the 'Hidarajas'. They are placed in this inscription next to the hereditary Bhojas. Though it was too early to be certain whether Simuka's leadership would be retained in his family, the Andhras themselves were already welded into a single power, with this chief at their head.

Simuka held power for twenty-three years. If the first King Sātavāhana, mentioned in the later Jain legend,¹ was identical with Simuka, then he must have been a patron of Jainism during the early years of his reign. He is reputed to have built Jain temples and *chaityas*. Later, however, he became a wicked king, says the legend, and was dethroned and killed.

Kaṇha, the brother and successor of Simuka,² continued to respect the Mauryan sovereignty, as his predecessor had done. The Nāsik inscription of his time is quite revealing on this point.³ It mentions the construction of a cave by a *Mahāmātra* in charge of the Śramaṇas at Nāsik. These monks must have been mostly Buddhists. For twelve out of the eighteen years of his administration Kaṇha was Aśoka's contemporary.⁴ It was inevitable that he should have come under the spell of Aśoka's increasing zeal for *Dhamma*. The cave is Aśokan in inspiration and Sātavāhana in execution. It is the earliest of the series of Sātavāhana caves at Nāsik and incidentally indicates that Nāsik was the westernmost point of Sātavāhana rule. Aśoka's death and the disturbed conditions in the Magadhan capital must have given him his opportunity to break off from the Mauryan yoke and to acquire an independent status for the regions under his authority.

Some six years after Aśoka's demise, Kaṇha was succeeded in 230 B.C. by his son Sātakarṇi (I), *Matsya's* Mallakarṇi. He was the third in the order of Sātavāhana succession and ruled for ten years. After him Pūrṇotsaṅga and Skandastambhi each had a rule of eighteen years.

The forty-six years of rule of these three chieftains, from 230 to 184 B.C., were apparently uneventful within the frontiers of the Sātavāhana dominions. The unsettled conditions across their borders evidently exhausted all the energies of these kings in the effort to consolidate their power and to make it immune from dangers such as beset the reigns of Aśoka's Mauryan successors. The Magadha empire was tottering to its fall owing to internal dissensions, and external invasions by the Bactrian princes of the house of Euthydemus. The empire was divided among the princes, Samprati at Ujjain,

¹ *JBBRAS*, x, 132 ff.

² All the *Purāṇas* call him (Kṛishṇa) Simuka's brother. Rapson would infer that this explains the absence of his name in the Nānāghāt reliefs inscriptions (op. cit., p. xix). Mr. Bakhle propounds a theory of Kaṇha's usurpation of power, over-riding the claims of Sātakarṇi, to explain his omission from the Nānāghāt record (*JBBRAS*, 1927, p. 53). These inferences are all based on the belief that the Sātakarṇi of the inscription was the son of Simuka. But this is after all only a conjecture. See *infra*.

³ No. 1144 of *Liders List*.

⁴ Rapson, op. cit., p. lxvi. Pargiter gives ten years (*abdhān daśa*), op. cit., p. 39, n. 28. *Matsya* has generally *aṣṭādaśa*. The '*asmaddaśa*' of some copies of *Vāyu* is not intelligible, except that it is nearer in form to *aṣṭādaśa*, and it may have been an error of the scribe.

Daśaratha at Pāṭaliputra, Jalauka in Kashmīr, and Vīrasena in Gandhāra. Even as early as 206 B.C. Antiochos the Great is stated to have renewed his alliance with Subhagasena, probably a member of the family of Vīrasena. This was only the beginning of intrusion, though here in a friendly form. But from 200 B.C. onward the Bactrian (Greek) invasions began in real earnest. Demetrios, Apollodotus, and Menander conquered and consolidated an Indian Empire, much richer and more extensive than even Alexander could have ever dreamt of, including the Cis-Hindukush regions, the Kābul valley, the Punjāb, and the Indus delta and the region of Surāshṭra.¹ The eastern frontier of these extensive Indian possessions of the Yavanas was a fluid one. Most certainly they reached the Jamunā and extended east of that river. Their incursions must have been many and with only short intervals between each and the next. The *Yuga Purāṇa*, a chapter of the *Gārgī Samhitā*, describes an eastern invasion by the 'viciously valiant Greeks'. They reduced Sāketa (Oudh) and the Panchāla country that was the Gaṅgā-Jamunā *doab*, and established themselves firmly at Mathurā.² Patañjali's illustrations in which he uses the imperfect tense: 'The *Yavana* was besieging Sāketa: the *Yavana* was besieging Madhyamikā', reveal the sore straits to which the country was reduced.³ Pāṭaliputra was itself threatened.

These dreadful events drove even Brihadratha, that pusillanimous Mauryan king, to consider whether he should not make a stand against the Greeks. The review of his forces, however, which he held as a preliminary to such a course, proved fatal to him. Magadha was badly in need of a real fighter. She secured him at last in 185 B.C. in Pushyamitra Śuṅga, the regicide and founder of the Śuṅga dynasty of Magadha.

Pushyamitra halted the warlike inroads of the Greeks in the Madhyamikā country and rescued the capital, Pāṭaliputra, from any immediate danger. He plunged into the work of fully preparing the country to repel the foreigner. But in the meanwhile, indirect and unexpected help came his way from the side of a new power, that of the Chetis of Kālīṅga. Khāravela's heroic exploits, recorded in his Hāthigumphā inscription, included a war with the *Yavana* Dīmīta in the eighth regnal year of that king. A dreadful war had broken out in the Greeks' own country.⁴ The two houses of Euthydemus and Eucratides were at grips with each other. With a civil war at home, and with the great Khāravela out for a decisive struggle with the Greeks, Dīmīta or Demetrios preferred retreat to the uncertainties of armed conflict. The great danger to India passed for the time.

The infant Andhra power, faced with a situation like this, could not hope to do more than to consolidate and preserve its strength at home. The Bactrians had so far followed the courses of rivers and travelled along plains

¹ The *Periplus* notes that the coins of Apollodotus and Menander were in circulation at Broach. See *CHI*, i, 542-3, 548.

² Kern, *Brhat Samhitā*, p. 37.

³ Kielhorn, *IA*, vii, 266.

⁴ *Yuga Purāṇa*; see Kern's *Brhat Samhitā*, p. 37.

in their wanderings. The difficult country separating the Sātavāhana kingdom from the Greek dominions in the north was, however, not destined to prove a barrier much longer. The Greeks had become the masters of Surāshṭra, and the western reaches of the Sātavāhana kingdom were now not far away from them. The defence of their northern and western boundaries became the dominant concern of the successors of Kaṇha during that fateful half-century which followed the death of Aśoka.

In their new King Sātakarṇi (II) the Andhras were fortunate to find a champion of their cause and a protector of their interests. He came to the throne in 184 B.C. He seems to have immediately devoted his main attention to the northern and western frontiers of his kingdom. And when he found that a newly crowned king of Kalinga (Khāravela) had sent the forces of that country westward regardless of his embarrassments on the opposite border, he must have felt himself in a difficult position. But Sātakarṇi did not give him battle. Perhaps he hoped that the Greeks, in their eastward expansion, were bound to cross swords with Khāravela, and that the latter's initial incursions into his territories need not cause him to abandon his self-imposed task of keeping his armies in the west for its prompt protection if the need should arise. This hope was more than justified when in 175 B.C. the Greeks withdrew to busy themselves wholly with their internecine wars, and Sātakarṇi then embarked on a career of conquest which later entitled him to emulate Pushyamitra, who celebrated two *Aśvamedhas* and *Rājāsūya*, and Khāravela, who performed a *Rājāsūya*.

What rendered Sātakarṇi's western dominions safe was his alliance with the powerful Amgiya family of the west country. In her Nānāghāt record, Nāganikā the queen of Sātakarṇi described herself as a girl (*bālā*) of that Mahārāṭhi who was the *Amgiyakulavardhana*. This was the Mahārāṭhi Tranakayiro of the figure-label inscriptions of the Nānāghāt cave. This marriage brought greater security and power to Sātakarṇi, who now prepared to pay off his old scores against his aggressive neighbour of Kalinga.

In the meanwhile, a great many events were happening in the eastern regions. In 175 B.C., the very year of his triumph against the Greek forces, who fled from the city of Mathurā in fear of him, King Khāravela raided the city of Rājagriha.¹ This was not the end of the matter. For again in his 12th regnal year, i.e. c. 171 B.C., he struck terror into the heart of the Māgadhas by an invasion of their lands. In this campaign he was victorious over Brihaspatimitra, the king of Magadha.² This Brihaspatimitra was obviously identical with Pushyamitra Śuṅga.³

¹ *Athame ca vase mahatā sen(ā) . . . Rajagṛham Upapīdayati . . . Senāvāhaume Vipamucitam Mathuram apayāto Yavana ra(ja) (Dimita) . . . Yaccati.*

² *Bārasame ca vase . . . m(ā)gadhānam ca vipulam bhayam janeto . . . m(aga) dha(m) ca rājānam Bahasatimitam pade Vamdapayati.*

³ Jayaswal in *JBORS*, iii, pp. 476 ff., and Sten Konow: *Acta Orientalia*, i, pp. 28-9. For *contra* see Chanda in *JHQ*, 1929, p. 595.

Khāravela's incursions into Magadha, perhaps in retaliation for earlier Magadhan invasions of Kalinga, brought in a like reaction from Pushyamitra. But Khāravela does not figure further in any war against the Śuṅga ruler. We have no more information about him except that he spent nine years as *Yuvārāja*, was twenty-four years old at the time of his accession, and that he ruled as king for at least thirteen years. He may have died about 169 B.C., a year or two after his triumph over Magadha.

The field was clear for Pushyamitra. The Greeks were far away; the Kalinga ruler was dead; and the Maurya *Sachiva* who was his natural enemy (*prakṛtyamitra*) was in the royal prison. Yet a relation of the latter Yajñasena had taken advantage of the confusion in the land to carve out an independent kingdom in Vidarbha. It did not take long, however, for Agnimitra, the son of Pushyamitra and Viceroy of Vidiśā, to destroy the independence of Vidarbha, since it had only very recently been established and was as weak as a newly planted tree.¹ Vidarbha was divided between the cousins Agnimitra and Virasena, the river Varadā forming the boundary between their kingdoms.

The drama *Mālavikāgnimitra* by the poet Kālidāsa, which embodies Agnimitra's exploits in these regions, refers also to a conflict between the Śuṅga prince Vasumitra and a Yavana on the southern bank of the river Sindhu. The identity of this Greek prince is not yet established, but it is accepted that he was a Bactrian. The immediate cause of the quarrel was the horse let loose by Pushyamitra preliminary to the *Aśvamedha* sacrifice. After the successful termination of this campaign, Pushyamitra felt entitled to celebrate the old sacrifices of *Aśvamedha* and *Rājasūya*. He performed the former twice, and according to *Uttara Hariwaṇśa* he was the first to revive these sacrifices which had not been performed since the death of King Janamejaya.²

Pushyamitra's war on Vidarbha may have to be assigned to the period immediately following the death of Khāravela in c. 169 B.C. The circumstances that brought him into power precluded any such war during the early years after his accession. Yajñasena's declaration of Vidarbha's independence occurred after the Śuṅga revolution and the imprisonment of the Maurya *Sachiva*. Vidarbha must have enjoyed a few years of independence even to merit its description as *acirādhiṣṭhita*. Soon thereafter followed Khāravela's invasions of Magadha in 175 and 171 B.C. In this quick succession of political occurrences it is difficult to place the Śuṅga war against Vidarbha and its resettlement under the cousins Agnimitra and Virasena. It may perhaps be assigned to c. 168 B.C. Though it ended in a victory for the Śuṅgas, the Vidarbha war initiated a chain of events for which Pushyamitra had not bargained. Hardly had he celebrated his successes with the observance of *Aśva-*

¹ *Acirādhiṣṭhita navasamropana—Sithila—staru.*

² Khāravela had earlier celebrated the *Rājasūya*. He was a Jaina and this may perhaps explain why it was that Pushyamitra got all the credit for the revival of these practices.

medha, than an enemy more formidable than Yājñasena came to grips with him. As Prof. Rapson says: 'It seems clear from what is known of the general history of the period that any such incursion by the Śuṅgas into Vi-darbha must inevitably have brought them into collision with the Andhras. . . . This was merely an episode in the struggle in which the Andhras were finally triumphant.'¹

After the death of Khāravela, the power of Kālīṅga died down as quickly as it had risen. The Svargapuri cave inscription records the establishment of a cave by his chief queen, daughter of *rājan* Lālaka, great-grandson of Hathisirṁha.² Nothing more is known of these persons. Information of some importance is forthcoming from the Manchapuri inscription, which mentions a king of Kālīṅga, Kudēpa Siri by name, who styled himself Aira, Mahārāja, Mahāmeghavāhana. Prince Vaḍukha is also referred to in another part of the same cave.³ Except that Kudēpa Siri appropriated all the high-sounding titles which king Khāravela really deserved, he appears to have accomplished nothing. His name suggests, if it has indeed any particular significance, the Sātavāhana influence that had come over Kālīṅga. Mr. R. D. Banerji remarks: 'after Kudēpasiri the pall of dense darkness again descends on the history of Kālīṅga, and most probably the country was subjugated by the Sātavāhanas before their conquest of Magadha in the 1st century B.C.'⁴

During the first two decades of his reign, Sātakarṇi (II) was not merely an interested spectator. He was slowly but very surely building up his power. A study of his early coins seems to show that he brought West Malwa under his sway. These are 'invariably round pieces while those of Besnagar and Eran are nearly all square'. In accordance with this observation of General Cunningham, Prof. Rapson attributed the provenance of the oldest known coins of the dynasty, which bear the legend *Raño Siri-Sātasa*, to West Malwa rather than to East Malwa.⁵ Ākara and Avanti, with their capitals respectively at Bhilsā and Ujjain, were 'usually independent states' and neither the Śuṅgas nor the Kaṇvas ever appear to have ruled over Avanti or Western Malwa. Prof. Rapson observed the striking similarity between the characters of the coin legend *Raño Siri-Sātasa* and those of the Nānāghāt relievo inscription *Devi-Nāyanikāya Raño ca Siri-Sātakanino* and remarked that 'it can scarcely be explained except by supposing that they belong to the same period and refer to the same king'.

With Avanti already annexed to his dominions and Kālīṅga brought within the orbit of his power, Sātakarṇi (II) determined to bid for the possession of Eastern Malwa as well. We are not certain of the exact date of this occurrence. His reign of fifty-six years, by far the longest in the dynasty, may here be of some significance. Coming into power just a year after Pushyamitra Śuṅga,

¹ *CHI*, i, pp. 519, 531.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 160-1; *Luders* Nos. 1347-48.

³ *Op. cit.*, xcii and xciii.

⁴ *J.I.*, xiii, 159; *Luders* No. 1346.

⁵ *History of Orissa*, p. 83.

Sātakarṇi survived him nineteen long years, bringing his reign to a close in 128 B.C. His attempts on Eastern Malwa may have taken place during the very last years of Pushyamitra Śuṅga or in the early years of Agnimitra's rule. As Menander appears to have taken Śākala during the lifetime of Pushyamitra himself,¹ this Sātavāhana inroad into the Śuṅga Viceroyalty of East Malwa may be assigned to the same period. The celebration of two *Āśvamedhas* and a *Rājasūya* by Sātakarṇi (II), in which he followed the example of Pushyamitra, would suggest the triumph of the former over the latter or over his armies while he was still ruling in Magadha.

The story of Sātakarṇi's successes in East Malwa is obtained from the evidence of his coins and of an inscription on the Sāñchī gateway. Western India produced certain potin and copper coins, bearing part of the legend *Raño Sātakaṇisa*. They are square in form and bear close resemblance to the coins of Eran (East Malwa).² The Bhilsā Tope inscription is inscribed on the south gateway at Sāñchī. It records the donation of a Vāsishṭhīputra Ānanda, the foreman of the artisans of Siri Sātakaṇi. Dr. Bühler and General Cunningham believed that the Sātakaṇi of this inscription and of the Nānāghāṭ record were identical.³ R. P. Chanda questions Dr. Bühler's palaeographical judgement in this case. As has already been observed,⁴ chronological exactitude is not obtainable on the basis of palaeography alone. Mr. Chanda, however, agrees in identifying Siri Sātakaṇi of this Sāñchī inscription with No. 6 of the *Matsya* list, who is no other than Sātakarṇi (II).⁵ 'The conquest of East Malwa marks the north-eastern limit to which the progress of the Andhra power can be traced from the evidence of inscriptions and coins.'⁶

Sātakarṇi (II) now felt entitled to round off his signal successes by the performance of a great many Vedic sacrifices. The Nānāghāṭ epigraph of Queen Nāganikā recounts among others the celebration of *Āśvamedha*, *Rājasūya*, *Agnyādheya*, &c. The words *Yanehi Yitham*, 'the sacrifices were offered', used in the epigraph suggests that at the time of the inscribing of the record King Sātakarṇi was no longer alive and that his wife was commemorating the great Brāhmanical revival during the reign of her lord as symbolized by those sacrifices in which she herself had been associated with him.

The reign of Sātakarṇi (II) was in fact successful from beginning to end. He had come to the throne at a time extremely critical and altogether momentous in the history of the Sātavāhana kingdom and indeed in the history of all India. He was a great conqueror even in an age of conquerors; a great king even when such rulers were not rare. A Demetrios, a Khāravela, and a Pushyamitra: such names distinguished the age when Sātakarṇi (II) essayed to build an empire. As the Nānāghāṭ epigraph records, he was *vīra*, *śūra*, *apratī-*

¹ *CHI*, i, 519.

² *C.A.I.*, p. xcv and pl. 1, nos. 5 to 12.

³ Cunningham, *Bhilsā Topes*, p. 264; Marshall, *Guide to Sanchi*, p. 13; *EI*, ii, 88.

⁴ See *supra*.

⁵ *M.A.S.I.*, no. i, p. 15.

⁶ *CHI*, i, 534.

hatachakra, and *Dakṣiṇāpathapati*. The kingdom of Malwa, both east and west, the extensive Dakṣiṇāpatha and the kingdom of Kālīṅga all acknowledged his supreme authority. He steered the ship of the Sātavāhana State triumphantly into harbour. Imperial Magadha lay within reach.

But if any such hopes had ever thrilled the hearts of the Sātavāhana hosts, Sātakarṇi's death in 128 B.C. effectively put an end to them. The brilliance of his successes did not inspire the souls of his successors; it depressed them. They did not reach out for Magadha but recoiled before the idea of doing so, and the chance of a century was frittered away. Not before a hundred years passed after his death do we find a Sātavāhana king entertaining thoughts similar to those of his great predecessor and working for their better and greater fulfilment.

The Nānāghaṭ record and the reliefs inscriptions there show that Queen Nāganikā, the wife of Sātakarṇi (II), was the mother of Vedisiri and Satisiri. Even if she did in fact govern the kingdom as Regent during the minority of Vedisiri, as Dr. Bühler and Prof. Rapson would have us believe, there is at least no evidence to show that any of her sons ever ascended the Sātavāhana throne. Of the eight successors of Sātakarṇi (II) before Puṣumāvi (I), the *Vāyu Purāṇa* notices only one, Apilaka by name. He was the son of Lambodara and ruled for twelve years. A copper coin of this king comes to us from the Central Provinces.¹ The legend on it shows that King Apilaka bore both Śiva and Śrī as prefixes to his name. With his reign (110-98 B.C.) began the dwindling of the Sātavāhana dominions which reduced them eventually once again to the status of a mere Deccani power.

The loss of the northern provinces of the Sātavāhana kingdom cannot be dated with certainty. An inscription from Besnagar, near Bhilsā, records the erection of a stone column in honour of Vāsudeva by Heliodorus, son of Dio, an inhabitant of Takṣaśilā.² He was an ambassador from the Great King Antialcidas to King Kāsīputra Bhāgabhadra, then in the fourteenth year of his reign. Besides revealing the diplomatic relations between Takṣaśilā and Vidiśā, the inscription is clear that the kingdom of Vidiśā had passed from the hands of the Sātavāhanas. The inscription does not state when this transference occurred. It is, however, clear that King Kāsīputra Bhāgabhadra was the gainer and that he had been king for fourteen years at the time of the embassy of Heliodorus.

Sir John Marshall identified the Kāsīputra of this record with the fifth Śuṅga king, variously termed Bhadraka, Ādraka and Odruka, Andhraka and Antaka in the *Bhāgavata*, *Viṣṇu*, *Vāyu*, and *Matṛya Purāṇas* respectively.³ Mr. Jayaswal and Prof. Rapson have taken him for the penultimate Śuṅga king, *Bhāga* or *Bhāgavata* of the *Purāṇas*.⁴ Mr. H. C. Raychaudhuri believes

¹ *EHAC*, pp. 39-40.

² *JRAS*, 1909, p. 1092.

³ *A Guide to Sanchi*, p. 11 n.

⁴ *JBORS*, Dec. 1917, pp. 473-5. Mr. Jayaswal identifies the fifth king with one Udāka of the Pabbosā inscription, see also *CHI*, i, 521.

that 'the view of Marshall seems to be the more probable'.¹ He argued that the 'discovery of another Besnagar Garuḍa pillar inscription (of the twelfth year after the installation of Mahārāja Bhāgavata) . . . proves that there was at Vidiśā a king named Bhāgavata to be distinguished from king Kāsīputra Bhāgabhadra'.

Marshall's view ignores the regnal period which the *Purāṇas* assign to the 5th Śuṅga king. As in the name, so in the duration of his reign, there has been an error in the *Purāṇas*. They assign either two or seven years for this king, but in no case more than the latter period. The record under question, belonging to the 14th regnal year of the king, precludes his identification with the fifth Śuṅga monarch. The other record referred to by Raychaudhuri need not suggest two different kings in Vidiśā about that time. There is nothing whatever to prevent the identification of Mahārāja Bhāgavata with the Bhāgabhadra of the Besnagar inscriptions.

Undoubtedly, therefore, the Bhāgabhadra who was lord of Vidiśā in the 14th year of his reign was the last but one Śuṅga sovereign, the Bhāga or Bhāgavata of the *Purāṇas*. He reigned for thirty-two years, from 115 to 83 B.C., ten years before the Kaṇva usurpation in 74 B.C. The embassy of Heliodorus to the Court of Bhāgabhadra must, therefore, be assigned to c. 101 B.C. A margin of a year on either side may be allowed. As Apīlaka reigned until 98 B.C., he was the Śātavāhana contemporary of Bhāga Śuṅga, and in his reign the Śātavāhana empire was shorn of the northern districts conquered by Sātakarṇi (II).

From the close of Apīlaka's reign to the accession of Puṣumāvi (I) in 43 B.C., there were six Śātavāhana rulers. Within that period of fifty-five years they did nothing worthy of record or even anything to make their names worthy of mention by the compiler of the *Vāyu Purāṇa*. Yet their empire in the Deccan appears to have remained intact till the reign of Kuntala Sātakarṇi, the thirteenth king of the line. He is mentioned in Vātsyāyana's *Kāmasūtra*,² and if his name has any significance at all he must have ruled over the country of Kuntala. Prof. Kane describes it as 'the country from the Bhīmā and the Kṛṣṇā to some distance beyond the Tuṅgabhadra, which also included Kolhāpur and other Southern Marāṭhā States such as Miraj, Belgaum, and the Dhārwar districts, a portion of the Nizām's dominions and of the Mysore State and the North Kanārā'.³ If this be accepted and in view also of Puṣumāvi I's great success in arms in the third quarter of the first century B.C., we may assume that the inherent strength of the Śātavāhana power was well preserved during those difficult years by the successors of Sātakarṇi (II). This success may have been partly due to the waning fortunes of the Bactrian Greeks in India and elsewhere.

While the question of supremacy in Eastern India and the Deccan was

¹ PHAI, 3rd edition, pp. 270-1.

² Chowkhamba Sanskrit Series, p. 149.

³ *Ancient Geography of Mahārāṣṭra*, p. 38. See also Bakhle, op. cit., pp. 92 ff.

being hotly contested among the powers of Magadha, Kalinga, and Andhra, a similar struggle engulfed the lands of the Greeks, who had earlier threatened the safety of all the three kingdoms. As Justin says, 'Almost at the same time that Mithridates ascended the throne among the Parthians, Eukratides began to reign among the Bactrians; both of them being great men. . . Eukratides carried on several wars with great spirit.' Indeed their struggle for power and territory had now shifted from the Indian soil to Bactria and the north-west frontier of India. In this 'cruel and most lamentable war in their own kingdom, caused entirely by themselves', Demetrios lost everything west of the Hindukush by the end of 167 B.C.¹ As Eukratides is found to have issued a new series of coins in 166 B.C., this fact may be taken to indicate the final defeat and death of Demetrios in the preceding year.²

Eukratides was now master of Seistan, Arachosia, Aria, Bactria, and Sogdiana. He carried war into India. This time Apollodotus died fighting Eukratides in c. 162 B.C. His kingdom of Alexandria-Kapisa became a province of Eukratides' dominions. Eukratides would fain have added to his Indian possessions but his eastern advance was probably checked by Menander and thereafter the grave news that Mithridates had invaded his homelands demanded his immediate return. Mithridates' earlier conquest of Media in 161 B.C. had augmented his military resources by bringing him the Śakas as mercenaries or allies. To conquer him was wellnigh impossible. Eukratides lost his dominions and his own life at the same time. As Justin says, 'his end was to be conquered by the Parthians; however, he fought well first.'³

Now that Apollodotus had died, in c. 162 B.C., Menander became the sole and effective support of the Euthydemid cause in India. Following the retreat of Demetrios and the general abandonment of the Madhyadeśa, Menander formed a new frontier, with Mathurā for its easternmost stronghold and with the Chambal as frontier west of the Jamunā. He ruled from Mathurā to the Upper Indus and his coins prove that he held Gandhāra as well.⁴

Menander died sometime between 150 and 145 B.C., almost at the same time as his rival Pushyamitra Śuṅga, whose life ended in 148 B.C. His wife Agathocleia, the daughter of Demetrios, became regent for her son Strato I, a minor. This brought Heliocles, the son and successor of Eukratides, once again on the Indian scene. His invasion of India added to his dominions the provinces of Takshaśilā and Gandhāra. Strato I was driven back to his father's realms east of the Jhelam. Menander's extensive dominions now began to break up and the Greek provinces of Surāshṭra and Sind had to shift for themselves.

¹ Kern, *Brhat Samhitā*, p. 38.

² Tarn, *GBI*, pp. 197 ff.

³ Tarn assigns the death of Eukratides to 159 B.C. and not to the conventional date 155 B.C. (see op. cit., p. 219).

⁴ Tarn believes that Eukratides must have made a treaty with Menander at the time of his homeward march (op. cit., pp. 216-17). Either as a result of it or by force of arms, Menander recovered Gandhāra or most of it.

Antialkidas, the immediate successor of Heliocles in c. 130 B.C.,¹ was the last of the line of Eukratides. It was this king who sent Heliodorus to the Śuṅga court. The purpose of the embassy is not clear. Perhaps the Śaka invasion of India which may have begun any time after 120 B.C. was partly responsible for it.

The Śaka or Scythian subjects of Parthia gave no little trouble to their kings—Mithridates I, Phraates II, and Artabanus I. They were always turbulent, almost independent, and even aggressive. They were never really subject to Parthia until they were conquered by Mithridates II. Under that king Parthia was fortunate to be able to hold back the Śaka hordes, who were desperately in need of lands in which to settle, for their own homelands had been occupied by the Yueh-ci. Thus diverted, these Śakas forced themselves into India, where they established a kingdom in the country of the lower Indus—Patalene, Cutch, and Surāshṭra. By 80 B.C. they had moved up the river Indus under the leadership of Maues, who as early as 70 B.C. had usurped Greek rule west of the Jhelam. Gandhāra and the Western Punjāb including Takshaśilā were under his sway. He adopted the Parthian title 'king of kings' on his coins. About the same time Vonones, a Pahlava (Parthian), became the ruler of Arachosia and Seistan. Like Maues, he too assumed the imperial title. The exact relationship between the two is not known. Vonones is distinctly a Parthian name. But names are not sure proofs of nationality because the same family includes both the Śaka and the Pahlava names. However, Azes I appears to have made himself master of the territorial possessions of both Maues and Vonones.² He extended his authority as far east as Mathurā and consolidated the Śaka-Pahlava power in India. He is said to have founded the 'Vikrama' era beginning in 58 B.C.³ 'Almost everything in Asia between the Euphrates and the Jumna which Greeks had once ruled had now passed into the hands of peoples from the northern steppes.'⁴

While Azes I and his successors were ruling as suzerains, their vast Indian dominions were administered by their agents called Satrapas or Kshatrapas, who exercised almost sovereign powers within their respective jurisdictions. Of the Satrapal families, the most important were those of Takshaśilā, Mathurā, Surāshṭra, and Malwa.

Thus the elimination of the Greek power from India did not bring permanent relief to the Śātavāhanas of the Deccan. When Puṣumāvi (I) ascended the throne in 43 B.C., he found the political map of India very like what it had been in the days of Śātakarṇi (II). Only this time it was not the Greeks but the Śaka-Pahlavas who dominated the land. The Śuṅgas had been overthrown in 73 B.C. and the Kaṇva dynasty had been founded in Magadha. But Vāsudeva, through whom Devabhūti, the 'over-libidinous Śuṅga' king, was 'reft of his

¹ This is the date suggested by Tarn. Rapson gives c. 120 B.C. for the accession of Antialkidas.

² The relationship of Azes I to Maues and Vonones is a much disputed point. See *PHAI*, 3rd edition, pp. 293-300; *CHI*, i, 572-4.

³ *CHI*, i, 571.

⁴ Tarn, op. cit., p. 350.

life', did not become master of all the Śuṅga possessions. Malwa and other lands in Central India were in the hands of the foreigners and the Kaṇvas came in possession of only a much depleted Magadha empire. According to the *Purāṇas*, Vāśudeva ruled for 9 years, his son Bhānumitra for 14, and his grandson Nārāyaṇa for 12. Within 5 years of the Puṣumāvi's accession to the Sātavāhana throne, Nārāyaṇa Kaṇva was succeeded by his son Suśarman. The Kaṇva kings were weak and incapable of any exertion either in order to defend the land from aliens or even to save their own lives. The fall of Magadha was certain and imminent. Who should take it was the question. Puṣumāvi was quite determined that it should not be the foreigner. And when he struck the blow in 28 B.C., Magadha fell to him like a ripe fruit; Suśarman, the last Kaṇvāyana, was killed by the Andhra ruler; Sātakarṇi's former conquests of Avanti and Ākara also came once again under Sātavāhana rule.

But in the very success of Puṣumāvi, the 'extirpator' of the Kaṇva dynasty, lay also his weakness. He now presided over a far-flung empire with too elongated a frontier to defend against an external enemy. With Suśarman's death, a night, neither calm nor cloudless, descended upon Magadha. For the first time, the Sātavāhanas became the only Indian power with whom the Śāka overlords of the north had to reckon. The latter were probably forced to abandon Malwa, which lay on the Andhra-Magadhan route.¹ The integrity of the Western dominions and the security of the Satrapy of Mathurā were alike threatened.

The Śāka-Pahlava overlords of the north, therefore, prepared themselves to beat down the Sātavāhana menace. Puṣumāvi himself survived his great exploit for only five years. His death in 19 B.C. made it easy for the Western Kshatrapas to regain the lands wrested from them earlier by the Sātavāhana king.² Nahapāna, the Western Kshatrapa, went farther still to conquer and annex even the Sātavāhana provinces of Northern Mahārāshṭra and Aparānta. This Nahapāna, who was apparently connected with the Mathurā Kshatrapas, must have received considerable assistance from his contemporary at Mathurā, Mahākshatrapa Rājuvula, 'King of Kings, the Saviour'.³ Indeed Rājuvula's title 'the Saviour' here assumes a special significance.

Hardly two years had passed since Puṣumāvi's death and Gaurakṛishṇa's accession in 19 B.C., when Ushabhadāta, the husband of Dakshamitrā, the daughter of Nahapāna, is found at Nāsik recording the construction of a cave for the monks. Within five years after that date, by 12 B.C. (year 46 of Ayama's record at Junnar), Nahapāna became master of wide regions including Malwa, Southern Gujerāt, and Northern Konkan, from Broach to

¹ The *Periplus* (c. A.D. 60) speaks of Ujjain as the former capital of the kingdom of Nambanus.

² The Kshatrapas of Surāshṭra and Malwa are generally called the 'Western Kshatrapas', as distinguished from the 'Northern Kshatrapas' or Kshatrapas of Taxilā and Mathurā. The Western Kshatrapas included at least two distinct families—the Khakharāṭa to which Bhūmaka and Nahapāna belonged, and Karddamaka, to which Chashtana and his descendants were affiliated.

³ Bakhle, *JBBRAS*, iii, 61.

Sopārā and the Nāsik and Poona districts, and thus rose from the status of a mere Kshatrapa in the year 41 (c. 17 B.C.) to that of Mahākshatrapa in the year 46 (12 B.C.).

King Gaurakṛishṇa, during his long rule of twenty-five years from 19 B.C. to A.D. 6, presided over the disintegration of the Śātavāhana empire. How unpopular he must have been with his contemporaries and the later compilers of the *Purāṇas* is easily seen in the variety of epithets heaped upon him by the *Purāṇas*.¹ Riktavarṇa, Vikṛishṇa, Arishtākarma, and Anishtākarma; such names are not given to a king without intentional significance.

After Gaurakṛishṇa came Hāla. His was a brief reign of one year. Yet he won for himself a niche among the great poets of all time. He collected and edited a number of erotic verses, *gāthas*, of excellent taste and elegance.² But we have practically no evidence of any of the political events of his reign except what is supplied by a later work, *Līlāvatī*. Allowing for all misstatements and distortions, this document connects him with an expedition to the eastern part of his realm, Saptagodāvarī, identified with modern Dakshārāma in the Godāvarī District.

During the reigns that followed from A.D. 7 to 62 a succession of rulers, all of little merit or importance, ascended the Andhra throne. Khakharāṭa pressure against the western possessions of the Śātavāhanas went on increasing. The Śātavāhana ports of Sopārā and Kalyāṇ were closed to all commerce by the action of Nahapāna's successors, and all trade found its way across difficult country to the Western Kshatrapa port of Barygaza (Broach). The economic life of the kingdom was becoming completely disorganized. The prospects were bleak, therefore, when Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi took over the reins of government in A.D. 62. The only alleviating feature in the picture was that about the time of his accession the great Śāka-Pahlava empire disintegrated and broke up into several small principalities, each under an independent Kshatrapa ruler. Gautamīputra, therefore, was saved the necessity of pitting himself against one single mighty empire in the north.

Gondopharnes was the last great king of the Śāka-Pahlava line. Coming to the throne in A.D. 19, he appears to have conquered some Parthian dominions in addition to his inherited possessions. The manner in which he styled himself 'great king, *supreme* king of kings' suggests that he claimed authority over others who also styled themselves 'great king, king of kings'. As Rapson remarks, 'such a style can only mean that, even in the reign of Gondopharnes, the allegiance of the governors to the suzerain was becoming merely nominal'.³ Gondopharnes died sometime after A.D. 45, and the reign of his successor Pacores marked the rapid extinction of the Śāka-Pahlava power. The Kushāṇa conquest of the Kābul valley and North-west India was complete by A.D. 78, when an inscription from Taxilā describes a 'great king, supreme king of kings, son of the Gods, the Kushāṇa', who was obviously Vima

¹ See *CIC*, pp. lxvi-lxvii.

² See *infra*.

³ *CHI*, i, 580.

Kadphises.¹ Eleven more years passed before the Kushāṇa suzerainty came to be acknowledged in the lower Indus delta in A.D. 89.² The Śaka-Pahlava princes, however, still ruled their own provinces, though as Kushāṇa feudatories. But as the *Periplus* states, these 'Parthian' princes remained their old selves, turbulent, perpetually quarrelsome, and intent upon internecine quarrels for supremacy. This state of affairs offered a strong temptation to conquerors like Gautamīputra to interfere in the hope of appropriating the possessions of all the contesting parties.

Gautamīputra made elaborate preparations for war as may be inferred from his inscriptions at Nāsik and Kārle, for his actual campaign only began about the 18th year of his reign (A.D. 80). He first won back the territories on his western borders from the Khakharāta successors of Nahapāna. Both his Nāsik and his Kārle grants were issued from the *Vijayaskandāvāra* of Govardhana. In these first major battles the contingents from Vijayanti distinguished themselves. The whole land was ultimately regained for the Sātavāhanas and it soon became settled as a part of their dominions.

But Gautamīputra would not rest content with these small gains. He was determined to recover for the Sātavāhanas the position which they had formerly held under his great predecessors, Satakarni (II) and Puṣumāvi (I). He had only six more years in which to accomplish this, for he died in A.D. 86. But within that period his success was phenomenal. How far he realized his ambition to recover the imperial position of the Sātavāhanas may be gathered from the description of his dominions and personality recorded by his mother, Gotamī Balaśrī. The territories included the countries of Asika, Asaka, Muḷaka, Surāshṭra, Kukura, Aparānta, Anūpa, Vidarbha, Ākara, and Avanti; the mountainous regions of Vindhya, Achavata, Pariyatra, Sahya, Kaṇhagiri, Siritana, Malaya, Mahendra, Seta, and Chakora, and extended as far as the seas on either side.³ He imposed his will on the kingly order. He was comely in countenance like the lotus in bloom, immensely strong, and a warrior of renown. He never lost a battle, and was a terror to his enemies yet did not

¹ Discovered by Sir John Marshall. It is dated in the month of *Ashādha*, in the year 136, *ayasa* = of Azes. It is of the era which begins in 58 B.C. and therefore is equivalent to that of A.D. 78.

² The Sui Vihāra inscription dated in the 11th regnal year of Kanishka. See Hoernle, *IA*, 1881, p. 324.

³ *Asika* = Rishika, possibly between the Kṛishṇā and the Godāvarī south of Asaka; *Asaka* = South-east province of the Hyderabad State and the Godāvarī Dt.; *Muḷaka* = The district round about Paithan; *Surāshṭra* = Southern Kāthiāwād; *Kukura* = probably a portion of eastern Rājputānā; *Aparānta* = North Konkan and North Mahārāshṭra inclusive of Nāsik and Kārle districts; *Anūpa* = A district on the upper Narmadā, with Mahishmati as capital; *Vidarbha* = Berar; *Ākara* = East Malwa, with Vidiśā as capital; *Avanti* = West Malwa with Ujjain as capital.

Vindhya = Eastern Vindhyas; Achavata = Vindhyas south of Malwa; Pariyatra = Arāvali and Western Vindhyas; Sahya = Western Ghāts; Kaṇhagiri = Kānheri; Siritana = Śrī Śaila; Malaya = Western Ghāts to the south of Nilgiri; Mahendra = Eastern Ghāts, between the Mahānadi and Godāvarī; Seta = unidentified; Chakora = In the same locality as Śrī Śaila.

For further information see Pt. I, Geography of the Deccan, and also *EHD*, p. 29; *CIC*, pp. 31-5; *JBBRAS*, iii, 73; *AHRS*, iv, 25 ff.; *EHAC*, pp. 62-3 and n. 75; *SI*, pp. 172, 196, 198.

harm them if he could avoid it. He humbled the power and pride of the Kshatriyas, destroyed the Yavanas, Śakas, and Pahlavas and extirpated the family of Khakharātas. He was uniquely skilled as an archer, absolute as a sovereign, a figure of heroic mould. Over all the fortresses of his enemies, deemed impregnable hitherto, his flag now fluttered in the breeze.

Though an absolute king, Gautamīputra was benevolent to his subjects and a father to his people. He understood the needs of his times and of his country and so conducted himself as to fulfil the duties of the *trivarga-dharma*, *artha*, and *kāma*. He shared the sorrows and the pleasures of those over whom he ruled. A pious and orthodox Brāhman, he was meticulous in maintaining caste-purity. The most devoted of sons, he was tireless in the service of his mother. He restored the glory of the royal Śātavāhana family. Thus he won fame for himself, for his mother, for the long line of his ancestors, for his people, and for his country.

Vāsishthīputra Puṣumāvi (II) was indeed fortunate to inherit such vast dominions from his father in A.D. 86. As many as eight inscriptions refer to his reign. Four are from Nāsik,¹ two belong to Kārle,² one hails from Amarāvati,³ and another from Dharaṇikoṭa.⁴ Many coins have been found in the Andhradeśa, and these are generally assumed to have belonged to him. Ptolemy records this king as having been a contemporary of Chashtana of Ujjain. This abundance of evidence for his reign does not, however, indicate that he was any greater than or even the equal of his father Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi.

Puṣumāvi is styled *Dakṣiṇāpatheśvara* in Gotamī-Balaśrī's inscription dated in his 19th regnal year = A.D. 105. He was entitled to that *biruda* on the ground of his father's conquests. Personally he achieved nothing. His vast inheritance was not entirely a blessing since it necessarily involved much additional responsibility. The unsettled conditions which prevailed in the north, due to the coming of the Kushāṇas and the perpetual rivalries of the Śaka Kshatrapas, had to some extent facilitated Gautamīputra's victories. Thus at the time of Puṣumāvi's accession to the throne we find the Kushāṇas fairly settled in North-west India and extending their suzerainty over Śaka Satrapies to the east and south. By A.D. 89, the date of the Sui Vihār inscription, Kanishka had imposed his authority over the lower Indus country and in his year 23 (78 + 23 = A.D. 101), his sovereignty was already acknowledged in Mathurā.⁵ The very next year his son Vāsishka appears as reigning at Mathurā. V. A. Smith assumes that Vāsishka and Huvishka were both sons of Kanishka

¹ Nāsik Inscriptions 1, 2, 3, and 25. See *EI*, viii.

² Kārle Inscriptions nos. 17 and 21. See *ASWI*, iv. ³ *ASSI*, i, 100. ⁴ *EI*, xxiv, 256-8.

⁵ Kanishka's inscriptions at Mathurā are dated in the years 21 and 23. I assume with Rapson that Kanishka was the founder of the Śaka era which began in A.D. 78. Kanishka's later Mathurā inscription should, therefore, be assigned to A.D. 101. According to Smith, Kanishka's rule began in c. A.D. 120 and terminated about A.D. 160. For a discussion of the Kushāṇa chronology see *PHAI*, pp. 317-27.

and that with Vāsishka predeceasing his father, Huvishka succeeded to the whole empire of Kanishka.¹ Huvishka's epigraphs show him as ruler of Mathurā between the years 33 and 60 (= A.D. 111-38).

The proximity of the Kushāṇa power in Mathurā to the now extensive Śātavāhana empire must have produced the usual repercussions. Ptolemy's notices have been taken as indicating that Chasṭana had acquired the Avanti country some time between the years A.D. 105 and 114.² Chasṭana's coins, which show similarities with the Śaka coins of Mathurā, and his title of Kshatrapa, which suggests that he was subordinate to a suzerain, have led historians to believe that Chasṭana must have been entrusted by the Kushāṇa monarch with the conquest of the northern provinces of the Andhra empire. If this be correct then Chasṭana's wresting of Ujjain from Puṣumāvi cannot have been an isolated incident of its kind. Several such attacks must have been made on Gautamīputra's earlier conquests in Central India and Rājputānā. This opinion is fully borne out by the Buddhist image inscription of Vāsishka of the year 28 (= A.D. 106) discovered at Sāñchī.³ It demonstrates clearly that simultaneously with Chasṭana's invasion of Avanti occurred also the attack on Ākara, and that Puṣumāvi lost both of those provinces. Chasṭana's coins have been found in Gujerāt and Surāshtra. But we cannot be definitely certain that the Śātavāhana losses during the last years of Puṣumāvi included those provinces also. The mere provenance of coins cannot establish the Śaka conquest of these regions. The first epigraphic evidence of such an event is seen in the Andhau inscriptions of A.D. 130, where Rudradāman's name occurs together with that of his grandfather Chasṭana. The conquest of these provinces may, therefore, have taken place in the Post-Puṣumāvi period before A.D. 130.

The existence of Puṣumāvi's inscriptions at Amarāvati and at Dharaṇikoṭa and the large number of his coins which have been found in the Andhra regions combine to indicate his increasing interest in the eastern provinces of his realm. The Dharaṇikoṭa epigraph is dated in his 25th regnal year (= A.D. 111). This fact may also suggest that he had already begun to feel the hopelessness of the Śātavāhana struggle for supremacy in the north. Ptolemy's notice of Baleokuros at Hippokura as being contemporary with Puṣumāvi at Paithan is another pointer in the same direction. For it shows the increasing tendency on the part of Puṣumāvi to divest himself of responsibility as far as possible. But, as later became evident, the consequent devolution of authority meant an equivalent weakening of royal power.

Puṣumāvi (II) was succeeded in A.D. 114 by Śiva Śrī. The latter and his successor Śivaskanda each ruled for seven years. They had to endure the unwelcome sight of the growing power of the house of Chasṭana which expanded so rapidly as to reach Cutch in the west by A.D. 130. It is not possible to be certain as to which of the intervening provinces were conquered by the

¹ *EHI*, 4th edition, p. 286.

² See *supra*, p. 107.

³ Bühler, *EI*, ii, 369-70.

Karddamakas, the house of Chasṭāna. But the position of the province of Cutch in relation to Avanti or Western Malwa would suggest that both Chasṭāna and Jayadāman and Chasṭāna and Rudradāman had advanced rather cautiously from the northern frontiers before actually risking a direct invasion of the heart of the empire. And in spite of this pusillanimous hesitation some bitter conflicts appear to have taken place between the Śaka and the Sātavāhana forces. Indeed Chasṭāna's son Jayadāman, as already recorded above, lost his life in fighting his Andhra enemies.

Gautamīputra Yajña Śrī's accession in A.D. 128 was both a threat and a warning to Rudradāman. If Yajña Śrī's succession was really a usurpation of the power of Vāśiṣṭhīputra Sātakarṇi, the brother of Śivasvātī, as suggested earlier in this book, then the Sātavāhana had personal as well as political motives for hatred of his opponent. In his Gīrnār inscription dated A.D. 150 king Rudradāman is described as an (*ā*)*prāṇocchvāsātipuruṣa-vadhanivṛitti-kṛta-satyapratijñā* and also *anya(tra) saṃgrāmeṣvabhimukhāgata-sadrśa-śatru-praharaṇa-vitarāṇatvā-vigūṇa-ri(pu)*, . . . *kārunya*. On this reading of his character he was a man who would have avoided a bloody war if he could. He therefore won over the disgruntled Vāśiṣṭhīputra Sātakarṇi to his side by giving him his daughter in marriage. Neither deceived nor appeased by these manoeuvres, Yajña Śrī proceeded to strengthen his frontier outposts still further. He must have seen the danger of the Sātavāhana house being divided against itself. He appears to have concentrated his forces in the Nāsik regions, as may be inferred from an inscription at Nāsik registering the dedication of a cave to the monks by the Mahāsenāpatinī Vāsū, wife of the Mahāsenāpati Bhavagopa of the Kauśika family.¹ Rudradāman's attack was probably expected from that quarter and Mahāsenāpati Bhavagopa was in command of the Sātavāhana forces.

The battle itself, fought shortly after Yajña Śrī's 7th regnal year (A.D. 135), went against the Andhra monarch. But the latter would not abandon his western territories. An inscription has been found at Kānheri dated in the 16th regnal year of Gautamīputra Yajñaśrī.² Some time about that date, i.e. A.D. 144 or shortly after, a second battle was fought by the Andhra and Karddamaka kings. Again the battle went against the Andhras. Yajña Śrī was so thoroughly defeated and left so completely at the mercy of the victorious Rudradāman that the latter would not have set him free had it not been that he was remotely connected with Rudradāman's own family. The whole of the Aparānta country and all the northern and north-western provinces acknowledged the Śaka suzerainty, and Rudradāman's son-in-law Vāśiṣṭhīputra Sātakarṇi was installed king over what had been a short time before the western Andhra empire.

Yajña Śrī continued to rule until A.D. 157, but over a reduced dominion, confined entirely to the eastern Deccan. His Chinna inscription, dated in his

¹ *El*, viii, p. 94, No. 24; *Lüders List*, No. 1146.

² *Lüders*, 1024.

27th regnal year (A.D. 155), styles him Araka and Mahataraka.¹ He is stated to have performed a sacrifice, though the record itself registers a gift to a Buddhist establishment and makes no mention of any ritual observance.

His inscriptions and coins are found widely dispersed. Of special significance is his epigraph at Chinna, which is in the Repalle *tāluk* of Guntūr District. It lies very near the sea-shore, just three miles from Moṭupalle which later rose to great fame as a trading post. His ship coins, of which a large number have been found, suggest that an extensive maritime commerce developed during his reign.

He was the last great ruler of the Andhra-Sātavāhana dynasty. The reigns of his successors Vijaya, Chanda Śrī, and Puṣumāvi (III), covering altogether a period of seventeen years, are of little significance historically. They were weaklings and could never have succeeded where Yajña Śrī had failed. Puṣumāvi (III) seems to have placed the region of the Sātavāhanihāra (the Bellāry District) under Mahāsenapati Khamḍanāga.² The rise of the Chuṭus in the western and southern districts, of the Abhiras in the Nāsik area, and of the Ikshvākus in the east, and the relentless pressure of the Śakas of Ujjain, sounded the knell of the Sātavāhana empire. This too went the way of all empires, 'through valour, greatness, discord, degeneracy and decay'. But while it lasted, for more than four centuries and a half, it imparted more stability and security to the life of the people, the inhabitants of the vast regions of the Deccan, than any other Indian power had ever done. Many empires had come and gone, the Mauryas, Śuṅgas, and Kaṇvas in Magadha, the Chetis in Kalinga, and the Bactrians, Śakas, and Pahlavas in North and North-western India. Yet the Sātavāhanas ruled on, strong in will and stronger in action, and before they fell, made weak by time and fate, they had already saved the Deccan from the aliens for more than three centuries.

¹ Bühler, *EI*, i, 95-6.

² The Myākadoni Inscription. It refers to the 8th regnal year of one Śrī Puṣumāvi of the Sātavāhana family. Dr. Sukthankar who edited the record (*EI*, xiv, 153 ff.) assigned it to Puṣumāvi (II), son of Gautamiputra Sātakarṇi. But, for reasons given by Prof. Dubreuil (*AHD*, pp. 50-1), Puṣumāvi of this record must have been 'the last king of the Sātavāhana dynasty in the list given in the *Mat. ya Purāṇa*'. According to the chronological system followed in this chapter he seems to have ruled from 166 to at least A.D. 174.

VIII

CULTURAL CONDITION UNDER THE SĀTAVĀHANAS

THE cultural history of the period is no better documented than its political history. In fact there is even less evidence here, for when we come to the study of economic and social conditions even the flickering and uncertain light of the Purāṇic texts is lacking. Inscriptions, coins, and monuments are so few and far between that they hardly serve to furnish any details regarding the various aspects of the life of the people. Where these material sources fail us, we have to deduce our information from abstract historical evidence, such as the advent of the Āryans into the Deccan, contact with Śakas, Yavanas, and Pahlavas, and commercial intercourse with Egypt and Rome.

On the whole the cultural history of the Deccan is in fact the history of its Āryanization. Administration, social and economic life, religion and philosophy, art and literature—in fact every branch of human activity, was recast in the Āryan mould. The Vedic rishis, Mauryan officers and Buddhist missionaries alike by precept and example hastened the revolutionary change and served to implant Āryan institutions firmly in the Deccanī soil. The Sātavāhanas and the Western Kshatrapas accepted these as a matter of course. Indeed there is some evidence to show that they deliberately and consciously followed the policy laid down in such of the *arthaśāstras* and *smṛtis* as were available to them. Among the works of this type, the *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭilya and the *Mānavadharmasūtra* appear to have been frequently copied and carefully studied in those days. 'At the end of the first century', says Jayaswal, 'Manu's code is the Dharmaśāstra.'¹ In the Nāsik cave inscription No. 2 Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi is said to have 'properly devised time and place for the pursuit of the *Tivaga* (i.e. *Trivarga*), and sympathized fully with the weal and woe of the citizens'.² This is in complete accord with Kauṭilya's recommendation that the king may 'enjoy in equal degree the three pursuits of life—*dharma*, *artha*, and *kāma*—which are interdependent upon one another' and that 'in the happiness of his subjects lies his happiness; in their welfare his welfare'.³ Hence where archaeological evidence is non-existent, works on ancient Indian polity may be accepted as sufficiently reliable sources for the study of the administrative machinery and life of the people. There is no reason to think that in the government of the Deccan the Sātavāhanas ignored the ideals set forth in Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra*.

¹ K. P. Jayaswal, *Manu and Yājñavalkya*, p. 43.

² *EI*, viii, 60.

³ *Arth.*, bk.i, chaps. vii and xix.

The extent of the Sātavāhana dominions and of those of their antagonists, the Western Kshatrapas, fluctuated continually according to the political vicissitudes of the times. The *Purāṇas* assert that the Andhras overthrew the Kaṇvas and thus acquired the empire of Magadha. But clear evidence of their control over the ancient imperial capital, Pāṭaliputra, has not yet come to light. They were definitely a Deccanī power. At most they had two seats of government—Dhānyakāṭaka (*Dharnikoṭa*) on the southern bank of the Kṛishṇā in the Guntūr District, and later Paiṭhana on the northern bank of the Godāvarī in the Aurangābād District. At its zenith their empire stretched from the Bay of Bengāl in the east to the Arabian sea in the west, and embraced the entire region between the Narmadā in the north and the Kṛishṇā in the south. The conquest of Malwa marks the limit to which the progress of their rule beyond the Vindhyan range can be *definitely* traced. But Malwa was in fact the main prize at stake in the Śaka-Sātavāhana duel and hence frequently changed hands. The fate of certain parts of the Deccan, especially the territories round Nāsik, Junnār, and Kārle,¹ was subject to like fluctuations.

Whatever the area of the realm at any given moment, the king always wielded supreme authority over it. Succession to the throne was hereditary in the male line. Some of the later Sātavāhanas bore metronymics along with the personal name. But these metronymic titles had nothing to do with any practice of tracing descent through the matriarchal line. Probably the usage of calling sons after their mothers had its origin in the prevalence of polygamy. The downfall of the Mauryan empire appears to have been followed by a reaction in favour of the old Vedic rituals. Like Pushyamitra Śuṅga of Magadha, Sātakarṇi II proclaimed his suzerainty by performing two *Aśvamedhas*, one *Rājāsūya*, and a number of minor sacrifices. The kings were no longer content with the simple title of *rājā*. Unlike Aśoka, who actually ruled over much more extensive territories, Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi is called *rājaraṇo*, i.e. 'king of kings'. In the regions conquered by the Śakas, a Kshatrapa was appointed by the Śaka suzerain at Taxilā or Mathurā. The title Mahākshatrapa is often met with in some of the inscriptions. Probably he exercised greater power and independence than a Kshatrapa, but was nevertheless nominally subservient to his overlord. Although the Kshatrapas were foreign agents, they ruled like any other Indian prince. Nahapāṇa styled himself *rājan* on his coins; his son-in-law made lavish donations on Hindu lines; and Rudradāman not only bore a Hindu name but also strove for the attainment of the objects of (*dharmārtha*)-*kāma*, and studied the *arthavidyā* (the Hindu science of polity) assiduously.²

Inscriptions furnish us with only a skeleton of the administrative machinery. They show that a large portion of the Sātavāhana dominions was

¹ See *supra*, p. 126.

² Rapson, *CIC*, pp. 65 ff.; Nāsik No. 10, *EI*, viii, and Junāgarh Rock Inscription, *SI*, p. 172.

governed by royal officers and the rest by feudatory chieftains. For administrative purposes the state was divided into a number of *āhāras* or *rāshṭras*, each of which consisted of at least one central town (*Nigama*) and a number of villages (*grāmas*). There were the *āhāras* of Govardhana, Sopārā, Māmala, Sātavāhana, &c. An *āhāra* represented the same subdivision as the *vishaya* of the Śālinkayana records. Epigraphs notice only a few of the royal officers who assisted the sovereign in the government of the realm: the *amātyas* were employed as governors of the divisions known as *āhāras*;¹ the *rājāmātyas* were probably invested with the duty of attending on the king and constituting the advisory body; a *mahāmātra* was commissioned to execute a specified task; the *bhaṇḍāgārika* discharged the functions of the superintendent of stores; the *heraṇika* acted as a treasurer; the *mahāsenāpati* was obviously a commander of state forces; but sometimes he acted as a governor.² The *lekḥaka* functioned as the secretary of state and drafted all documents emanating from the king;³ and the *nibandhakaras* looked after the registration of such documents. These and several other high officers, whose existence may be inferred from the inevitable needs of an extensive and well-organized state, constituted what may be characterized as the central services. That the state was well organized is proved by the formalities connected with official grants, viz. oral orders of the donor, drafting, preparation of the charter, registration in the government archives, and finally delivery of the document to the donee.⁴ It is easily understandable that such a state could not have functioned for a day without essential departments such as those of police, finance, justice, army, commissariat, agriculture, industries, &c., although contemporary inscriptions do not actually refer to any of these.

The *mahārathis* and the *mahābhajas* noticed in the Kārle and Kānheri epigraphs appear to have been feudatory chieftains.⁵ They held their lands as hereditary possessions and enjoyed a rank and power far superior to those of the *amātyas*. While an *amātya* made grants of lands and villages under the orders of his sovereign, a *mahārathi* or a *mahābhaja* made similar donations by his own authority.⁶ The *mahārathis* exercised power in the country above the western *ghāṭs*, and the *mahābhajas* in the northern Konkan.

The existence of another set of rulers is revealed by the coins discovered at Kolhāpur.⁷ There have been three kinds of legends: (1) Rāno Vaśiṣṭiputasa Vilivayakurasa, (2) Rāno Mādhariputasa Sivalakurasa, and (3) Rāno

¹ Kauṭilya says 'native, born of high family, well trained in arts, possessed of foresight . . . these are the qualifications of an *amātya*' (*Arth.*, p. 14). The *Amātyas* Viṣṇupālita, Syamaka and Śiba-skanda-datta successively governed the *āhāra* of Govardhana (Nāsik) in the days of Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi and Puṣumāvi.

² The Jangliḡṇḡa Inscription, *EI*, xiv, 155.

³ Kauṭilya says that 'one who is possessed of ministerial qualifications, acquainted with all kinds of customs, alert in composition, competent in legible writing and quick in reading shall be appointed as *lekḥaka*' (*Arth.*, p. 71).

⁴ Nāsik Nos. 4 and 5, *EI*, viii.

⁶ Kārle No. 14, *EI*, vii.

⁵ *IA*, 1918, p. 80.

⁷ Rapson, *CIC*, lxxxvi.

Gotamīputasa Vilivāyakurasa. Since No. 2 restruck the coins of No. 1, and since No. 3 treated similarly the coins of both No. 1 and No. 2, they appear to have ruled in the region of Kolhāpur in the order in which they are placed here. That their territories lay within the Sātavāhana dominions may be inferred from the fact that Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi was master of the lands as far south as Vaijayanti (Banavāsi) and that Kolhāpur lies north of Vaijayanti. Ptolemy, the Greek geographer, mentions Baleokouras as ruling at Hippokoura and Siri Polemaios at Baithan. If Sir R. G. Bhandarkar's identification of Baleokouras with Vilivāyakura be correct, Hippokoura may be assumed to be the Greek name for Kolhāpur. Siri Polemaios is obviously Śrī Puṣumāvi, the son of Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi. The Ujjain symbol which is invariably associated with the Sātavāhana coins is absent on those of the Vilivāyakuras. Hence these were either the feudatories of the Sātavāhanas or kings who were subordinate to them.¹ Their title *rāno* need not be construed as indicating their independent status, since Nahapāna, who was actually the feudatory of a northern power, bore the title of *rājan*.

Some of the Sātavāhana kings and the Western Kshatrapas displayed keen interest in promoting the welfare of the people. Sātakarṇi II performed a number of sacrifices and gave immense sums in cash and kind to the Brāhmanas.² Ushabhadāta, the son-in-law of Nahapāna, bestowed gifts on Brāhmanas and Buddhists alike and organized ferries, rest-houses, places for drinking water, and public halls for his subjects.³ Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi 'sympathized with the weal and woe of the citizens. . . .; never levied nor employed taxes except in conformity with justice . . . furthered the homesteads of the lowly as well as those of the twice-born.'⁴ He and members of his family made provision for the comfort of the Buddhist monks. These activities may well have been exaggerated in the epigraphical records; yet they may be accepted as typical of some of the recognized channels through which the royal bounty benefited the subjects.

The smallest administrative units were the villages called *grāmas* and the towns called *nigamas*. Inscriptional evidence regarding their administration

¹ Bakhle: 'Sātavāhanas and the Contemporary Kshatrapas' in *JBBR*. 15, N.S., iv, 57. In seeking to identify these chiefs with the Sātavāhana kings Sir R. G. Bhandarkar and Prof. Rapson placed too much reliance on their metronymics.

² *ASWI*, v, 60 f.; 80 f.; *SI*, No. 82. The *dakshinā* (fees) given on the occasions of various sacrifices consisted of cows, horses, elephants, chariots, silver and gold articles, and cash. The total of the cows given away reached the figure of more than 50,000 and the total cash gifts amounted to 148,000 and odd *karshapaṇas*. Although both silver and copper coins circulated under the name *karshapaṇa*, here only silver is intended. (See *CIC*, p. clxxxiii, n. 1).

³ Nāsik Nos. 10 and 12, *EI*, viii, Ushabhadāta's charities and public works were on a more lavish scale; gifts of 300,000 cows and sixteen villages to Brāhmanas; construction of rest-houses at Bhārūkacha, Daśapura, Govardhana, and Sopāraga; the feeding of a thousand Brāhmanas the whole year round; the establishment of free ferries by boats on the rivers Iba, Parada, Damana, Tapi, Karabena, and Dahanuka; and meeting-halls on both banks of these rivers; the construction of wells, tanks, and gardens for the use of his subjects, &c.

⁴ Nāsik No. 2, *EI*, viii.

is not adequate. Hāla's *Gāthā Sattasai* refers to *grāmāni*, whose jurisdiction extended to as many as five villages and sometimes even ten villages.¹ There was considerable autonomy in managing the affairs of the villages and towns. Epigraphic records refer to several towns in the Deccan. Bharukacha (Broach), Sopārā, Kānheri, Kalyāṇa, Paṭhan, Tagara, Junnār, Kārle, Govardhana, and Dhanakata figure most prominently in this period. Some of them were centres of great commercial activity. A few of them, if not all, had a *nigamasabhā*, an assembly of the citizens. A Nāsik inscription mentions one such assembly in which Ushabhadata's deed of gift was proclaimed and registered 'according to custom'.² This *sabhā* or assembly was the forum through which the citizens of the town acted and voiced their feelings. Another inscription from the same locality shows that its inhabitants *as a body* made a donation of a village; this would not have been possible if they had not been organized as a corporate body.³ Some of the communities had formed themselves into groups so as to maintain order and safeguard their interests. *Gahapati* is a term met with in some of the inscriptions of the period and in Hāla's *Sattasai*. It appears to have been the designation of the head of a certain number of households of cultivators. Some of these *gahapatis* were also members of the *nigamasabhā*.⁴ *Seni* or *Śreni* is another term of frequent occurrence in certain epigraphic records. It means a guild. Each class of traders had a guild of its own.⁵ Even the Buddhist monks had their own association known as the *sangha*. Unaffected by dynastic changes, these institutions administered local affairs within their own spheres and this arrangement served to mitigate the shock of revolutions.

During the administration of the Śātavāhanas, and even earlier, the people of the Deccan seem to have been familiar with the fourfold division of society into Brāhmins, Kshatriyas, Vaiśyas, and Śūdras. The Brāhmins formed the priestly class; the Kshatriyas were the fighting men; the Vaiśyas pursued the avocations of trade and agriculture; and the Śūdras were the menial labourers whose business it was to serve their betters. Every family observing the Āryan *dharma* fell under one or other of these four heads. Outside the Āryan pale were the indigenous tribes who were indifferent to Āryan ways of life and thought. Most of the people apparently came to be known according to their professions, such as the *halika* (cultivator), the *sethi* (merchant), the *gadhi* (druggist), the *vadhaki* (carpenter), the *kolika* (weaver), the *tilapisaka* (oil-presser), the *kamara* (iron-worker), &c. The advent of the Buddhists and the inroads of the Śaka-Pahlavas appear to have very considerably shaken the social structure. Buddhist monks and nuns began to receive the pious attention of the poorer lay men and women, cultivators of

¹ *The Gāthā Sattasai* (*Kāvyamālā* 21), 728, 731. According to Kautilya a *gopa* was in charge of five or ten villages. *Arth.*, II, chap. xxxv.

² No. 12, *EI*, viii.

³ No. 18, *ibid.*, Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar: *CL*, 1918, p. 177.

⁴ V. S. Bakhle, *op. cit.*, p. 50.

⁵ See *infra*, p. 137.

the soil, as well as of the Śakas, Yavanas, and Pahlavas,¹ who as the result of political conflicts had entered the Deccan and the adjoining provinces at a very early period. These foreigners had their communities in all the chief towns of the Deccan and North-western India. Some of the Yavanas embraced Buddhism, while a number of Śakas accepted both Buddhism and Brāhmanism. They used Prākṛit in their inscriptions and even adopted Āryan personal and family names.² To cite a typical example, Nahapāṇa's daughter bore the name Dakshamitrā and his son-in-law's name was Ushabhadāta (Sanskrit Rishabhadatta). The latter's charities to the Brāhmaṇas and the Buddhists and the gifts of the Yavanas for the benefit of the Buddhist monks show how the foreigners were gradually adopting the faith and customs of their new homes and becoming absorbed in the indigenous society.³ Inter-marriages between them and the caste people appear to have taken place frequently. In this context Gautamiputra Sātakarṇi's attempt to 'stop the contamination of the four castes' becomes quite significant. Yet caste rules were not strictly observed inasmuch as Brāhmanas often became kings. Sātavāhanas themselves belonged to the priestly class and yet held sovereign authority over the Deccan. Kshatriyas, also, sometimes appear to have taken to the mercantile profession of the Vaiśya caste.⁴

The joint-family system was another normal feature of society during this period. Several of the inscriptions found at Amarāvati refer to gifts made by persons in common with their parents, wives, brothers, sisters, sons, daughters, grandsons, granddaughters, &c., as the case may be.⁵ The various members of the group are mentioned in the order of their place in the family; the father is given precedence over the mother, the son over the daughter, the brother over the sister, &c. This is merely a reflection of the Āryan patriarchal system and does not indicate that women were relegated to an inferior position in society. In the contemporary stone records a number of ladies are found making gifts, sometimes very costly, at Nāsik, Kuda, Kārle, and Amarāvati. According to Dr. K. Gopalachari's estimate, 'of the nearly 145 epigraphs from Amarāvati 72, out of the 30 at Kuda 13, out of the 29 from Nāsik 16, either record gifts by ladies or gifts with the giving of which ladies are associated'.⁶

If sculptures accurately depict contemporary fashions, then scanty dress and profuse ornaments appear to have satisfied the common people. The figures cut on the Amarāvati rails and in the Kārle *chaitya* cave tell almost the same story: except in certain small details, the dress and ornaments in use on both sides of the Deccan were the same. Women wore a twisted cloth below the waist in two or three tiers with a knot at the right and the ends hanging from

¹ *Yavana* is an Indian term used in the inscriptions of Aśoka for Greeks.

² Nāsik Nos. 11, 13, 18, and 26, *Ell*, viii; Kārle Nos. 7 and 10, *ibid.*, vii; and Andhau Inscription in *ibid.*, xvi, 23 ff.

³ Kārle Nos. 7, 10, and 13 and Nāsik Nos. 10 and 12, *loc. cit.*

⁵ See Burgess, *BSAJ*, pp. 86, 87, 91, 94, 100, 103, 105.

⁴ *ASW*, v, Kānheri No. 4.

⁶ *EHAC*, p. 97.

it. It was not customary as yet for them to cover their breasts. Men had a loin cloth, part of which sometimes was thrown over their shoulders. They also put on a head-dress of twisted cloth. Ear-rings, bangles, bracelets, and necklaces were worn by both men and women. Some of the latter, however, wore bangles running up to the elbows, and bracelets covering a large part of the upper arm. Almost all women adorned their legs with anklets.

In the economic sphere, agriculture was the mainstay of both the people and the government. Gifts of cows, lands, and villages recorded in the epigraphs of those days demonstrate their importance in the daily life of the country. The king had his own royal demesne.¹ From the cultivators he appears to have collected the traditional one-sixth of the produce as the share of the state. The immunities associated with royal gifts of fields prove indirectly that salt was a state monopoly.²

Industry and commerce occupied the next place in the economic life of the land. Various classes of workers figure prominently in the contemporary records. Inscriptions at Nāsik and Junnār mention *kularikas* (potters?), *odayantrikas* (makers of hydraulic engines), *tilapisakas* (oil-millers), *dhannikas* (corn-dealers), *kolikas* (weavers), *vasakaras* (bamboo workers), *kasakaras* (braziers). Each of them had a guild of its own and these were technically called *śrenis*.³ They were corporate bodies, wielding great influence in the state. 'Śreni-dharma' or 'the usage of the guilds' had the force of law. They served trade or craft interests in various ways. A special feature of these associations was the banking facilities provided by them. They received cash deposits and endowments of property, and undertook to spend the income from them in a specified manner. For instance, the Nāsik epigraph of Ushabhadāta shows that at Govardhana one weavers' guild accepted a permanent investment of 2,000 *kāhāpanās* yielding interest at the rate of 1 per cent. per month,⁴ and another of 1,000 *kāhāpanās* at $\frac{3}{4}$ per cent. per month. The interest on the larger sum was earmarked for supplying annually 'to every one of the twenty monks who kept the *vassa* in the cave (at Nāsik) a cloth-money of 12 (*kāhāpanās*)' and that on the smaller sum was set apart for providing them with means to meet other expenses.⁵ An inscription by a Śaka lay-worshipper at Junnār records the investment of the income of two fields with the guild at Konachika for planting *karanja* and banyan trees.⁶ The guilds had also the

¹ Nāsik No. 5, *El*, viii.

² Nāsik Nos. 3, 4, 5, *ibid*.

³ Lüders Nos. 1137, 1180, 1133, and 1165.

⁴ Lüders No. 1133 (Nāsik No. 12, *El*, viii). *Kāhāpanā*'s Sanskrit equivalent is *karshapana*. Theoretically it was the name of a coin of copper, silver, or gold weighing one *karsha* 16 *māshas*. But in the case of silver coins a *māsha* was equal to 2 *ratīs* while in the case of copper coins it was calculated at 5 *ratīs* each (the *ratī* = 1.83 grains). According to Prof. Rapson the *karshapanas* of the Nānāghāt, Nāsik, and Kānheri inscriptions were silver coins; these weighed only about 36 grains, instead of 58 grains as would be theoretically required. *CIC*, pp. clxxvii-clxxxiv. The ratio between the silver and the gold coin was 35 silver *karshapanas* to 1 gold *suvarṇa*.

⁵ The *vassa* or the *retreat* during the rainy season, when the Buddhist monks had to reside in a settled place.

⁶ Lüders No. 1162.

power to make gifts in the name of the corporation. At Junnār there is an epigraph which notices the gift of a seven-celled cave and a cistern by the guild of corn-dealers.¹ 'The guilds must have been of long standing, and their operations characterized by honesty and fair dealing; for otherwise men would scarcely have made perpetual endowments with them.'² The deposits served as capital for the traders and encouraged them to engage in commercial enterprises.

The *Periplus of the Erythraen Sea*, Roman coins discovered in the Indian Peninsula, Ptolemy's *Guide to Geography*, and the local epigraphic and numismatic records all throw considerable light on the commercial activities of the period in the Deccan. The *Periplus* shows that the western and the eastern parts of the Sātavāhana dominions were mostly well-peopled and prosperous; the 'inland country' was in a comparatively wild state as yet, being full of desert regions, great mountains, and all kinds of wild beasts, leopards, tigers, elephants, enormous serpents, hyenas, and baboons of many sorts.³ Yet along the western borderland of the Deccan plateau there were a number of market towns like Paithan, Tagara,⁴ Junnār, Nāsik, Vaijayanti, &c. According to the *Periplus*, to Barygaza (the modern Broach) were brought 'by wag-gons and through great tracts without roads, from Paethana carnelian in great quantities, and from Tagara much common cloth, all kinds of muslins and mallow cloth, and other merchandise brought there locally from the regions along the sea-coast'.⁵ South of Barygaza were the Sātavāhana ports of Sopārā and Kalyāṇa. In the east the Amarāvati inscriptions refer to Kevurura, Vijayapura, and Kudura as being places where merchants resided.⁶ Ptolemy notices the seaports of Kontakossyla, Koddaira (the modern Gudur), and Allosygne in the Maisolia region,⁷ which according to the *Periplus* 'stretched a great way along the coast in front of the inland country'. In spite of the wild conditions prevailing in some parts of the central Deccan, there was a busy traffic between the eastern and western wings of the Sātavāhana empire. Dr. J. F. Fleet says: 'A study of the maps has shown me the former existence of an early trading route, of which well marked traces still remain from the east coast through Golconda or Hyderabad, Ter and Paithan to Broach.'⁸ The caravan and the river-boat were the chief means of transport. That intercourse between different towns of the Deccan existed is proved by the benefactions of the natives of Daśapura at Nāsik, of Vaijayanti, Dhenukataka and Sopārā at Kārle, of Bharukacha and Kalyāṇa at Junnār, and of Sopārā at Nānāghāt.⁹ Ushabhadāta, the son-in-law of Nahapāna, paid special attention

¹ *Luders* No. 1180.

² Dr. R. C. Majumdar: *CLAI*, pp. 37-8.

³ Trans. by W. H. Schoff, sec. 50.

⁴ Identified by Dr. J. F. Fleet with modern Ter or Thair. The identification is doubtful in the extreme, because this part of the Deccan has no tradition as an area for the cloth industry. *JRAS*, 1901, pp. 537 ff. ⁵ The *Periplus*, by Schoff, sec. 51. ⁶ Burgess, *BSAJ*, pp. 78, 85, 93.

⁷ The coast between the Krishnā and the Godāvari. See McCindle's *AI* (Ptolemy), pp. 66-8.

⁸ *JRAS*, 1901, p. 598. ⁹ *Luders* Nos. 1138, 1090, 1092, 1093, 1096, 1097, 1169, 1177, and 1119.

to the comfort of travellers. Rest-houses, wells, drinking and bathing places and free ferries were only a few of the amenities provided by him on some of the most frequented routes.

Money is as much essential for the free flow of trade as are the means of communication. But as is the case in all early societies currency was sparingly used in the Deccan. Most of the local transactions were effected by barter or by the use of small coins or other exchange tokens. Coinage did not appeal much to the early Hindu craftsmen. The Sātavāhana coins were of lead, potin, copper, and silver with no pretensions to artistic merit.¹ Nahapāna struck coins of both copper and silver. His silver coins were apparently imitations of the hemi-drachms of the Indo-Greek kings as regards size, weight, and fabric. Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi restruck most of the silver coins which had been issued in the name of Nahapāna.² The *kāhāpaṇās* (*karshapaṇas*) mentioned in the contemporary records were silver coins.³ One of the inscriptions of Ushabhadāta furnishes the information that the rate of exchange between the *kāhāpaṇā* and the gold coin of the period, the *suvarṇa*, was one to thirty-five.⁴

Gold ornaments were much in fashion and worn by both men and women, as shown in the paintings at Ajanta. Besides the well-known Kollar mines early gold workings have been found at Hatti, Wondapalli, and Maski, all situated in the Raichur district of the Hyderabad State. Maski was apparently an important centre of the gold industry since there has also been found carved on a rock an edict of Aśoka which mentions his name in addition to the customary appellation of *Devānam Piya*. References in the Old Testament indicate that gold was exported from the Deccan through West-Indian ports to the Mediterranean countries, and Sir John Marshall is of opinion that the ornaments in this metal discovered at Mohenjo-dāro were made of gold mined in the Deccan, as is shown by chemical analysis of the metal employed.

The ports of the Deccan and of Ceylon were the principal places whence the Romans obtained most of their jewels and other articles of luxury. In the beginning the Egyptians and the Arabs acted as middlemen and conveyed these goods to Roman merchants and distributors. According to the *Periplus* the Arabs carried on trade 'with Barygaza, sending their own ships there'.⁵ The Romans did not consider any price too high when they desired to satisfy their fancy for jewels, silk, and aromatics. After the conquest of Egypt in 30 B.C. by Octavius (Augustus), they established direct commerce with the Western ports of India. The epoch-making discovery of the monsoon winds by Europeans about A.D. 45 ushered in an era of brisk sea-borne trade between the Roman world and the Orient. The imports and exports of

¹ *CIC*, pls. i to vii. The legends on them are in Brāhmi; and the devices are the *chaitya*, bow, elephant, lion, horse, and the so-called Ujjain symbol.

² *Ibid.*, pl. ix.

³ See *supra*, p. 137, n. 4.

⁴ Nāsik No. 12, *EI*, viii.

⁵ Sec. 21.

Barygaza described so graphically in the *Periplus* may be taken as typical of the commerce between the two countries.¹ Into this market-town were imported wine, copper, tin, and lead; coral and topaz; thin clothing and inferior sorts of cloth of all kinds; bright coloured girdles; borax, sweet cloves, flint glass, realgar, antimony, and gold and silver coins. For the vassal kings there were brought costly vessels of silver, singing boys, beautiful girls for the harem, fine wines, thin clothing of the finest wefts, and the choicest ointments. The exports consisted of spikenard, costus, bdellium, ivory, agate, carnelian, lycium, *cotton cloth of all kinds*, silk cloth, mallow cloth, yarn, long pepper 'and such other things as are brought here from the various market towns'. Pliny observed that the Indian commodities were sold in the Roman markets at hundred times their original prices. Thus immense quantities of specie flowed into the Deccan from Europe in exchange for Indian merchandise. The Roman coins discovered in places as wide apart as Darphal and Nagdhara on the north-western, and Vinukonda, Nellore, and Cuddapah on the south-eastern fringe of the Deccan plateau show that from the time of Augustus (30 B.C.) the Deccan had close commercial relations with the Roman empire and that this traffic brought immense wealth to the Śaka and the Sātavāhana dominions.²

If the Romans looked to the East for articles of luxury, the Indians themselves went as merchants and missionaries to the Far East, where tradition had located the 'golden' Burma and Sumatra, 'silver' Arakan, and 'copper' Champa (Indo-China). The Eastern Deccan appears to have entered upon an epoch of great maritime activity during the reign of Puṣumāvī II, an activity which attained great proportions in the reign of Yajña Śrī. Their ship-marked coins picked up on the Coromandel coast appear to commemorate this signal achievement.³ Ptolemy refers to the commerce between the east-coast and 'golden chryse', i.e. the Malay peninsula and the Archipelago. The Indian colonization of some of the places in this part of the world may be attributed to this age. Triling, capital of Arakan, Kākula in the Gulf of Siam, and Amarāvati in Annām may well have been named after the places which bear these names in the Andhra territory.

The religious history of the Deccan centres round the triumph of the North Indian creeds over the local primitive forms of worship and ritual. The early inhabitants believed in tribal totems, village divinities, tree and serpent cults, and practised spirit worship. Magic and religion were inextricably intertwined in the early stages. The former included choral singing and dancing, as well as drinking intoxicating liquors in company. With the coming of the Āryans there occurred a revolutionary change. The earlier inhabitants either accepted the religion of the newcomers under certain limita-

¹ Sec. 49.

² *HSAD*, bk. ii, sec. iii; *CBREI*, pp. 280-93. Roman gold coins have also been found in the Karimnagar district.

³ *CIC*, pp. lxxxi and 22.

tions or retired to hilly regions and forests, where indeed they still practise their primitive rites at the present day. Vedic religion, the philosophy of the Upanishads, Jainism, and Buddhism, became so naturalized in the cis-Vindhyan lands that by the time of the rise of the Sātavāhanas to power they became 'more native than the native-born' practices. A Sātavāhana prince proclaimed his opposition to 'the contamination of the four *varṇas*' and insisted upon the pursuit of the triple object (of human activity).¹

The early Sātavāhana kings were staunch followers of the Vedic religion. The Nānāghāṭ inscription which records a number of sacrifices by Sātakarṇi II, and his gifts of cows, elephants, and money as *dakṣhiṇā* to the Brāhmins proves the great hold which the Vedic rituals had on their courts and entourage.² The invocations to various gods, such as Indra, Sankarshaṇa, Vāsudeva, Chandra, Sūrya, Yama, Varuṇa, and Kubera, in the same epigraph show that the Deccan during this period was passing through a transition from the Vedic to the Purāṇic pantheon. This feature is prominently reflected in Hāla's *Gāthā Sattasai*³ wherein there are references to Paśupati and Gaurī, Rudra and Pārvatī, Lakshmī and Nārāyaṇa. In some places Sarasvatī and Gaurī are invoked, and there are allusions to legends about Kṛishṇa. Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi is said to have 'put a stop to the mixture of four castes'. Adherence to the Vedic creed is also indicated by the name of King Yajña Śrī. The Śaka Kshatrapas who happened to rule over some part of the Deccan adopted the worship of the gods, Śiva or Viṣṇu, and also did reverence to the Brāhmins and the Śramaṇas. But these persons did not enjoy full Vedic rites, to which only the *twice-born* were entitled. For the solace of the Āryanized foreigners and mixed castes there were the *Purāṇas* which contain stories of creation and dissolution, of heaven and hell, and of the *avatāras* of Viṣṇu and the human appearances of Śiva, and the portions of the Dharma Śāstra applicable to common people. Some of the *Purāṇas* contain lists of kings up to the end of the Andhra (Sātavāhana) dynasty, narrated in a prophetic style with a view to earning the devotion of the masses to their contents. People were encouraged to visit sacred places of pilgrimage, to make gifts to gods and Brāhmins, to construct wells and tanks, and to plant trees, as acts of religious merit. Ushabhadāta's devotional acts, such as gifts of cows and villages 'to the gods and Brāhmins', feeding thousands of Brāhmins the (whole) year round, building wells, tanks, and rest-houses, and making visits to the *tīrthas* such as Prabhasa, Poshkara (Ajmer), &c., were typical of practical observance of the Purāṇic teachings. It may be assumed that ordinary people practised similar acts of religious merit on a smaller scale according to their means.

Jainism found its way into the regions south of the Vindhyas as early as

¹ Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi, Nāsik No. 2, *EI*, viii.

² *ASW*, v, 60 ff.

³ The *Gāthā Saptashati* (Kānyamālā 21), preface, p. 9; opening and closing verses; *Gāthās*, 455-372, 403.

the fourth century B.C. The Deccan was encircled by lands which became the second home of Jainism after it had ceased to be the dominant creed in the land of its birth. Malwa and Kalinga in the north and north-east, and Tamil-land and Mysore in the south had flourishing Jain *bastis*. The Nanda sovereign of Magadha took away a Jain image from Kalinga and Khārvela recovered it. 'At Sravana Belgola in Mysore, Chandragupta Maurya is said to have spent his last days in the company of Jain ascetics. Khārvela rendered great services to Jainism in Kalinga. The Udayagiri and Khandagiri hills contain numbers of caves excavated for the residence of Jain ascetics.' Sewell has noticed the existence of Jain antiquities in almost all the districts of the present-day Andhra area.¹

Next to the Vedic religion Buddhism commanded a large following. It gained a footing in the cis-Vindhyan lands long before the Sātavāhanas had made their mark on history. Archaeological research at Piṭālkhora and Kolhāpur in the west and at Ghaṇṭasāla and Bhattiprolu in the east has brought to light very early Buddhist relics in this region. Brief inscriptions in the Mauryan script which may be assigned to the third century B.C.² have been discovered on the *stūpas* of Jaggayapeta, Amarāvati, and Bhattiprolu in the Andhra area. According to the Buddhist chronicles Aśoka's missionaries popularized the law of the Buddha in Mahishmaṇḍala and Maharāshṭra.³ The Sātavāhanas and the Western Kshatrapas extended their patronage to the Buddhist ascetics. Almost all the early caves so far found in the Deccan and dedicated to Buddhism were excavated during the Sātavāhana period. King Kaṇha (Kṛishṇa) appointed a *mahāmātra* at Nāsik to look after the comforts of the Buddhist monks. Hāla's *Sattasai* refers to the worship of the feet of the Buddha.⁴ Buddhist monks and nuns were very numerous everywhere in the land. Pious people, not necessarily Buddhists, listened to their sermons and attended to their physical wants. These lay helpers at first improvised rock-cut *leṇas* (caves) and *chaityagṛhas* (shrines) for residence of the monks, and later built *viḥāras* (monasteries) with brick and timber. They sometimes donated plots of land or even villages in order to provide food for the ascetic communities. It was also customary to supply the latter with new robes. Provision for this form of benefaction was generally made by investing large sums of money in a neighbouring guild, the annual interest on which was to be used for the purpose of buying clothes for the monks and nuns. Gotamī Balaśrī presented a cave to the monks of the Bhadayaniya sect. Her son assigned to the monks of Tekirasi hill a field of 200 *nivartanas*. Both the mother and the son made gifts of a field of 100 *nivartanas* to the monks living on the Tiranhu

¹ *CHI*, i, 638-9; R. Sewell, *Topographical Lists of the Antiquities in the Madras Presidency*.

² Dr. Burgess, *BSAJ*, p. 108, *El*, xv, 258; *El*, ii, 323.

³ *Dip.*, viii, 5 and 8; *Mahā.*, xii, 29, 37.

⁴ The *Gāthā Saptashatī* (Kāvyamālā 21), gāthā 308. The *chatra*, *pāduka* or *dharmachakra*, and *stūpa* were objects of worship among the Buddhists before the worship of the image of the Buddha came to be generally practised.

hill. Puṣumāvi II made a gift of a village for the support of the Mahāsānghika monks living in the caves of Valuraka (Kārle). Ushabhadāta excavated a cave in the Triraśmi hills in Govardhana and gave a field costing 4,000 *kāhāpaṇas* to provide for feeding *all* monks, without distinction of sect, living in that cave. Besides this he made an endowment of 3,000 *kāhāpaṇas* 'for cloth-money and money for outside-life (*kusana*)' for twenty ascetics who kept *vassa* in his cave. This amount was invested in two weavers' gilds belonging to the locality. The records of the period show that similar gifts in favour of the Buddhists were made by men and women of all ranks and denominations.¹ Buddhist monuments at Nāsik, Kārle, Kanheri, Junnār, Kuḍā, Mahād, Kol, Bhāja, Beḍsā, Ajanta, Amarāvati, Nāgārjunakoṇḍa, Jaggayyapet, Bhattiprolu, &c., prove the popularity of the Buddhist monks in this age.

The monks themselves were subdivided into several sects. The early literature of Buddhism refers to the schools of the Andhaka monks which belonged specially to Andhra. From the contemporary epigraphs it appears that some of the sects flourished in particular towns of the Deccan: the Bhadayaniyas at Nāsik and Kānheri, the Mahāsānghikas at Kārle, the Dhammattariyas at Sopārā and Junnār, the Chetakiyas at Amarāvati, and the Purvaśailas and Avaraśailas at Nāgārjunakoṇḍa.² Unlike the Sātavāhana rulers, Ushabhadata patronized all sects alike. His donations were made in favour of the Buddhist ascetics 'without any distinction of sect or origin'.³

The beginnings of art, as of other fruits of human intelligence and labour, can be traced to the palaeolithic age. Starting with improvising crude tools and implements, men made steady progress in civilization—turned out better implements, good pottery, simple ornaments, dwelling-houses, and megalithic tombs. But no structures anterior to the Mauryan epoch survive in the Deccan at the present day. The reason is obvious. The earliest buildings were made out of mud or mud-bricks, bamboo canes, and other kinds of wood. The ancient monuments that have been brought to light south of the Vindhya are almost all post-Aśokan and Buddhist in inspiration. They consist of rock-cut *leṇas* and *chaityagrhas* and structural *vihāras* and *stūpas* discovered both in the western and in the eastern dominions of the Sātavāhanas. A graphic account of the principal monuments of this period is given in Part IX of this book, which shows what high levels of artistic conception and technical skill were attained by the Deccan craftsmen during the Sātavāhana régime.

As to the minor arts, an idea of their progress can be gathered from the

¹ *EL*, viii, Nāsik Inscriptions; vii, Kārle Inscriptions; and App. to x, *Lüders List*. Also D. R. Bhandarkar, 'Deccan of the Sātavāhanas', *IA*, 1919, pp. 77 ff.

² *Lüders List*, Nos. 1018, 1106, 1123, 1152, 1248, 1250; *MER*, 1927, 214, and 219. Buddhism split up into various schools due to doctrinal differences on such issues as 'Is the Buddha human?' 'Are Bodhisattvas average beings?', 'Are Ārhatas fully emancipated?' &c. See Nalinaksha Dutt, *Three Principal Schools of Buddhism*; also Dr. Burgess, *BSAJ*, p. 24.

³ Cf. Nāsik Nos. 3, 4, 5 with Nos. 10, 12, 13, in *EL*, viii.

articles so far excavated at Paiṭhana, Maski, and Koṇḍāpur in the Hyderabad State, and at Bhattiprolu and Amarāvati in the Gunṭūr District. Paiṭhana has yielded beads of burnt clay, lapis lazuli, agate, crystal, and carnelian, terra-cotta figurines and moulds, pottery utensils, shell ornaments, &c. Similar objects as well as beads of onyx, amethyst, ruby, and garnet were unearthed at Māski.¹ The finds at Koṇḍāpur included terra-cotta figurines, ornaments of precious stones, gold, copper, ivory, shell, and baked clay together with a hoard of potin and lead coins of the Sātavāhana princes. The heads of some of these terra-cotta figurines show realistic features and perfect modelling. The styles of dressing and plaiting the hair are remarkable for their variety, and some of them 'can stand comparison with the best painted head at Ajantā'. In the words of Dr. Yazdani, 'The potter's craft, which is considered insignificant in these days, during the early period of Deccan art occupied almost the same position as sculpture and painting.'² From Bhattiprolu *stūpa* have been recovered beryl and crystal caskets containing precious stones, gold flowers, jewels, beads, *trisulas*, and twenty-four silver coins. At Amarāvati was found a casket of pure gold in the form of a *stūpa* with an umbrella on the top. These show the quality of workmanship attained by the goldsmith and the jeweller of those days.³

A correct appreciation of the culture of the age, however, will not be complete without some reference to the contemporary system of education and literary development. It goes without saying that the Āryan teachers and missionaries brought with them into the Deccan their own literature and methods of instruction.⁴ By the third century B.C. the peoples of the Deccan had become so far familiar with the Brāhmi script and the Prākṛit language that Aśoka used them freely in his edicts which were intended to be read by them. Almost all the documents of the Sātavāhanas and the Western Kshatrapas are recorded in Prākṛit.⁵ The elaborate sacrifices performed by Sātakarṇi II show that the contemporary priests of the Deccan were well-versed in the Vedic literature. The Buddhist monks who commanded the devotion of the kings and peoples alike must have been equally learned in the law of the Buddha. The sculptures of Amarāvati and the paintings at Ajanta depicting *īātaka* stories and episodes from the life of the Great Buddha bear testimony to the spread of Buddhist lore among the artisan classes of people. Such achievements point to the existence of some agency for the spread of knowledge among the various strata of society. From the evidence of a somewhat

¹ *Annual Report* of the Arch. Dept. of H.E.H. the Nizam's Dominions, F. 1346, 1936-7 A.C.

² *ABORI*, xxii, 171-85, and the accompanying plates.

³ *BR A*, pp. 22-3.

⁴ The Brāhmins had the four Vedas, with their respective *Brāhmaṇas*, *Āraṇyakas*, and *Upanishadas*, the *Vedāṅgas*, the *Sūtras*, some of the *Purāṇas*, *Smritis*, and *Arthaśāstras*; the Buddhists had the *Tripitaka* and the *Jātakas*; and the Jains had their own independent sacred canon.

⁵ Only in the inscriptions of Ushabhadāta at Nāsik and Kārle have we a mixture of Sanskrit. The Junāgadh inscription of Rudradāman and the Kānheri inscription of his daughter are in Sanskrit. See *EI*, viii, p. 36 and x, App. No. 994.

later date it may be inferred that instruction in secular and sacred learning was imparted to the pupils in the *āśramas* of the Brāhmins or the *viḥāras* of the Buddhists and the Jains. It was mostly oral and the pupils had to memorize the lessons repeated by their teachers. These teachers received grants of land for their maintenance and other munificent gifts from the rulers and well-to-do citizens; and the pupils repaid them by services of a domestic nature. Professions were normally hereditary, and so in most cases the boy was instructed by his father or some close relative who was himself an experienced artisan. A number of crafts and trades were organized into guilds and these too must have served the cause of education by maintaining some standard of rectitude and good workmanship.

The Sātavāhana period was also productive of a few literary works of outstanding merit. There is the *Kātantra*, written by Sarvavarman, a minister of a Sātavāhana king, to enable his sovereign to acquire command over Sanskrit grammar within six months. It enjoyed a great fame, replaced old grammars, and is even today much in use in Eastern Bengal and Kashmir. Guṇāḍhya, said to be another minister of the same Sātavāhana prince, wrote the *Brhatkathā* in Paisācī Prākṛit.¹ It was the earliest collection of wonderful tales interwoven into the main story dealing with the adventures of a hero Naravāhanadatta. In the opinion of Dhanapāla, the author of *Tilakamañjarī*, 'Other Sanskrit *Kathās* are derived from it and by its side look like garments made of borrowed pieces'. The author of *Daśarūpa* placed it next to the *Rāmāyaṇa* as another mine of material for dramatic writers. Govardhana regarded Guṇāḍhya as the third of the epic triad, the first two being Vālmiki and Vyāsa. Unfortunately this work has totally disappeared, and so far there seems no chance of its recovery. An idea of its contents, however, can be had from its three versions in Sanskrit, viz. Somadeva's *Kathāsaritsāgara*, Kshemen-dra's *Brhatkathāmañjarī*, and Budhasvāmin's *Brahatkathā-ślokaśāgraha*. Prof. Felix Lacôte holds that 'the differences in the three versions enable us to a certain extent to restore the original' and that it was not a compilation without originality; it was an epic poem *sui generis*.

It is impossible to be definitely certain which Sātavāhana was the king for whom Sarvavarman composed the *Kātantra*, and to whom Guṇāḍhya made

¹ 'Paisācī is one of the oldest Prākṛits; it is mentioned by the *Prākṛitaprakāśa* by the side of Maḥarāṣṭrī, of Māgadhī and of Sauraseni, but it is not, by far, so well known as the other three' (Prof. Felix Lacôte, *Essay on Guṇāḍhya and the Brhatkathā*, p. 36). Somadeva records in his *Kathāsaritsāgara* a legend regarding the origin of both the *Kātantra* and the *Brhatkathā*: While a Sātavāhana king was bathing in the company of his wives in a tank in his garden, he threw water at one of them. She asked him not to do so (*modakaih paritāḍaya mām*). The king mistook the phrase *modakaih* for a single word meaning 'pieces of sweetmeat', got them at once, and began to throw them at her. Thereupon she laughed at his ignorance of the phonetic rules of Sanskrit grammar. Then the king felt ashamed and consulted his ministers. Guṇāḍhya promised to teach him grammar in six years, while Sarvavarman undertook to do so within six months. The latter produced the *Kātantra* grammar with supernatural help and fulfilled his undertaking. Guṇāḍhya retired to the Vindhyan forests. Here he learnt the Paisācī and wrote the *Brhatkathā* in that language and presented it to the king.

over his *Bṛhatkathā*. He is very likely the same one who in literary works bears *par excellence* the name Sātavāhana as well as Hāla. His extremely brief reign of one year is perhaps a fact which may seem evidence against this identification. But the *Matsya Purāṇa* assigns to him a rule of five years which probably includes the period of his administration as *Yuvarāja* or viceroy during his father's lifetime. As a crown prince or royal representative there was nothing to prevent him from taking a keen interest in literary pursuits.

Hāla himself is credited with the compilation of the *Gāthā Sattasai*. This is an anthology of seven hundred verses in the Maharāṣṭrī prākṛit abounding in love sentiments and ironical expressions. This work was evidently in the mind of Bāṇa when he referred to it as an immortal and refined repository of good sayings composed by Sātavāhana.¹ It is an important work not only on its own account but also as showing the existence of a large mass of Prākṛit literature at the time when it was compiled. Most of that literature is now lost. From the commentators' notes it appears that the compositions of poets like Bodissa, Chulluha, Amaraṛāj, Kumarela, Makarandasena, and Śrīrāja were freely drawn upon by Hāla in making this literary collection.²

The marriage of Hāla formed the theme of another poem in Prākṛit, called *Līlāvati Parīṇaya*, by an unknown author.³

The Nāsik inscription dated in the nineteenth year of Puṣumāyi II is composed in Prākṛit prose indicating that this style of writing also existed in that age.

But compositions in Sanskrit were not lacking. Rudradāman's Gīrnār inscription is in Sanskrit prose, ornate with figures of sound (*śabdālankāra*) and of sense (*arthālankāra*). Nāgārjuna's writings composed about the close of the Sātavāhana period were all in Sanskrit.

Indeed the most outstanding personality of this age in the field of religion, philosophy and literature was the Buddhist saint Nāgārjuna. Yet we have no precise information about either his life or his works. Legends have grown so thickly round him that he appears almost a mythical figure. In Chinese and indigenous writings he is depicted as a physician, an astrologer, a magician, the founder of the Madhyamika school of Buddhism, and above all an expounder of the *Śūnyavāda*. According to Yuan Chwang he spent the last years of his life at Po-lo-mo-lo-kili under the patronage of a king styled 'Sha-to-p'o-ha', i.e. Sātavāhana. A passage in Bāṇa's *Harshacharita* shows that according to the seventh-century tradition a Sātavāhana, *the lord of the three oceans*, was the friend of Nāgārjuna. In his *Suhṛllekha*, Nāgārjuna himself mentions a Sātavāhana. But all these references taken together do not give us any information beyond the mere fact that a certain Sātavāhana was the contemporary of Nāgārjuna. Since the names of Kanishka, Vasumitra, Aśvaghosha, &c., occur in the writings ascribed to him, it is very likely that he lived in the second

¹ *Harshacharita*: Introductory verses.

² Keith, *History of Sanskrit Literature*, pp. 223-5.

³ See *Bharati*, vol. iii.

century A.D., and that his Sātavāhana friend was Yajña Śrī Sātakarṇi or one of his successors.¹ Po-lo-mo-lo-kili may be identified with Śrī-Parvata which, according to Tārānāth, was the abode of Nāgārjuna. That Śrī-Parvata was another name of Nāgārjunakoṇḍa (in the Guṇṭūr district) is established by an inscription discovered there.² Of the treatises composed by this Buddhist saint about two dozen have survived in Chinese translations. *Prajñāparamita Śāstra*, *Mūlamādhyamika Śāstra*, *Dvādaśa Nikāya Śāstra*, *Śūnyasaptathi*, and *Suhṛllekha* are some of his more important works. A *Yogasāra*, a *Ratīśāstra*, and a *Rasaratnākara* have also been attributed to him.³

Although the Andhra-Sātavāhana power disappeared from the Deccan, it left a rich legacy in art and letters. The wall paintings of Ajanta, sculptures of Amarāvati, Beḍsa and Kārle, and literary works of Guṇāḍhya, Hāla, and Nāgārjuna are not small achievements.

¹ Watters, *On Yuan Chwang*, see ii, 200-8; *Harshacharita*, Eng. Trans. by Cowell and Thomas, p. 252; Beal, *Life of Hsien-Tsang*, Intro., pp. xx-xxi; *IA*, xv, 353 ff. and xvi, 169 ff.

² *FI*, xx, 22, Ins. No. 7.

³ *BRĀ*, p. 56.

PART III

THE HISTORY OF THE VĀKĀṬAKAS

by DR. A. S. ALTEKAR

- I The Vākāṭakas: chronology.
- II The home of the Vākāṭakas.
- III The Rulers of the dynasty: Vindhyaśakti and Pravarasena;
Rudrasena I; Gupta-Vākāṭaka relations; Pṛithviṣeṇa I;
Rudrasena II and Prabhāvatiguptā; Pravarasena II;
Narendrasena; Pṛithviṣeṇa II.
- IV The Basim Vākāṭaka branch.
- V The Disintegration and Disappearance of the Vākāṭaka
Empire.
- VI Vākāṭaka Administration and Society.

I

THE VĀKĀṬAKAS

CHRONOLOGY

CHRONOLOGY and geography are the two eyes of history; let us therefore first proceed to determine the chronology of the Vākāṭakas, without which no orderly narration of their history is possible. There is, however, very little conclusive evidence on which to base this important investigation.

It has been recently argued that the confused state of our information regarding the Vākāṭaka chronology can be solved by using our knowledge of the Chedi era as a sort of magic wand.¹ It is contended that the Chedi era of A.D. 248–9 was initiated by the Vākāṭakas to commemorate the accession of the founder of their house, Vindhyāśakti. No plausible case can be made out in support of this theory. The most convincing evidence to prove that it was the Vākāṭakas who began the Chedi era would be to show that they used it themselves in their own official records. In support of this contention it is argued that the Bhita seal of the (Vākāṭaka) Mahārājādhirāja (Pravarasena) is dated in the year 37 of this era, that he has used it on a coin of his, which is said to have been issued in the 76th year of the Chedi era, and that his successor Rudrasena I has also used it on some of his coins, which were issued in the Chedi year 100. The arguments advanced to support the above contentions are very flimsy and do not bear any minute scrutiny. As to the Bhita seal being dated in the 37th year of the Chedi era, it may be pointed out that seals are normally not dated at all. The seal in question is, however, fragmentary; it merely refers to a king of kings (Mahārājādhirāja), *without giving his proper name at all*. There is thus no evidence for ascribing it to Pravarasena I. And even supposing that we do so for the sake of argument, it has to be pointed out that it does not bear the date 37; the peculiarly shaped branches of the tree on the seal were in fact mistaken for the symbols for 30 and 7.²

The theory that the coins of Pravarasena and Rudrasena I were issued in the years 76 and 100 respectively of the Chedi era is equally untenable. Pravarasena I issued no coins at all as far as we know, and the same is the case with regard to Rudrasena I. The coins attributed to Pravarasena I are really those of a ruler named Vīrasena, who ruled to the south of Mathura. Had they been issued by Pravarasena I, they should surely have been found within his kingdom, and not far away from it in the Mathura region. As it

¹ Jayaswal, *History of India*, 108–11: Pai in his paper: 'The Genealogy and the Chronology of the Vākāṭakas, in *JIH*, xiv, 184 ff., argues that the era was begun by Pravarasena I in A.D. 248 to commemorate his assumption of the title *samrāt* after the fourth horse-sacrifice.

² Sir R. Burn in *JIH*, xiv, 269; Altekar in *JNSI*, v, p. 132.

is, not a single coin of this type is found in the Madhya Pradesh, the centre of the Vākāṭaka kingdom. And finally, what is most important, these coins have no dates at all. What have been taken to be the symbols for the numerals 70 and 6 are actually merely parts of the palm-tree.¹ Coins attributed to Rudrasena I were issued at least 500 years before his time by some ruler of Kauśāmbī. They bear no name or date whatsoever; portions of Dharma-chakra and Triratna symbols were wrongly supposed to stand for the letters Rudra and the symbol for the numeral 100.² It may be also pointed out that these so-called coins of Rudrasena are never found outside Kauśāmbī anywhere within the home-provinces of the Vākāṭaka kingdom.

Nor is there any force in the argument that the Vākāṭakas must have started the Chedi era because it is supposed to have been used by their feudatories, the Magha rulers of Kauśāmbī. This assumption that the Maghas were using the Chedi era leads us in fact to impossible conclusions. Recent discoveries have shown that these kings were ruling over South Kośala also (Rewa State and Bundelkhand). The assumption that they were using the Chedi era leads to the conclusion that kings Vaiśravaṇa and Bhīma-varman were ruling at Kauśāmbī and in South Kośala from c. A.D. 355 to 377. Why then do they not figure in the Allahabad inscription of Samudragupta among the kings subdued or overthrown by that mighty conqueror? These kings issued a copious currency; the Guptas are not known to have permitted any feudatory to have his own independent coinage. They could not therefore have been their contemporaries. Therefore the era used by them cannot have been the Chedi era.

The theory then that the Vākāṭakas initiated the Chedi era does not bear close examination. There is no evidence to show that they have used it on any seals or coins. There is further another fact almost fatal to this theory. The Vākāṭakas officially issued a large number of charters, but none of these used the Chedi or any other era; they are all dated in the regnal years of the kings issuing them. If the Vākāṭakas were the founders of the Chedi era, if they used it on their coins and even on their seals, is it not very strange that they should have uniformly and consistently avoided its use in their own official charters, which were intended to be referred to as deeds of titles as long as the sun and the moon endured?³ It is true that the Vākāṭakas rose to power within a few years of the beginning of the Chedi era, but there is as yet no evidence to connect them with it. We have to solve the problems

¹ Altekar in *JNSI*, v, 132.

² *Ibid.*, 133.

³ Pai has argued that a dynasty which starts an era need not necessarily use it, and refers to the Sātavāhanas who did not use the Śaka era begun by them (*JIH*, xiv, 26). The argument has no force, for it is certain that the Sātavāhanas did not begin the Śaka era. It was more than a thousand years after the collapse of the Sātavāhanas that popular fancy connected these rulers with the Śaka era. Jayaswal's argument that Pravarasena I must have started an era because he took the title emperor (*śamrāt*) has not much evidential force; Maukhari, Chālukya, and Rāshtrakūṭa kings who took the title of Emperor, did not initiate any eras.

of Vākātaka chronology without the assistance which such evidence, had it existed, might have afforded.

The marriage of princess Prabhāvatīguptā, a daughter of the Gupta emperor Chandragupta II (c. A.D. 375 to 414), with Rudrasena II, the sixth king of the Vākātaka dynasty, supplies the only reliable clue in determining its chronology. Rudrasena II died young and there is clear evidence to show that his wife relied upon the assistance of her illustrious father during the trying years of a long regency which terminated in c. A.D. 410, when her surviving son Pravarasena II became old enough to take the reins of administration into his own hands. The birth of this prince may be placed in c. A.D. 390 during the short reign of his father Rudrasena II, c. A.D. 385 to 390. The father of Rudrasena II, Prithvīsheṇa I, had a successful reign, which may be placed during the years c. A.D. 360 to 385. An expression used in connexion with this king shows that the Vākātaka dynasty had been ruling prosperously for about a century before his accession.¹ We may place its rise to power in c. A.D. 260. The founder of the dynasty, Vindhyaśakti, therefore probably ruled from c. A.D. 255 or 250 to c. 275. His son and successor, Pravarasena I, is identical with King Pravīra of the *Purāṇas*, which credit him with a long rule of sixty years.² There is sufficient evidence to show that the various statements which the *Purāṇas* make about this ruler are substantially correct; we can therefore accept the Paurāṇic tradition and assume that he ruled for sixty years, from c. A.D. 275 to 335. Gautamīputra, the eldest son of Pravarasena I, died before the long reign of his father came to an end; the latter therefore was succeeded by his grandson Rudrasena I, who may be presumed to have ruled from A.D. 335 to 360. We have already stated that Rudrasena's son and grandson, Prithvīsheṇa I and Rudrasena II, ruled from c. A.D. 360 to 385 and 385 to 390 respectively. Then followed the regency of Prabhāvatīguptā, the queen dowager, from c. A.D. 390 to 410, at the end of which her surviving son Pravarasena II assumed the full responsibility of administration. It may, however, be pointed out that the periods assigned to each of these six reigns are only tentative and it is not unlikely that future discoveries may lead to modifications, but these will not in any case be considerable. The chronology of the successors of Pravarasena II will be discussed later in the course of our account of their reigns.

¹ Cf. *Samudita-varshaśatam-abhivardhamāna-kosha-daṇḍa-sādhana-santāna-putra-pautriṇaḥ*, Dudia, Plates, EI, III, 160, 'Who had sons and grandsons living and (adequate) implements of sovereignty consisting of army and treasury, continuously prospering and increasing for a hundred years'.

² *Vindhyaśaktisutachāpi Pravīro nāma Vīryavan Bhokshyate cha samāśīśastim samāptavaradakshīṇaiḥ*. Pargiter, DK4, p. 50.

II

THE HOME OF THE VĀKĀṬAKAS

SEVERAL problems connected with early Vākāṭaka history would be satisfactorily solved if we could determine their original home and the scene of their early military activity. Unfortunately we are not yet able to do so with definite certainty. The formation of the name Vākāṭaka suggests that the family originally hailed from a place called Vākāṭa or Vakāṭa, but there is as yet no certain knowledge concerning the whereabouts of this place.

Dr. Jayaswal has suggested that the Vākāṭakas were inhabitants of Bundelkhand and hailed from the village of Bijaur-Bāgāt, situated in the Tahrauli Tehsil of the former Orchha state, about six miles east of Chiragaon in the Jhansi District.¹ The obvious phonetic resemblance between Vākāṭa and Bāgāt lends plausibility to this suggestion, and Dr. Jayaswal has adduced three more arguments to support it.

1. There is a pillar at Dureha, four miles south of Jaso in Bundelkhand, with the inscription Vākāṭakānām, accompanied by a wheel, showing that the wheel was the insignia of the Vākāṭakas and that they were ruling in Bundelkhand at the time when the pillar was set up.

2. The Kilakila country with which the *Purāṇas* connect the earliest Vākāṭaka ruler, Vindhyaśakti, is the territory drained by the river of the same name in Punna State in Bundelkhand.

3. Nāchnā, where the inscription of Vyāghradeva, a feudatory of the Vākāṭaka king Prithviśeṇa, has been found, is also in Bundelkhand and is to be identified with Chaṇakā, which figures as a Vākāṭaka capital in the days of Pravarasena I.²

All the above arguments are unconvincing. A glance at the facsimile of the inscription on the Dureha pillar, as published by Jayaswal himself, shows that it cannot possibly be read as Vākāṭakānām.³ The *Purāṇas* state that Vindhyaśakti came after the Kilakila kings, and did not come from Kilakila territory. To identify Nāchnā with Chaṇakā is questionable; if it was indeed a Vākāṭaka capital, how can we explain the presence of a feudatory ruler at the same place as his sovereign? It is important to note that we have no records of the early Vākāṭakas in Bundelkhand. This would be rather difficult to explain if their original home was actually at Bijaur-Bāgāt.

The phonetic resemblance of Bijaur-Bāgāt with Vākāṭa is very striking. It would have supplied very strong evidence for placing the home of the Vākāṭakas at that place, had we not come across a Vākāṭaka householder in a third-century votive inscription at Amraoti⁴ in Andhra country. It is very improbable, though not impossible, that a householder from Bijaur-Bāgāt in

¹ Jayaswal, *History of India*, A.D. 150-350, pp. 66-68 and App. A.

² *Ibid.*

³ The reading is clearly *Vaṅkatṭrikānām*, which cannot be interpreted.

⁴ . . . *gāme vāthavasa gahapatisa Vākāṭakasa*. *EI*, xv, 267.

Bundelkhand should have gone to distant Amraoti to make a votive donation. It is more likely that the place Vākāṭa may have been nearer to Amraoti, somewhere in the Eastern Deccan, rather than to the north of the Vindhya. It cannot, however, be identified in our present state of knowledge, and we must await further discoveries.

Whatever may have been the home of the Vākāṭakas, the sphere of their early military activity seems to have been rather in the Western than in the Eastern Deccan. The name of the founder of the family, Vindhyaśakti, obviously suggests that his early military exploits resulted in the establishment of his rule over a portion of the Vindhya territory. Purikā, which was one of the early Vākāṭaka capitals,¹ eventually gave its name to a province which has been coupled with Daśārṇa by the *Bṛīhatsaṃhitā*² and mentioned along with Vidarbha and Aśmaka by the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*.³ Nay, the *Purāṇas* place Vindhyaśakti himself among the kings of Vidiśā in Eastern Malwa. The nucleus of the original Vākāṭaka principality must therefore have been somewhere in the eastern Madhya Pradesh or in Berar, and the exploit of Vindhyaśakti must have consisted in incorporating in it a portion of the Eastern Malwa after crossing the Vindhyan passes.

¹ Pargiter, *DKA*, 49-50.

² xiv, 10

³ lvii, 48.

III

RULERS OF THE DYNASTY

Vindhyasakti

c. A.D. 255-75

IN the third quarter of the third century A.D., when the Vākātakas rose to power, political conditions were favourable for the rise of a central and powerful state in the Deccan. The Sātavāhanas, who had been ruling over the Deccan, had fallen, and none among the new states which had subsequently risen to power in the territories they had dominated had shown the capacity to take over their imperial responsibilities. The Ikshvākus had carved out a kingdom for themselves in a portion of the Andhra country, but they were not able to extend their rule much to the north of the Kṛishṇā. The Chutu Sātakarnis of Mysore were mere local chiefs, who had neither the ability nor the resources to rise to the imperial position. In the Northern Koṅkan, the Ābhīras had founded a principality and had for a short time succeeded in ousting the Western Kshatrapas from their capital. They, however, soon sank into insignificance and abandoned any effort to expand over the Deccan. The Western Kshatrapas had once defeated the Sātavāhanas and had annexed a part of the Deccan to their kingdom; but during the latter half of the third century their power too was on the decline, and they had lost all hope of controlling the politics or the destinies of Southern India. In Northern India, the Nāgas of the Uttara Pradesh and the republics of Rajputana and the Punjab had reasserted their independence and repudiated the Kushāṇa supremacy. Their interest was, however, confined to their own homelands¹ and they had no ambition to bring the Deccan under their hegemony. The political situation was thus quite favourable for an adventurous chief to attempt to found a new house, which might eventually take the place of the great Sātavāhanas as the paramount power of Southern India.

Vindhyasakti, the founder of the Vākātaka family, undertook this enterprise in about A.D. 255.² As with the founders of many other dynasties, we do not possess much information about him personally. It is an irony of fate that

¹ The theory that the Bhāraśiva Nāgas of Bundelkhand had founded an empire embracing Madhya Pradesh and Central or Eastern U.P. during c. A.D. 180-250 is altogether unfounded. The Bhāraśivas were the Nāga rulers of Padmāvati near Gwalior and their kingdom never included any part of the Deccan. It is doubtful whether Virasena, who is said to have founded this empire, was a Nāga ruler at all. His coins are found only in the northern Uttara Pradesh and never in the Madhya Pradesh and Central or Eastern U.P.; this fact shows that the Deccan was never included in this kingdom.

² For the determination of this date, see *ante*, pp. 151 ff. Pai's view that Vindhyasakti asserted independence in c. A.D. 185 after the death of Gautamīputra Yajñaśrī Sātakarni pre-supposes that he assumed the title of *mahārājādhirāja*, for which in fact there is no evidence; the Ajanta record gives him no regal title at all.

even his descendants should have usually omitted his name from the genealogy of the house. He is mentioned only in the Ajanta record as the founder of the family;¹ all the copper plates of the house begin the family genealogy with his illustrious son, emperor Pravarasena I. At one time, therefore, even the historic existence of Vindhyaśakti was doubted by some scholars. There is, however, no longer any doubt that it was in fact Vindhyaśakti who first carved out the Vākāṭaka principality somewhere in the western Madhya Pradesh. The *Purāṇas*, like the Ajanta record, expressly mention him as the founder of the family and the father of the illustrious emperor Pravarasena I.² His name is omitted in the genealogy of the Vākāṭaka copper plates, probably because throughout his life he was a mere general and was never consecrated to kingship by any formal religious coronation. The draft of the Vākāṭaka charters was determined in the reign of Pravarasena II, and it is but natural that he should have started the genealogy with his namesake Pravarasena I, who indeed first raised the family to an undisputed imperial position in the Deccan.

Vindhyaśakti was a Brāhman of Vishṇuvṛiddha *gotra*. This was not, however, the first time that Brāhman had exchanged sacrificial implements for weapons of war. The Śungas, the Kaṇvas, and the Sātavāhanas had done the same a few centuries earlier and the Kadambas were soon to emulate the example of the Vākāṭakas. Whether personal ambition alone was the guiding motive of Vindhyaśakti, or whether he desired to found a purely Hindu state in order to encourage the Vedic or the Brāhmanic faith and practices, we simply do not know.

It was somewhere in Berar or in the western Madhya Pradesh that Vindhyaśakti first carved out a small principality. His capital Purikā was certainly situated somewhere in this part of the country, but has not yet been identified. Probably Vindhyaśakti was originally a local officer or *zamindār*, who gradually increased his sphere of influence, taking advantage of the absence of any strong central power. No specific exploits of his are, however, known. It is unfortunate that the Ajanta record, while growing eloquent over the bravery of this ruler, which, we are told, extorted the admiration of gods and made him the oriflamme and hero of his family, should have kept us in the dark about the names of the enemies defeated or the territories annexed by him. His name Vindhyaśakti, however, suggests that his military activities resulted in giving him control over a portion of the Vindhyan territory. The *Purāṇas* mention him among the kings of Vidiśā, the capital of Eastern Malwa. We may therefore safely conclude that the warlike achievements of Vindhyaśakti resulted in the annexation of the districts of Betul and Itarsi

¹ *Vākāṭaka Inscription in Cave XVI, HAS, No. 14.*

² The identity of the Vindhyaśakti of the *Purāṇas* with the ruler of the same name in the Ajanta record was first pointed out by Dr. Bhau Daji, but doubted by Buhler. It is now accepted by all. The *Purāṇas* give Pravira as the name of the son of Vindhyaśakti; he is obviously the same as the Pravarasena of the inscriptions.

and Hoshangābād to his kingdom, which probably comprised a portion of Berar only in the beginning. The districts annexed by Vindhyaśakti were a kind of no-man's-land in his time, and he had probably to encounter no serious opposition during his career of expansion. Vindhyaśakti, however, did not, it would seem, assume any regal titles during his lifetime and received no formal religious consecration. His achievements were soon completely eclipsed by the more glorious exploits of his illustrious son. His name therefore was omitted from the genealogy of the family, when it was first formally set out and written down 125 years after his death.

In spite of his military preoccupations, Vindhyaśakti retained the Brāhmanic traits in his character. We are told that he was always anxious to undertake meritorious religious works, probably of the nature of the performance of sacrifices, the construction of temples, wells, and *serais*, and the endowments of schools and colleges. He ruled for about twenty years and we may place the end of his reign in c. A.D. 275.

The Emperor Pravarasena I

c. A.D. 275-335

Vindhyaśakti was succeeded by his son Pravarasena I in c. A.D. 275. The Puranic tradition, which is unanimous in crediting him with a long reign of sixty years, seems to be well founded. He performed as many as four horse-sacrifices, which we may legitimately suppose marked the ends of four long campaigns. He alone among the Vākāṭaka rulers is given the title of *saṃrāt*, emperor, and it is but reasonable to assume that this could have been earned only by a long and successful military career. And finally we have to note that he was succeeded not by his eldest son but by a grandson: this happens only when a king has a very long reign. We can therefore accept the Puranic statement and credit Pravarasena I with the long reign of sixty years assigned to him, which terminated in c. A.D. 335.

According to inscriptional evidence Pravarasena I was one of the great rulers of India, although his political achievements are but imperfectly known to us. The composers of the *Purāṇas* and the drafters of copper plate charters were more anxious to enumerate his numerous Vedic sacrifices than to specify the various exploits which justified his assumption of the imperial position and the performance of as many as four horse-sacrifices. The historian can therefore offer only a few probable suggestions about the main incidents in his long career.

Since Pravarasena I is the only Vākāṭaka ruler who assumed the title of emperor, we may presume that most of the territories included in the Vākāṭaka empire were in fact annexed by him, with the exception of those districts which are definitely known to have been added to it in later times.¹

¹ e.g. Kuntala or Southern Mahārāshṭra, which is known to have been conquered by Vindhyaśakti of the Basim branch.

In his father's time his principality consisted of a few districts in the western Madhya Pradesh and in Berar. At the end of his career the Vākāṭaka empire included the whole of the Madhya Pradesh and Berar, Malwa, Northern Mahārāshṭra, a considerable portion of the modern Hyderabad State, and portions of South Kośala or Chhattisgarh.

It will thus be seen that Pravarasena increased his patrimony nearly tenfold by his military achievements. It is really unfortunate that we should not know either their chronological order or the names of most of the kings overcome by him. After the downfall of the Sātavāhana dynasty the territory previously under its sway was parcelled out among the numerous district and provincial officers of the defunct empire, who eventually established their own local small kingdoms. An ambitious and resourceful military leader like Pravarasena would not have found it very difficult to conquer them or to compel them to accept his overlordship.

At the outset of his career Pravarasena turned his attention to the south and south-east and added northern Mahārāshṭra, portions of the modern Hyderabad State, and the eastern districts of the Madhya Pradesh to his kingdom. The findspots of inscriptions and the names of the villages donated in some of them make it quite clear that this block of territory continued to form part of the Vākāṭaka kingdom down to the end of its existence. There is some uncertainty as to the precise territories in Hyderabad State which were included in the Vākāṭaka empire. There is no doubt that its Marāṭhī-speaking districts were part of the Vākāṭaka dominions.¹ It seems not improbable, however, that most of Hyderabad State was included in the Vākāṭaka empire. The Kadamba kingdom of Karnāṭak is not known to have included any territory to the north of the Kṛishṇā. The same is the case with regard to the Pallava kingdom of Kāñchī. It is therefore but natural to assume that the Vākāṭaka empire, which is definitely known to have included the Marāṭhī-speaking districts of Hyderabad State, must have also incorporated all the territories to the north of the Kṛishṇā. This view gets further support from a tradition recorded in *Śrīśaila-sthala-māhātmya* of a daughter of King Chandragupta named Chandrāvati having offered a garland of jasmine flowers every day to the god Mallikārjuna at Śrīśaila.² Chandrāvati may have been the pre-marriage name of Queen Prabhāvati-guptā, the daughter of Chandragupta II and the wife of Rudrasena II; and if she daily offered a garland to Mallikārjuna at Śrīśaila, the *tīrtha* may as well have been situated in the Vākāṭaka empire. In that case all the territory right up to Karnul District must have been included in the Vākāṭaka sphere of influence, even if not actually under Vākāṭaka administration. The question regarding the exact southern boundary of the Vākāṭaka kingdom can, however, be satisfactorily solved only by future archaeological discoveries in Hyderabad State.

¹ There are several Vākāṭaka inscriptions at Ajanta in the Aurangābād District, and the Basim plates of Sarvasena grant a village in the Nander District.

² *SIER*, for 1914-15, p. 91.

With his resources considerably augmented by the absorption of extensive territories in the south, Pravarasena began to look for fresh adventures. A golden opportunity for further expansion presented itself to him as the result of a revolution in the kingdom of the Western Kshatrapas of Gujarāt and Kathiāwar, which put an end to the career of the house of Chashtāna and placed on the throne a new ruler named Rudrasimha II. The revolution was not a peaceful one; it was attended by bitter internecine fighting, which rendered life and property unsafe at the capital, inducing the citizens to bury their valuables and flee for safety.¹ Rudrasimha, however, soon secured effective control over the capital and we find him and his son ruling the Kshatrapa kingdom down to c. 332.

Neither Rudrasimha II nor his son Yaśodāman II, however, assume the title of *mahākshatrapa* like their predecessors. Both of them are content with the lower title *Kshatrapa*, which at this time indicated a subordinate or feudatory status. Some scholars hold that the imposition of Sassanian overlordship was responsible for these two rulers remaining content with the feudatory status. This view does not seem to be correct. The Sassanian emperor Narseh, who ruled from A.D. 293 to 303, was signally defeated by the Roman emperor Galerius, to whom he had to cede extensive territories in order to recover his family, which had fallen into the hands of the conqueror. Narseh therefore was not in a position to help Rudrasimha II in his effort to oust Bharṭṛidāman. His successor Hormuzd II had only a short reign of seven years (A.D. 303-10), and is not known to have undertaken any expedition in the east. The next ruler, Shāpūr II, was a baby of less than a year at the time of his accession in A.D. 310, and so the Sassanians were not in a position to take any effective part in Kshatrapa politics down to c. A.D. 330. The Sassanian overlordship therefore does not seem to have been the cause for the reduction of the status of Rudrasimha II and his son Yaśodāman to that of mere Kshatrapas.

Though there is no direct evidence, it seems almost certain that the imperialism of the Vākāṭaka emperor Pravarasena I was responsible for the Western Kshatrapas being reduced to feudatory status during the period A.D. 304 to 332. His father Vindhyaśakti had already annexed part of Malwa to his principality before A.D. 275, and Pravarasena must have been on the lookout for a pretext to extend his sphere of influence over Gujarat as well. An opportunity presented itself to him when in c. 304 Rudrasimha tried to oust the reigning monarch Bharṭṛidāman and secure the throne for himself. Pravarasena must have followed the age-old imperial policy of supporting the claims of an upstart against the legitimate ruling sovereign, and therefore helped Rudrasimha in his efforts to dethrone Bharṭṛidāman. In return for this

¹ A hoard of 520 coins hidden underground towards the end of the reign of Bharṭṛidāman, who was supplanted by Rudrasimha II, was found buried in Junāgaḍ. *Numismatic Supplement*, No. xlvii, p. 97.

help, Rudrasimha agreed to be content with the feudatory title of *Kshatrapa*, to renounce the title *mahākshatrapa* (which indicated an independent status at this time), and to acknowledge himself a vassal of the Vakātaka overlord. The armies of Pravarasena must have taken an active part in putting Rudrasimha on the Kshatrapa throne. When his position had become secure, they may have retired to their own country. It is likely that Pravarasena got Western Malwa in return for his help. He must also have received occasional tributes in cash. Most of the coins in the big hoard of 633 Kshatrapa coins found at Sonpur in the Chhindwada District of Madhya Pradesh in the heart of the Vākātaka kingdom might originally have come as part of the tributes paid to the emperor Pravarasena I by his feudatories Rudrasimha II and Yaśodāman II. Only three coins of this hoard belonged to Mahākshatrapa Rudrasena III, who came to the throne after A.D. 348; they might have come by way of trade.¹

The history of the Eastern Deccan during the reign of Pravarasena is imperfectly known. The Ikshvāku dynasty had come to an end by c. A.D. 275. The Sālaṅkyāyana dynasty rose into importance only after c. A.D. 325. The Nalas of Chhattisgarh and Bastar began their career a little later still. During the latter part of the reign of Pravarasena there was thus no strong power in the Andhra country and Chhattisgarh, and it is quite likely that the Vākātaka ruler may have brought this territory under his sphere of influence. The same may perhaps have been the case with Baghelkhand. The Vākātaka supremacy over these districts did not last long, for soon after the death of Pravarasena we find independent kings like Mahendra of Kośala, Vyāghra-rāja of Mahākāntāra, Kubera of Devarāshṭra, and Mahendragiri of Pishtapuri ruling over most of this territory.

The patrimony which Pravarasena had inherited included only a few districts; he expanded it into an empire which covered practically the whole of the Deccan between the rivers Narmadā and Kṛishṇā. The northern Mahārāshṭra, Berar, the Madhya Pradesh and Hyderabad State were certainly included in his empire. His sphere of influence extended over Malwa and Gujarat, Andhradeśa and southern Kośala. He gave to the Deccan the political unity which it had lost since the downfall of the Sātavāhanas, and welded it into a powerful state whose strength and resources were much greater than those of any other contemporary kingdom, whether in the north or the south. It was but natural that he should have assumed the imperial title *samrāt*, emperor, to which no contemporary of his is known to have laid a claim.

¹ JASB, 1937, N.S., pp. 95-99. The account of this important hoard given by Mr. Acharya is confusing and self-contradictory. On p. 96 he refers to *six* dated coins of Rudrasena III found in this hoard, but he gives their number as only *three* in the analysis of the hoard given on p. 99. In this short paper Mr. Acharya has given an account of several hoards of Kshatrapa coins which he examined together, and he seems to have confused their contents.

Pravarasena belonged to an orthodox Brāhman family and was a staunch follower of the Vedic religion. He performed a number of Vedic sacrifices. Of these, Agnishtōma, Aptoryāma, Ukthya, Shoḍaśin, and Atirātra were the normal varieties of the Soma sacrifice, which was so popular in the Vedic age. Pravarasena must have celebrated these several times through his official priests. He is stated to have performed the famous horse-sacrifice four times; probably he performed it at the end of each of his four memorable campaigns, which finally resulted in his securing the overlordship over the whole of the Deccan.

At the end of his career, when he had become the most powerful sovereign in India, Pravarasena celebrated the Vājapeya sacrifice and formally assumed the title of *samrāt* or emperor. Being a Brāhman by caste, he was not eligible to offer the Rājasūya sacrifice, which Kshatriya kings alone could carry out to celebrate their universal sovereignty. He therefore performed the Vājapeya sacrifice, which according to the sacred texts is a *samrāt-sava*, celebrated at the consecration of a king to the dignity of paramount sovereign. The Bṛihaspati sacrifice, which also was performed by the emperor, was probably a sequel to this Vājapeya sacrifice. This emperor was eligible to perform it because he was a Brāhman by caste.

We have stated above that Pravarasena I was the most powerful ruler of the time and that he had brought practically the whole of the Deccan under his sovereignty. Some recent writers indeed have credited him with much more extensive conquests, and have declared that he was the lord paramount of the whole of India. Such, however, was not the case. The theory that he controlled Southern India through one of his sons, who founded the Andhra-bhṛitya or Pallava dynasty is a mere hypothesis that has yet to be proved. The view that he conquered the Uttara Pradesha and drove out the Kushānas into Afghanistan is based upon the assumption that the coins of Virasena, which are found in the upper Uttara Pradesha, are really the coins of Pravarasena. But this is not the case.¹ What Jayaswal takes to be the letter Pra in the left-hand lower corner of the coin is really a part of the Nandipada symbol. What he takes to be the symbols for 76 are parts of the symbol tree within the railing.² The coins in question were issued by Virasena and not by Pravarasena. And even if we assume for the sake of argument that Pravarasena I of the Vākāṭaka dynasty issued them, we cannot explain why they should be found only in the northern Uttara Pradesha and never in the Madhya Pradesha and Berar, which were the home provinces of the Vākāṭaka empire. There is no evidence whatsoever to prove that Pravarasena I had conquered the Punjab and driven out the Kushānas into Afghanistan. Even the coins of Virasena are found but very rarely in the Punjab. Jayaswal's theory is based upon the assumption that it was the pressure of Pravarasena

¹ Jayaswal, *History of India*, A.D. 150-350, pp. 82-94; Pai in *JIII*, xiv, 180 ff.

² Altekar in *JNSI*, v, 132.

which induced the Kushānas to accept willingly the overlordship of the Sassanians during the first decade of the fourth century A.D. There is, in fact, no shred of evidence whatsoever to support this view. The Sassanians had conquered the Kushānas and imposed their suzerainty upon them as early as c. A.D. 250, when Pravarasena was probably not even born. Further there is no evidence to show that the Kushānas welcomed the Sassanian sovereignty as a means of preserving their kingdom in India against the pressure of any indigenous power. They had to accept it as the natural corollary of a defeat in the battlefield. The theory therefore that Pravarasena I was lord paramount of the whole of India cannot be accepted. He was, however, lord paramount of the Deccan and ruled a kingdom much more extensive than that of any of his contemporaries. This was itself a great achievement and fully justified his assumption of the title *samrāt* or emperor.

According to the *Purāṇas*, Pravarasena had four sons, all of whom became kings in the course of time. This statement suggests a division of the empire after their father's death, a division which must have weakened the power of the Vākātaka dynasty. As the kingdom began to expand by the additions of new territories, Pravarasena may well have appointed his sons as viceroys over the different provinces of his empire; and these would then have become independent kings at his death.

Of the four sons of Pravarasena I, Gautamīputra was the eldest. He, however, ruled only as crown prince, for he predeceased his father;¹ the latter was succeeded by Gautamīputra's son Rudrasena II. Sarvasena was another son of Pravarasena, whose name has become known to us very recently.² He was the viceroy ruling over Southern Berar and the north-western districts of Hyderabad State. He eventually founded a branch dynasty at Vatsagulma or Basim, which continued to flourish down to the end of the fifth century A.D.

The names of the remaining two sons of Pravarasena are not so far known to us; nor do we know where they ruled as viceroys. It is possible that their territories may have been somewhere in the eastern parts of the empire, possibly in the Kośala and Andhra country; there is, however, no definite information on the point. It is very likely that these branches had a short career either because they were absorbed in the parent line or because the

¹ It has been argued that Gautamīputra Vṛishadhvaia, whose seal has been found at Bhita, is identical with Gautamīputra, the eldest son of Pravarasena I, and was viceroy ruling over the Gangetic valley (Pai in *JIH*, xiv, pp. 180 ff.). Impressions of clay seals accompanied confidential letters sent to even distant countries; the mere fact that they are found at a particular place does not prove that the persons concerned were ruling over that place. Would it be reasonable to argue that because a seal of the British government is to be found in Washington, therefore the U.S.A. must be presumed to be a part of the British empire?

The personal name of the Gautamīputra of the Bhita seal was Vṛishadhvaia; Gautamīputra the son of Pravarasena I is not known to have ever had this name. The Gautamīputra of the Bhita seal was a full-fledged ruling prince, who described his kingship as due to the grace of Mahāsena; Gautamīputra the son of Pravarasena died as only a crown prince. The two therefore cannot be identical.

² *El*, xxvi, 137 ff.

lands concerned were eventually wrested from the Vākātakas. The main branch continued to rule in Northern Berar, Bombay Mahārāshtra, and most of the districts of the Madhya Pradesh.¹

Rudrasena I

(c. A.D. 335–60)

According to the chronology already explained, Rudrasena I succeeded his grandfather Pravarasena I in c. A.D. 335. The Vākātika records give the name of Rudrasena's father Gautamīputra in the family genealogy, but do not attach any regal title whatsoever to his name. It is therefore clear that he did not become a king, but was merely a sub-king or viceroy to the end of his life. Gautamīputra's death before that of his father need not cause us any surprise, for the latter had an unusually long reign of sixty years. Pravarasena must obviously have been an octogenarian at the time of his death; and his grandson Rudrasena, who succeeded him, may thus well have been at least thirty at the time of his accession.

The Vākātika records usually introduce the Bhāraśiva king Bhavanāga in the family genealogy as the maternal grandfather of Rudrasena I. In Indian dynastic genealogies a maternal grandfather is introduced either when his kingdom happens to be inherited by his daughter's son or when he happens to have afforded material assistance to his grandson at a critical period. It is now definitely proved that Bhavanāga belonged to the Nāga dynasty of Padmāvati in the former Gwalior State. Rudrasena did not inherit this kingdom after Bhavanāga; it passed on to his son Gaṇapati-nāga. Bhavanāga thus appears to have been introduced into the Vākātika genealogy because he afforded some valuable assistance to his grandson Rudrasena I.

What this assistance was and when and why it had to be offered is not yet definitely known. It is probable that the enemies against whom Bhavanāga had to offer assistance to his grandson were some among the latter's three uncles, who may have sought to oust their nephew from the main Vākātika kingdom. But we have no definite evidence upon the point; future discoveries alone can prove or contradict this suggestion.

¹ It has been argued that the third son of Pravarasena was Gautamīputra Śivamagha, whose seal has been found at Bhita and whose coins are found at Kauśāmbī. It is claimed that he was the founder of the 'Magha' line, which was thus merely a branch of the Vākātakas (Pai in *JIH*, xiv, 16 ff.). Gautamīputra Śivamagha had three predecessors, Bhadramagha, Poṭhasiri, and Bhīmasena, who ruled over the upper Narmadā valley from c. A.D. 150. His relationship with his predecessors is not known, but the fact that his seal is identical with that of Bhīmasena shows that he belonged to the line of this king and not to the line of Pravarasena I. On the seals of both these rulers we have a standing woman and a bull with a crescent below his neck. The legend on Bhīmasena's seal is above these symbols, while that on the seal of Śivamagha is below them. Such a striking resemblance in the seals of the two rulers would be difficult to explain if they belonged to different dynasties. Yet this supposition becomes inevitable if we assume that Gautamīputra Śivamagha was a Vākātika ruler. The imperial Vākātakas never issued any coins; it is therefore difficult to understand how a viceroy like Śivamagha could have issued them.

The period between c. A.D. 325 and 360, which included the closing years of the rule of Pravarasena I and practically the whole of the reign of Rudrasena I, is very important in the history both of the Deccan and of Northern India. It was during this period that the Vākātakas lost and the Guptas acquired imperial status among the kings of India. To the end of c. A.D. 335 Pravarasena I was ruling as a *samrāt* or emperor; but neither his successor Rudrasena I nor any one among his descendants is ever given the title of an emperor even in the official records of the Vākātaka dynasty. Dr. S. K. Aiyangar has therefore argued with great plausibility that the dropping of the imperial title by Rudrasena must have been due to his having received a severe defeat from a neighbour who claimed that title for himself. And this neighbour could have been no other than Chandragupta I or his son Samudragupta, both of whom assume the title Mahārājādhirāja, King of kings, which had not been employed by earlier Gupta rulers. The rise of Chandragupta to the imperial position must be vitally connected with the fall of Rudrasena from that high status. The Vākātakas were the only obvious obstacle in the schemes for the imperial expansion of the Guptas, and Chandragupta must have gained the upper hand either by actual victories in the field or by slow expansion.¹

Additional interesting arguments have been advanced in favour of the above theory by the late Dr. Jayaswal. He argues that Pravarasena I had deliberately thwarted the imperial plans of Chandragupta I by defeating and ousting him from Pātalīputra and putting his own nominee Kalyāṇavarmā on its throne. Chandragupta died in exile and while on his death-bed he charged his successor Samudragupta to retrieve the fortunes of his family and to restore it once more to the imperial rank which he himself had previously secured for it. Samudragupta had, however, to bide his time; he was a mere Vākātaka feudatory ruling in Oudh during the first few years of his reign. It was during this period that he issued his tiger-slayer coins, on which he does not dare to assume any imperial title; we see him instead contenting himself with the feudatory title of a simple *rājā*. Taking advantage of the death of the emperor Pravarasena, Samudragupta launched his offensive against this monarch's successor Rudrasena I, whom he overthrew and killed in a sanguinary battle fought near Kauśāmbī in A.D. 348. King Rudradeva of Āryāvarta, who figures first in his Allahabad record among the kings of northern India, defeated and overthrown by Samudragupta, is no other than this Vākātaka ruler Rudrasena I. Samudragupta eventually brought under his own sphere of influence the different kings in Chota Nagpur, Bundelkhand, Baghelkhand, Chhattisgarh, and the Andhra country, who had formerly been the vassals of the Vākātakas. With their emperor killed in battle, and important provinces snatched from their empire, the Vākātakas sank into the position of Gupta feudatories; that is the reason why Rudrasena I and his

¹ *ABORI*, v, 39-40.

successors are allowed merely the title of *mahārāja*, which indicated the feudatory status, and never the higher style of *samrāt* or *mahārājādhirāja*, which could be given only to an emperor.¹

There is no doubt that the case for assuming the occurrence of a conflict between the Guptas and the Vākātakas, in which the latter were worsted, thus appears to be a very plausible one. But a careful examination of the problem shows that the arguments upon which it is based do not bear very close scrutiny. There is no evidence whatsoever to support the contention that Pravarasena I had ousted Chandragupta I from Pāṭalīputra and put upon its throne his nominee Kalyaṇavarmā. As a matter of fact the incidents mentioned in the *Kaumudīmahotsava*, upon which Jayaswal mainly relies for his theory, have no connexion at all with the reign of Chandragupta I. We cannot indentify Chanḍasena of this drama with Chandragupta, the founder of the Gupta empire; the drama states that Chanḍasena was killed together with all his children;² but we definitely know that Chandragupta left behind him a number of sons, one of whom succeeded to his throne. In the drama, Chanḍasena appears as an exile. It is impossible to accept the contention of Dr. Jayaswal that in the Allahabad inscription of Samudragupta, Chandragupta appears as an exile on his death-bed. Had Chandragupta been an exile dying in misery and disgrace, his selection of Samudragupta as his successor would not have caused any jealousy in the hearts of other princes. The dejection which we know the formal announcement of Samudragupta as the next successor caused among his brothers, makes it quite clear that the successor of Chandragupta was never faced with the difficult and dangerous task of reasserting the imperial position of his house. Nor is there any evidence to show that Samudragupta was a Vākātaka feudatory at the beginning of his career. His coins of the tiger-slayer type do no doubt describe him as a mere *rājā*, but that fact does not necessarily prove that he was only a vassal prince at the time when they were issued. If we follow this line of argument, we shall have to suppose that Chandragupta II had also been reduced to the status of a vassal because on his copper coins we find him using the simple feudatory title *mahārāja*. Nay, on some of his coins the bare name Chandragupta appears without any title whatsoever.³ Are we then to conclude that he had for some time ceased to be even a feudatory chief? In the legends on the Swordsman type of Kumāragupta I, not even the title *rājā* or *mahārāja* appears either on the obverse or on the reverse; are we to conclude that he was not even a feudatory when this type was issued? The simple fact is that the extent of the space available on the Gupta coins usually determines the length of their legends. On copper coins the space was small, and so even emperors like Chandragupta II, who are never suspected of having ever been reduced to the status of vassals, are seen to have contented themselves with the simple title

¹ Jayaswal, *History of India, A.D. 150-350*, pp. 80-2.

² Act V.

³ Allan, *Catalogue of the Coins of the Gupta Dynasties*, pp. 54-60.

mahārāja. Sometimes they appear without any titles at all. The legend *rājā Samudraguptaḥ* occurs on the reverse of the tiger-slayer type of Samudragupta. The legends on the reverse of Gupta coins are always short; longer legends like *mahārājādhirāja Śrī-Samudraguptaḥ* were not inscribed there simply for want of space. The legend *rājā Samudraguptaḥ*, King Samudragupta, occurring on the tiger-slayer coin of Samudragupta, can prove him to have been a mere feudatory at the time only if the legend *Chandraguptaḥ* occurring on the coins of Chandragupta II is also to be taken as a proof that this monarch was not even a feudatory prince, but only a mere commoner at the time when he issued these coins. Both hypotheses are equally absurd and untenable.

The theory that Samudragupta overthrew and killed the Vākāṭaka ruler Rudrasena I is based upon the assumption that the king Rudradeva who figures first among the kings of Northern India (Āryāvarta) defeated by Samudragupta, is identical with the Vākāṭaka ruler Rudrasena I. The superficial resemblance between the names of the two rulers by no means proves their identity. The Rudradeva overthrown by Samudragupta was a king in Āryāvarta, or Northern India; Rudrasena, the Vākāṭaka king, was a king of the Deccan. We must further remember that the Allahabad inscription is a eulogy (*prāśasti*) of Samudragupta, describing his achievements in the most lively and striking colours. To heighten the effect on the reader's mind of the prowess of Samudragupta, it gives the full imperial title of the Kushāna ruler who had offered him only a nominal submission. If then Samudragupta was actually a mere Vākāṭaka vassal prince, who had later avenged himself on his feudal lord for the humiliations inflicted upon him and his father by the Vākāṭaka emperors Pravarasena I and Rudrasena I, is it likely that the eulogy would have summarily dismissed this most glorious achievement of Samudragupta by merely including the name of Rudradeva among the nine kings of Northern India overthrown by the hero? The defeat of Achyuta and Nāgasena, who were among the important opponents of Samudragupta but infinitely less powerful than the Vākāṭaka emperors, is described twice in the eulogy, once in poetry and once in prose. Why then should the most glorious achievement of Samudragupta, the defeat of the Vākāṭaka emperor, who, according to Jayaswal, was ruling at the time over practically the whole of India from Peshawar to Kāñchī and Dvārakā to Patna, have been summarily dismissed in only four letters? Why should not even the name of the dynasty of Rudradeva have been given? If Samudragupta had really defeated the Vākāṭaka emperor, there would certainly have been several verses in the Allahabad eulogy describing the great might of the Vākāṭakas and the skilful generalship by which Samudragupta defeated and killed this most deadly enemy of his family. If the imperial titles of the Kushāna emperor, who offered merely a nominal submission, are given in order to heighten the effect of the prowess of Samudragupta, would not the imperial title of Rudradeva have been given in order to emphasize the greatness of the achievement of his conqueror?

The fact is that there was not much occasion for rivalry between the Guptas and the Vākātakas, since their spheres of influence were quite distinct from one another. Even during the southern expedition of Samudragupta, he did not come into any direct conflict with the Vākātakas. For had he done so, it is certain that his Allahabad eulogy would have mentioned their name; the absence of any notice of them would be quite inexplicable, since the names of most of the contemporary kings or states are mentioned in this document in one connexion or other. It is true that most probably during the reign of Pravarasena I the rulers of Southern Kośala and the Andhra country came under the Vākātaka sphere of influence. But during the interval between the death of Pravarasena and the invasion of Samudragupta, the kings of this territory had renounced their fealty to the Vākātakas and had become independent. Their nominal submission to Samudragupta during his southern expedition did not therefore amount to any serious infringement of the vested interests of the Vākātakas, who had already lost their suzerainty. Nor can we identify King Vyāghrarāja of the Great Forest who professed allegiance to Samudragupta with King Vyāghrarāja of Ganj, who was a Vākātaka feudatory. For the former was a king in the Deccan, ruling somewhere to the south of the Vindhya, while the latter was a king in Bundelkhand, ruling over a territory to the north of that range of hills.¹

There is another important consideration which goes against the theory that Samudragupta had defeated and killed the Vākātaka king Rudrasena I. For if he had really done so, and if he had continued the feud in the next generation by compelling Vyāghrarāja, one of the feudatories of Rudrasena's son Prithviśeṇa I, to transfer his allegiance to him, is it likely that Prithviśeṇa would have selected Prabhāvatīgupta, one of the granddaughters of his bitterest enemy, as a bride for his son and successor Rudrasena II? It is true that friendships and enmities in politics are short-lived; still it is extremely improbable, especially in the case of a Hindu royal family, that a king would select as a bride for his son the granddaughter of an enemy, who had killed his own father.

But it may be asked: Is it not significant that the Vākātakas should have ceased to assume imperial titles just after the *digvijaya* or conquests of Samudragupta? May not these latter be the cause of the change? The dropping of the imperial title by Rudrasena could hardly have been purely voluntary; it must obviously have been due to a defeat inflicted upon him by Samudragupta. This defeat reduced the Vākātakas to the status of feudatories of the Guptas. Their official records are always careful to state that Pravarasena I was a *samrāt*, emperor. But all his successors are given the simple title of

¹ It is true that Samudragupta did rule over a portion of the Sagar district in the Madhya Pradesh. But he did not reach this district via Sutna, Katni, and Jabalpur, but through Kauśāmbī, Chitrakūṭa, and Kalinjar. For in the latter territory some Gupta inscriptions are in fact found, but none in the former.

mahārāja, which at this time denoted the status of a vassal king. Prabhāvatī-guptā describes her father, Chandragupta II, as a *mahārājādhirāja*, but is content to give the mere title of *mahārāja* to her husband, Rudrasena II. This is obviously because he was in fact at that time a feudatory of the Guptas.

The above argument seems at first sight very convincing, but a careful examination of contemporary documents shows that it is fallacious. The imperial title *mahārājādhirāja* was a foreign title at the beginning of the fourth century A.D. The Guptas had borrowed it from the Kushānas along with their coinage. But it took several decades for the title to become popular in the Deccan and Southern India. The Ikshvāku king Chantamūla, who had performed several horse-sacrifices in c. A.D. 250, was content with the simple title *mahārāja*. He never suspected that it would be ever regarded as denoting a mere feudatory status. The Vishṇukundin ruler Mādhavavarman I had performed eleven horse-sacrifices; he lived at a time when the title *mahārājādhirāja* had been assumed by many rulers in Northern India. And yet he was content with the simple title *mahārāja*. In the vast majority of the official grants of the great Chālukya emperor Pulakeśin II, he is described as a mere *mahārāja*; it is only from the time of his son Vikramāditya I (c. A.D. 660) that the Chālukyas begin to describe themselves as *mahārājādhirājas*. The title *mahārāja* indicated feudatory status only in Northern India, but not in the Deccan or South India, down to the middle of the seventh century A.D. The Pallavas, the Kadambas and the Chālukyas, who were all independent rulers and had a number of feudatories under them, are content to describe themselves in their official documents as mere *mahārājas*. The simple fact, therefore, that the successors of Pravarasena are described as *mahārājas* by no means proves that they were no longer independent rulers but had become vassals of the Guptas.

It may, however, be asked why the successors of Pravarasena I did not assume the title *mahārājādhirāja*. If it was for the reason that up to that time the latter title had not yet become popular in the Deccan and Southern India, then why did they give up the imperial title *samrāt*, which had already been adopted by Pravarasena? The reasons for this change in title from *samrāt*, emperor, to *mahārāja*, king, are partly religious and partly political. Vājapeya was one of the sacrifices performed by Pravarasena I. The sacred texts describe this sacrifice as a *samrāt-sava*,¹ i.e. a sacrifice which entitles its performer to the title of *samrāt*, emperor. As none of the successors of Pravarasena I had performed this sacrifice, they could not assume the title of *samrāt* and had therefore to remain content with the title *mahārāja*, which did not then denote any feudatory status in the Deccan or Southern India. We must further not forget in this connexion that the Vākātakas were orthodox Brāhmins, and must therefore have felt that those among them who had not performed the Vājapeya should not presume to use the title of *samrāt*.

There were apparently also political reasons which operated to induce

¹ *Satapatha Brāhmana*, v, 1, 1, 13.

the Vākātakas to forswear the imperial title *śamrāt*. The mighty kingdom which Pravarasena I had raised during his lifetime became divided after his death into four sub-states, each governed by one of his sons. This division must have reduced the power and resources of the Vākātakas. In the meanwhile a new power, much stronger than any of the sub-states of the Vākātakas, had arisen in Northern India and was claiming imperial position and status. None of the successors of Pravarasena I was strong enough to challenge that power and so to perform the Vājapeya sacrifice in order to assume the title *śamrāt*. Within a short time the two houses contracted a matrimonial alliance, and a daughter of the Gupta emperor Chandragupta II became the crowned queen of the Vākātaka king Rudrasena II in c. A.D. 385. This marriage must have put a stop to all feeling of jealousy and rivalry between the two houses. It must be further noted that the text of the Vākātaka charters was first determined by the imported Gupta secretariat officers working in the Vākātaka administration during the regency of Prabhāvatiguptā; they were naturally disinclined to give the title *mahārājādhirāja* to a protégé of their master. Later on, when Pravarasena II modified this draft on attaining his majority, he may have felt a natural disinclination to claim for his ancestors a title which had been claimed for themselves by his former protector and guide, Chandragupta II and his three predecessors. He decided to give the title *śamrāt* to his namesake Pravarasena I, because he had become entitled to it by the performance of the Vājapeya sacrifice. It could not be continued in the case of his successors because they had not performed the said sacrifice. Pravarasena saw no objection in describing them as *mahārājas*, because that title still indicated independent status in the Deccan.

And finally it may be pointed out that the Paurāṇic evidence does not support the view that there was a break in the Vākātaka dynasty after the deaths of the four sons of Pravarasena, implying thereby that Rudrasena was killed in a war with Samudragupta. The *Purāṇas* state that Pravīra or Pravarasena and others will have four sons who will all rule after them, and then add that when the Vindhya, i.e. the Vākātaka, family comes to an end, the Bāhlikas, the Pushyamitras, Paṭumitras, will begin to rule.¹ This does not necessarily imply that the Vindhya family came to an end after the rule of the sons of Pravarasena; it only means that the *Purāṇas* do not narrate the history of their successors. To give an analogous instance, the *Purāṇas* state that the Guptas will rule over Allahabad, Patna, and Ayodhyā,² a statement which is true of the Gupta kingdom under Chandragupta I. This statement is not contradicted by the historical fact that the Gupta empire subsequently covered practically the whole of Northern India; it only shows that the *Purāṇas* do not themselves narrate the subsequent history of the Guptas. The same is the case about the Vākātaka rulers subsequent to the sons of Pravarasena I. There is, however, clear epigraphical evidence to show that there was

¹ Pargiter, *DKA*, p. 50.

² *Ibid.*, p. 53.

no sudden break in the Vākāṭaka dynasty subsequent to the death of Rudrasena I. For all the Vākāṭaka records state in speaking of his successor Prithviśheṇa that the military and fiscal power of the Vākāṭakas continued steadily to increase and prosper for about a hundred years at the time of his rule.¹ This positive statement renders the above negative inference from the silence of the *Purāṇas* altogether untenable and shows that the theory that the Vākāṭakas had received a crushing and stunning defeat just before the accession of Prithviśheṇa I has no foundation whatever and is in fact quite incredible.

Very few incidents of the reign of Rudrasena are definitely known. The division of the Vākāṭaka empire into four sub-states and the dispute at the succession of Rudrasena naturally weakened the power and the prestige of the dynasty. The Andhra country and southern Kośala became independent and other kings began to rule in them. In the west the Kshatrapas also repudiated the Vākāṭaka supremacy; from about A.D. 340 onwards Rudradāman II assumed the title *mahākshatrapa*, showing thereby that he had become independent. Rudrasena I had to acquiesce in this new development since he was not powerful enough to prevent it. Southern Berar and the north-western part of the Hyderabad State continued under the rule of Sarvasena, an uncle of Rudrasena. We do not possess any definite information about the relations between the Basim branch and the main line of the Vākāṭakas. It is not improbable that the rulers of Basim offered formal recognition of the overlordship of the direct line after the termination of the struggle for succession.

Like his maternal grandfather Bhavanāga, Rudrasena was a staunch Śaivite; he is always described as a devotee of Mahābhairava in the Vākāṭaka records. He is known to have constructed a Śiva temple at Deotek, about fifty miles south-east of Nagpur. He may have constructed many other temples also in honour of his favourite deity.

Rudrasena on the whole was a weak ruler. The power and prestige of the Vākāṭakas declined under him. But we cannot regard him as solely responsible for this development. His grandfather had taken the unwise step of dividing his empire among his four sons, which necessarily resulted in the weakening of the central power. Rudrasena tried to make the best of a bad situation and managed to keep under his direct rule most of the districts of the Madhya Pradesh with the exception of those included in Chhattisgarh. His death took place in c. A.D. 360.

Prithviśheṇa I

(c. A.D. 360–385)

Rudrasena I was succeeded by his son Prithviśheṇa I in c. A.D. 360. He enjoyed a fairly long reign, for the Vākāṭaka inscriptions describe him as a

¹ Cf. वर्षशतमभिवर्धमानकोशदृष्टसाधनसन्तानपुत्रपौत्रियः । *EI*, xxv, p. 264.

patriarch, surrounded by sons and grandsons. His reign seems to have been a peaceful and prosperous one; for the documents of the dynasty usually describe how a century of prosperous Vākāṭaka rule was completed in his reign, resulting in a great increase both in the numbers of the armed forces and in the wealth stored in the treasury.

It does not seem probable that Pṛithviṣeṇa himself made use of his army and treasure for any aggressive wars; for he is usually compared to Yudhishṭhira, who was more famous for his regard for truth than for his achievements on the battlefield. It was at one time supposed that Kuntala was conquered by Pṛithviṣeṇa, but the revised reading of the Ajanta inscription in cave XVI shows that it was King Vindhyasena of the Basim branch who conquered this province, and not Pṛithviṣeṇa I of the main line. Vindhyasena, however, was a contemporary of Pṛithviṣeṇa I, and the latter may have aided this military adventure of the branch family with soldiers and money of his own.

The identity of the Kuntala king defeated by the Vākāṭakas cannot yet be definitely determined. But very probably he was the Kadamba king Kaṅga-varman,¹ who was ruling over Northern Kārnāṭak or Kuntala at this time. The fact that the Vākāṭaka rulers began to be described as lords of Kuntala as a result of this victory might suggest that a portion of Kuntala was annexed to the Vākāṭaka kingdom as its sequel. We, however, know that the Kadambas of Hangal continued to rule as far north as the Belgaum District even after the Vākāṭaka victory. It would therefore appear that it was what is now known as the southern Marāṭha country which passed under the Vākāṭaka control as a result of this victory. Very probably the Kadambas had claimed only a nominal overlordship over this territory and did not much regret its loss.

The relations between Pṛithviṣeṇa I and his cousins of the Basim branch were fairly cordial at this time. The latter seem to have recognized his overlordship in a general way, while enjoying full internal administrative autonomy.² Otherwise we cannot explain the references in literary works to Pravarasena II, the grandson of Pṛithviṣeṇa, as lord of the Kuntala country.³ The conquest of Kuntala, though originally planned and led by Vindhyasena of the Basim branch, had received material assistance from the government of the main line of the family, and had contributed to the increase of its glory as well. Its rulers therefore also came to be known as the lords of Kuntala.

The relations between the Vākāṭakas and the Western Kshatrapas during the reign of Pṛithviṣeṇa I (A.D. 360-85) are not definitely known. We have seen already how during the reign of the Vākāṭaka ruler Rudrasena I, Rudradāman II reasserted his independence and resumed the title of *mahā-kshatrapa*, which had been in abeyance for about thirty-two years. But

¹ The Talgunda inscription (v. 23) describes how this king carried out mighty exploits in terrible wars. The adjective terrible may suggest that the result of these wars was not very favourable to Kaṅgavarman. *EC*, vii; *SK*, No. 176.

² The land grants made by them did not require the sanction of the rulers of the main line; *EI*, xxvi, 137 ff.

³ *Kāvyamīmāṃsā*, p. 60.

Rudrasena III, the son of Rudradāman II, had not a peaceful reign. He suffered from a serious reversal in his fortunes, which led to the total eclipse of the Kshatrapa power during the period A.D. 351–64. What was the cause of this catastrophe is not yet definitely known, but it does not seem probable that either Rudrasena I or his son Prithviṣeṇa I had anything to do with it. It is possible to argue that the Vākātakas may have at this time once more made a successful effort to reassert their overlordship over the Kshatrapas, but there is not much evidence to support this conjecture.¹ The Vākātaka charters were first drafted in the reign of Pravarasena II. This ruler knew full well how his maternal grandfather had overthrown the Kshatrapas. If his paternal grandfather, Prithviṣeṇa I, also had temporarily occupied the Kshatrapa kingdom and thus in a way paved the way for the Gupta conquest, there is no reason why he should have been silent about this achievement of his house. Of course it is possible to argue that the incident is not referred to in the Vākātaka records because the conquest was temporary, but we should not forget that even ephemeral victories are often magnified in the copper plate charters. The indications given by the evidence available at present, however, show that the Vākātakas had not much to do with the Kshatrapa misfortunes during A.D. 351–64.

There are two inscriptions in Bundelkhand, one at Nachne-kī-talai and the other at Ganj,² wherein we find a king named Vyāghrarāja acknowledging himself to be the feudatory of the Vākātaka emperor Prithviṣeṇa. Unfortunately the record does not give the genealogy of Vyāghrarāja and so a great controversy has arisen about the identity both of this feudatory and of his overlord. We have shown already how this Vyāghrarāja cannot be identified with the ruler of the same name defeated by Samudragupta. Yet it is possible that the overlord of Vyāghrarāja may be not Prithviṣeṇa I but Prithviṣeṇa II, who ruled from c. A.D. 460 to 480. In that case Vyāghrarāja, his feudatory, may be the Uchchhakalpa ruler of that name. The Uchchhakalpas were certainly Gupta feudatories at this time and were using the Gupta era. It is therefore more likely that Vyāghrarāja of the above records was a feudatory of Prithviṣeṇa I. If such was the case, it will follow that Bundelkhand was within the Vākātaka sphere of influence during the reign of Prithviṣeṇa I. The point, however, cannot be finally settled till more evidence becomes available.

The conquest of Kuntala and the extension of the Vākātaka sphere of influence to Bundelkhand naturally resulted in the increase of the prestige

¹ Dr. S. K. Aiyangar has argued (*ABORI*, iv, 49) that the lead currency which was introduced in the Kshatrapa kingdom during the period A.D. 360–72 may indicate that the debacle during A.D. 351–64 was caused by the intervention of the southern Vākātaka power, to whom this type of currency was, it is said, familiar. The southern power from whose intervention the Kshatrapas suffered at this time, was, however, not necessarily that of the Vākātakas, which in fact, as far as we know, had not then introduced a lead currency into their territories.

² *CII*, iii, No. 54; *EL*, xvii, 13.

of the dynasty. It is therefore no wonder that the Gupta emperor Chandragupta II should have sought a matrimonial alliance with it by offering the hand of his daughter Prabhāvatīguptā to the Vākātaka crown prince Rudrasena II. The marriage had a political motive behind it; Chandragupta wanted to facilitate his contemplated conquest of Gujarāt and Kathiāwar by ensuring the presence of a friendly power on his southern flank, which might afford help at least to his commissariat and supplies, even if not with direct military aid. The precise date of this marriage is not easy to determine, but in all likelihood it took place in c. A.D. 380.¹ The marriage probably took place at Pāṭalīputra and must have been celebrated with great pomp. It is interesting to note that this marriage was an intercaste *anuloma* marriage; for the bridegroom was a Brāhman and the bride a Vaiśhya by caste. Such *anuloma* intercaste marriages, where the bridegroom belongs to a caste higher than that of the bride, were permitted by the contemporary *Smṛitis* and seem in practice to have actually taken place even in high and cultured society.

Prithviśeṇa died in c. A.D. 385 after a fairly long reign of about twenty-five years.

*Rudrasena II*²

(c. A.D. 385–90)

Rudrasena II succeeded his father in c. A.D. 385. At the time of his accession the Vākātaka kingdom was in a prosperous condition. Its army was efficient and its treasury was full. It had acquired prestige by the conquest of Kuntala or the southern Marāṭha territory, and this was still further heightened by the marriage of Rudrasena with a daughter of the most powerful ruler in India at the time. The new king was naturally much under the influence of his illustrious father-in-law. His ancestors had all been Śaivites, but he changed his faith and became a Vaiśṇavite, and began to describe himself as under the special protection of Chakrapāṇi or Viṣṇu. This need not surprise us, for

¹ The evidence of literary tradition suggests that Pravarasena II, who was perhaps the youngest child of this union, had, for some time after his accession, entrusted the onerous duties of administration to the care of his illustrious maternal grandfather Chandragupta II in order that he might himself enjoy the pleasures of youth. Cf. *Asakalahasitaivāt kshālitanīva Kāntyā mukulitanayanatvād-vyaktakarnotpalāni pibatu madhusugandhinyānanāni priyāṇām Mayi vinihitabhārah Kuntalānāmadvīśah Kāvayamīmāṃsā*, pp. 60–1. As Chandragupta II died in c. A.D. 414, his grandson should have been about twenty-five at the time of his death in order to render the above tradition feasible. He must therefore have been born c. A.D. 390. He was probably the third child of his parents, and so they may have been married about A.D. 380.

² The view of V. A. Smith that Rudrasena, like Gautamīputra, never ascended the throne is untenable. He had advocated it primarily to explain the non-occurrence of the name of this ruler in the inscription in cave no. XVI at Ajanta. It is now clearly proved that the genealogy in that record is of the branch Vākātaka line then ruling at Basim and so could naturally not have included the name of Rudrasena II. Had Rudrasena died without being crowned, his wife would not have been described as *agramahishi*, the crowned queen, and he would not have been given the epithet *mahārāja*, king, in the Vākātaka records.

his father-in-law was a staunch Vaishṇavaite and so was his queen. The Gupta-Vākāṭaka matrimonial alliance was primarily dictated by political and military considerations. The plans for the contemplated invasion of Mālhwā, Gujarāt, and Kathiāwar must have been the subject of discussion and correspondence between Chandragupta and Rudrasena soon after the accession of the latter. Rudrasena no doubt gave active support to the policy of Chandragupta, hoping thereby to secure a part of the Kshatrapa kingdom after its conquest. Unfortunately, before these plans could be put into action, Rudrasena died suddenly (c. A.D. 390) at the immature age of about thirty, after a short reign of perhaps five years. This unexpected calamity must have come as a great shock to the two royal houses and doubtless postponed the contemplated invasion of the Kshatrapa dominions by several years.

The Regency of Prabhāvatiguptā

(c. A.D. 390-410)

At the time of her sad bereavement, Prabhāvatiguptā, the crowned queen of Rudrasena, was a young and inexperienced widow of less than twenty-five. She was, however, a courageous lady; she took the reins of administration firmly into her hands as regent for the infant king and steered the ship of state safely past all rocks and shoals during a long regency lasting about twenty years. Vindhyasena and Pravarasena II of the Basim branch were her contemporaries during this period, but it does not seem that she relied upon their help during the trying years of her regency. She may even have suspected that the rulers of the Vākāṭaka branch at Basim would try to exploit the years of regency in order to aggrandize themselves at her cost. As was natural for a woman in her condition of widowhood, Prabhāvatiguptā relied exclusively on the help of her illustrious father Chandragupta II. The latter must obviously have paid her a personal visit of condolence after her bereavement and have then made special arrangements for the efficient administration of the Vākāṭaka kingdom during the regency of his daughter. A number of civil, military, and secretariat officers were transferred to Nandivardhana, the Vākāṭaka capital, from Pāṭalīputra;¹ they were doubtless invaluable and reliable counsellors for the dowager queen in all administrative affairs.

Prabhāvatiguptā had two sons, Divākarasena and Dāmodarasena.² The

¹ This is proved by the text of the Poona copper plate grant of Prabhāvatiguptā, which begins with the Gupta genealogy instead of that of the Vākāṭakas, as is the case with other Vākāṭaka charters. No ancestors of Rudrasena are mentioned, while the names of the three ancestors of Prabhāvatiguptā are given. This can be explained only on the assumption that the grant was drafted by a Gupta officer from Pāṭalīputra. The occurrence of the forms of the eastern variety of the Gupta alphabet on the Poona plates of Prabhāvatiguptā can also be explained only on the hypothesis that it was transcribed by a clerk from Pāṭalīputra, for these characters were not normally current in the Vākāṭaka kingdom.

² There has been some uncertainty about the number of the sons of Prabhāvatiguptā. In the

former was the elder of the two and was formally declared to have ascended the Vākāṭaka throne on the death of his father. Both the princes, however, were very young; the elder was about five and the younger about three at the death of Rudrasena. It appears that Chandragupta not only made arrangements for the efficient administration of the Vākāṭaka kingdom, but also for the proper training and education of the young princes. Most probably the famous poet Kālidāsa was one of the tutors sent to Nandivardhana by Chandragupta II. This is suggested by the literary tradition according to which the Prākṛit poem *Setubandha* was composed by Pravarasena, a king of Kuntala, soon after his accession and was later improved by Kālidāsa at the instance of Vikramāditya, i.e. Chandragupta II.¹ Rāmagirisvāmin, the deity at Rāmtēk, about thirteen miles from Nagpur, was the family deity of the Vākāṭakas; Prabhāvati-guptā gave her last grant, recorded in the Rithpur plates,² from the holy precincts of the temple of this god. When tutor to the young Vākāṭaka princes, Kālidāsa doubtless visited Rāmatek many times in the company of the dowager queen in order to pay his respects to Rāmagirisvāmin. And it may well have been during one of these visits that the idea occurred to him to make the hermitage at Rāmagiri the place of banishment of his Yaksha, the hero of his *Meghadūta*. The literary tradition which associates Kālidāsa with King Bhojarāja can also be satisfactorily explained if we assume that he was first a tutor and then a protégé of Pravarasena II. The Vākāṭaka kingdom included Bhojadeśa or Bhojakaṭaka, which figures as a province of the kingdom in the Chammaka copper plates. Just as Pravarasena

Poona plates issued during the 13th year of the regency of Prabhāvati-guptā, Divākarasena figures as the *ywarāja* or the heir-apparent. In the Rithpur plates, Prabhāvati-guptā is described as *Mahārāja-Dāmodarasena-Pravarasena-janani*. This expression may mean that she was the mother of Dāmodarasena and Pravarasena or Dāmodarasena *alias* Pravarasena. If we accept the former interpretation, Divākarasena, Dāmodarasena, and Pravarasena become the three sons of Prabhāvati-guptā; if we accept the latter one, Divākarasena and Dāmodarasena *alias* Pravarasena become the two sons of the queen. The latter interpretation is, however, the correct one. The order in which the two names Dāmodarasena and Pravarasena occur in the expression *Mahārāja-Dāmodarasena-Pravarasena-janani* suggests that if Dāmodarasena and Pravarasena had been two different princes, the former would be the elder one, and the ruling king at the time when the plates were issued. The plates were, however, issued in the 19th year of Pravarasena and not of Dāmodarasena. It is therefore clear that Dāmodarasena is the same as Pravarasena, the latter being his *abhisheka* or coronation name. The use of the title *mahārāja* before the expression Dāmodarasena-Pravarasena would also suggest that it refers to one person, for in a kingdom there is usually only one *mahārāja* or ruling king at a time.

¹ The *Harshacharita*, i, 14, ascribes the authorship of the *Setubandha* to Pravarasena. That this is not the king of Kashmir of that name becomes clear from *Bharatacharita*, i, 4, which describes the author of the poem as the king of Kuntala; cf. *Lokeshvalaṅkāntam-apurvasetum babandha kīrtiyā saha Kuntatesah*. *Setubandha*, i, 9, shows that the poem was composed by a king soon after his accession and was later revised and improved. It is a sixteenth-century commentator Rāmadāsa who states that the work of revision was done by Kālidāsa at the request of Vikramāditya.

² The Rithpur plates were issued on the occasion of the visit of the old dowager queen to the temple of Rāmagiri. This temple is situated on a hill at Rāmtēk, thirteen miles north-east of Nagpur and quite close to the Vākāṭaka capital Nandivardhana, if we identify it with Nagardhan. If Nandivardhana is to be identified with Nandpur, about thirty-four miles north of Nagpur, Rāmtēk would then be about twenty miles to the south of the Vākāṭaka capital.

was known as Kuntaleśa, because of the recent conquest of Kuntala, he may also have been known as Bhojapati, because of the inclusion of Bhojakataka in his kingdom. Very probably the Bhoja country or Berar was the home province of the Vākātakas. Later on literary tradition confused Pravarasena, the king of Bhojadeśa, with king Bhoja, the king of Malwa, a confusion which led to the mistake of Kālidāsa being regarded as a protégé of the Paramāra ruler Bhoja, who was indeed both a celebrated writer himself and also a famous patron of men of letters, but lived about six centuries later than Kālidāsa.

The misfortunes of Prabhāvatīguptā did not end with the death of her husband. For Divākarasena, her eldest son, also died before attaining his majority and ascending the throne, some time after the 13th year of the regency of his mother.¹ This heavy domestic affliction added to the grief of Prabhāvatīguptā and increased the duration of her regency. Her younger son Dāmodarasena then became the crown prince and eventually ascended the throne when he came of age in c. A.D. 410 as Pravarasena II.

Prabhāvatīguptā died at a fairly advanced age. She was living in the 19th year of her son Pravarasena's reign (c. A.D. 430), when she is known to have visited the temple at Rāmagiri and to have made a grant on that occasion. Four years later we find her son making a grant for the spiritual welfare both of himself and his mother in this and the after life.² It is therefore clear that the dowager queen lived up to at least c. A.D. 435, when she must have been more than seventy years of age.³

It was during the regency of Prabhāvatīguptā that the Gupta conquest of the Kshatrapa dominions was accomplished. The Vākātakas were the south-eastern neighbours of the Kshatrapas, and we have shown already how they had at one time extended their sphere of influence over them during the period A.D. 304 to 332. When the plans of invasion were being matured in the lifetime of Rudrasena II, the latter must have agreed to take an active part in the adventure. The situation must have been changed by his premature death. But Prabhāvatīguptā was also an enthusiastic admirer of her father and doubtless extended to him all the assistance that she could afford in her relatively helpless condition. There is, however, no actual evidence to support this supposition.

¹ At the time of the Poona plates, issued in the 13th year of the regency, Divākarasena was the Yuvarāja. We find no subsequent reference to him in the Vākātaka records. On the other hand his younger brother Dāmodarasena alias Pravarasena begins to figure as the Vākātaka king. It is possible but not probable that Divākarasena may have ascended the throne soon after the 13th year of the regency, and died after a short reign without leaving any issue; the crown may thus have passed to Pravarasena, who may have omitted the name of his elder brother in his charters as he was not in the direct line of descent.

² *ELI*, xxii, 170.

³ An expression in the Rithpur plates, *sāgravarshaśatadi(ji?) vaputrapautrā*, *JASB*, (N.S.) xx, p. 56, which cannot be read with certainty, seems to suggest that she was then more than 100. But this is an obvious exaggeration. Even her father Chandragupta II was not born in A.D. 335.

Pravarasena II

(c. A.D. 410-40)

Pravarasena II ascended the throne in c. A.D. 410. Gupta influence continued to be exercised over the Vākātaka administration even after the termination of the regency of Prabhāvatiguptā. A literary tradition recorded in several works¹ states that during the first few years of his reign, Pravarasena was more interested in the pleasures of life than in the problems of administration, and so allowed the old regency arrangements to continue. Chandragupta II continued to have the dominant voice in the Vākātaka administration down to his death in c. A.D. 414. After that event, Pravarasena began to govern on his own account. Kumāragupta I was his maternal step-uncle and so Prabhāvatiguptā must have urged her son not to leave the conduct of the Vākātaka government in the hands of the new emperor, as they had been virtually in those of his predecessor.

Pravarasena was a man of literary tastes and composed early in his life the famous Prākṛit poem *Setubandha*, describing the victory of Rāma over Rāvaṇa.² The literary tradition which avers that the poem was considerably improved by Kālidāsa at the instance of Vikramāditya, i.e. Chandragupta II, though late, is probably well founded.³ Unlike his parents, Pravarasena II was a Vaiṣṇavite; it is interesting to note that the poem he composed describes the exploits of Rāma, an incarnation of Viṣṇu. This shows that there was not much bigotry then associated with the divisions Śaivite and Vaiṣṇavite. Rāmāgirisvāmin, the presiding deity on the hill at Rāmtek, was the tutelary deity of Pravarasena's mother, Prabhāvatiguptā; it is then no wonder that her son should have written a poem describing the most glorious exploit of Rāmachandra.

Nearly a dozen copper plate grants of Pravarasena have so far come to light, and it is from the information supplied by them that we are enabled to reconstruct the history of the king's predecessors. It is, however, unfortunate that even the latest charters issued by this ruler should make no references to his own political or military achievements. They never refer to any victory of his, nor do they ever mention the names of any of his enemies or

¹ Cf. *Kāvyamīmāṃsā*, p. 61, *Śṛiṅgāraprakāśa*, IX

Pibatu madhusugandhīnyanāni priyānāni
Mayi vmihitabhārah Kuntalānāmadhiśah

² Keith thinks (*HISL*, p. 97) that it is the Kashmir king Pravarasena who is the author of this poem. *Bhāratacharita*, ii, however, states that Pravarasena, the author of the poem, was the king of Kuntala. He must therefore be the Vākātaka ruler Pravarasena II, who had the epithet Kuntalēśa.

³ Cf.

Ahīnuvārāradhā chukkhaskhalieshu vihidīaparitthaviā

Setubandha, 1, 9.

and,

Dhīrānām kāvyacharchāchaturimavishaye Vikramādityavāchā
Yam chakr Kālidāsaḥ kavikumudavidhuh setumāma prabandham

from Rāmadāsa's commentary on the *Setubandha*.

allies. This might seem to indicate that he did not himself undertake any important military expeditions. He continued to govern his kingdom with the help of a number of feudatories and generals. Among the former Koṇḍarāya of Berar and Nārāyaṇarāya of the Betul District figure in his records. These feudatories had no power to make land-grants without the permission of the emperor.¹ The military element was, it would appear, dominant in Pravarasena's administration. Five of his generals, Chakravarman, Chitravarman, Bappadeva, Nemidāsa, and Kātyāyana, figure in his records as important government officers. Chamidāsa was the prime minister of the state in the 23rd year of the king's reign. Pravarasena had organized his administration very efficiently; we shall enlarge on this point in greater detail below in our chapter dealing with the Vākāṭaka administration.

The findspots of the charters of Pravarasena and the localities mentioned in them make it certain that the districts of Amraoti, Betul, Chhindwada, Nagpur, Bhandārā, and Bālagḥāt were under his direct administration. The kingdom must of course have extended over a much wider territory, including most of the Madhya Pradesh, Berar, Khandesh, Bombay Mahārāshṭra, and a considerable portion of the Hyderabad State. Of this territory, southern Berar, north-western Hyderabad, and southern Mahārāshṭra were then governed by the Basim branch of the Vākāṭakas. It is curious to find that the Basim contemporary of Pravarasena II was also a ruler of the same name, who, like his namesake, was the second ruler of that name in his own family. Pravarasena II of the Basim branch was a senior contemporary of Pravarasena II of the main family, and ruled down to c. A.D. 415. He was succeeded by his son, whose name has not been preserved in the Ajanta record, but who was a boy of eight at the time of his accession. We have no definite information about the relations between the two branches at this time; but it seems very probable that Pravarasena II of the main line may have helped the council of regency at Basim by his advice and guidance. It is not impossible that for some time the two administrations may have been merged into one government. If we make this assumption, it will be easier to understand how Pravarasena II of the main branch came to be described as Kuntaleśa or the lord of Kuntala, though that province had actually been conquered a generation earlier, mainly by the exertions of Vindhyāśakti II of the Basim line.

The earliest Vākāṭaka capital was probably Purikā, somewhere in Berar or the western Madhya Pradesh. This has not been identified so far. Later on the capital was changed to Nandivardhana, which may be either Nandpur, about thirty-four miles north of Nagpur, or Nagardhan (also spelt as Nandardhan), near Rāmtek, about thirteen miles north of Nagpur. The extensive fortifications near the former place, the ruins of which can still be seen, would seem to suggest that most probably Nandpur was the old Vākāṭaka

¹ See Chammak Plates, *CII*, iii, 235.

capital.¹ Pravarasena, however, founded a new city, Pravarapura, named after himself, and moved his capital to it sometime before the 18th year of his reign.² It is unfortunate that modern research should still be unable to identify this capital. It has been suggested that Pavnar in the Wardha District, which has a strong fort overlooking a river, may be Pravarapura.³ Unless and until local investigations and excavations are made, it will not be possible either to confirm or to contradict this view.

In c. A.D. 430 Pravarasena married his crown-prince Narendrasena to Ajitabhattachārikā, the daughter of a king of the Kuntala country. This must have been a diplomatic move to strengthen the position of the house by establishing a matrimonial connexion with its southern neighbour. The marriage may have put an end to the jealousy which must have been created by the annexation of the southern Marāṭha country to the Vākāṭaka kingdom. The name of the father of the Kadamba princess is not known, but very probably he was Kakusthavarman, who is known to have married his daughters in Gupta 'and other royal' families. Among the 'other royal' families selected by him, the Vākāṭakas would naturally be one, for their prestige was certainly next to that of the Guptas. This marriage must have established an *entente cordiale* among the Kadambas, the Vākāṭakas, and the Guptas.

The latest known date for Pravarasena is his 27th regnal year. We may therefore assume that he ruled for about thirty years and was succeeded by his son Narendrasena in c. A.D. 440.

Narendrasena

(c. A.D. 440-60)

Till recently there was considerable confusion and uncertainty about Vākāṭaka history and genealogy subsequent to the death of Pravarasena II. The Bālāghāt plates of his grandson showed that he was succeeded by his son Narendrasena and the latter by *his* son Prīthvīsheṇa II. Narendrasena had to re-establish the sovereignty of his family and Prīthvīsheṇa II had twice to make a determined effort for the same purpose. It was once held that the misfortunes of this line were due to disputed successions, and the fragmentary inscription in cave XVI at Ajanta was believed to be evidence in support of this theory. Bhagwānlāl and Bühler, who edited this record in the nineteenth century, thought that it contained the genealogy of the main line and showed that Pravarasena II was succeeded not by Narendrasena and Prīth-

¹ See *JASB*, 1933, p. 159 for Wellstead's view that Nandpur is Nandivardhana, and *LI*, ix, 43 for Hiralal's view that Nagardhan is Nandivardhana.

² One of the incomplete charters of Pravarasena (*LI*, xxiv, 264) is issued from the old capital Nandivardhana. Had it been dated, it would have been possible to decide more accurately the date of the change of the capital.

³ This is the view of Rao Bahadur K. N. Dikshit; see *JASB*, N.S., xxix, 159.

viṣheṇa II, as stated by the *Bālāghāt* plates, but first by a prince only eight years old, and then by his son and grandson, *Devasena* and *Harisheṇa* respectively. It was therefore naturally held by all scholars that after the death of *Pravarasena* II there was a long feud between his sons, and the catastrophes which befell the family, referred to in the *Bālāghāt* plates, were usually attributed to the disputes between the sons of *Pravarasena* II and their descendants. There were different theories in the field about the identity of the young prince of eight years, whose name has not been preserved in the *Ajanta* record, and of the relative seniority as between him and *Narendrasena*.

The happy discovery of the *Basim* plates of *Vindhyaśakti* II in 1939, and the revised edition of the inscription in cave XVI at *Ajanta* by Prof. V. V. Mirashi in 1941 have now simplified the whole problem. It has now become quite clear that the *Ajanta* inscription does not refer to the main *Vākāṭaka* line at all. It gives the genealogy of the *Basim* branch of the *Vākāṭaka* family, which had separated from the main stock not after the death of *Pravarasena* II in c. A.D. 440, but after the demise of *Pravarasena* I about a century earlier. There is therefore no longer any room for speculating as to whether *Narendrasena* was a younger or elder brother of the prince whose name is lost in the *Ajanta* record, as to whether this prince was eight years old at the time of his accession or whether he ruled for eight years, as to whether *Narendrasena* had not to fight with another brother, whose existence is not yet known to us, and so on. The two branches had been ruling side by side for more than a century at the time of the accession of *Narendrasena*, and there is no evidence whatsoever to show that he had to fight with his cousins ruling at *Basim* owing to bitter feelings engendered by a recent partition forced upon him.

The accession of *Narendrasena* took place in c. A.D. 440. We have no records of his reign and we have to rely upon a few expressions in his son's *Bālāghāt* grant for the reconstruction of the history of his times.

One of these expressions informs us that he regained his family's fortunes owing to the confidence created by the qualities inherited by him from his predecessors.¹ It had long been held that this notice referred to the successful termination of the war of succession between *Narendrasena* and his brother (the father of *Devasena*). This view has now been rendered untenable by the new discoveries mentioned above. It is true that a dynastic dispute may arise not merely between brothers but also between very distant cousins separated several decades before. During the fairly long minority of the son of *Pravarasena* II of the *Basim* branch, *Pravarasena* II of the main line was most probably at the head of the *Basim* administration. It is not impossible that like *Maṅgaḷiśa* of the *Chāḷukya* family, *Pravarasena* II of the main branch may have refused to hand over the administration to the young prince even

¹ *Pūrvādhigataguṇaviśvāsādapahṛitavamsīstriyaḥ*. *EI*, ix, p. 267.

after his attaining his majority, and that the latter may have exploited the situation created by the death of Pravarasena II by rebelling against his son Narendrasena and even ousting him for some time from his ancestral throne. This, however, does not seem to be the catastrophe from which Narendrasena suffered. Had the boy prince of the Ajanta record succeeded in securing such a victory over Narendrasena, it would have been described in that record. As it is, it contents itself by saying simply that though he was eight years old, he ruled well. About his successor Devasena we are told that he spent his life in the enjoyment of its pleasures and entrusted the government entirely to the care of his minister Hastibhoja. It is thus clear that neither of these princes was engaged in any military activities and thus they could not have been the cause of the misfortunes of Narendrasena.

The expression *apahṛitavamiśāriyaḥ*,¹ 'who carried away the fortune of his own family', suggests that this fortune had for a time got into the possession of one who was not the rightful heir. The enemy of Narendrasena would thus be a ruler who was not a scion of the Vākātaka stock. There is now sufficient evidence to show that a king named Bhavadattavarman, belonging to the Nāla family ruling in Bastar state and part of the Chhattisgarh division, had temporarily succeeded in occupying a large part of the Vākātaka kingdom and penetrating right up to Nandivardhana, the former Vākātaka capital. For the Rithpur plates of this king were issued from Nandivardhana and record the grant of a village located in the Yeotmal District. The precise date of these plates cannot be determined, but palaeography suggests that they may have been issued by the middle of the fifth century A.D. It is thus certain that the Nāla king Bhavadattavarman had succeeded in inflicting a signal defeat on the Vākātakas, which compelled them to abandon their capital city Nandivardhana, situated in the heart of their kingdom. That this victory was a sensational one is suggested also by the description of the victor as one to whom royal glory was granted by Mahāsena, the generalissimo of the gods. After annexing a part of the Vākātaka kingdom, Bhavadattavarman visited Prayāga, apparently as an act of thanksgiving. It was at the confluence of the Gangā and the Yamunā that, according to his charter, he granted the village in the Yeotmal District, and the locality of the grant is a proof of the extent of his dominions in this direction at the time.

The theory of the Nāla conquest of the Vākātaka kingdom as being the catastrophe from which Narendrasena suffered can be regarded as definitely proved only when the date of Bhavadattavarman will be fixed with certainty.

¹ The view of Dr. Jayaswal that this expression does not at all suggest any disputed succession or any calamity which had fallen on the family, is untenable. He relies upon the line in *Vikramorvashiyam*, iii, 1: *Pachātputrairapahṛitabharuḥ kalpate viśramāya*, to support his view. Kālidāsa, however, uses the expression *apahṛitabharuḥ* with reference to the person who is being relieved; the Bālaghāt plates use the corresponding phrase *apahṛitavamiśāriyaḥ* with reference to the person relieving. The former expression denotes the obtaining of much desired relief, the latter suggests a forcible seizure.

in the middle of the fifth century. It is nevertheless very likely that this dating will after all be shown by later discoveries to be correct. For we can think of no other possible cause that would account for the misfortunes of the Vākāṭaka family at about A.D. 450. The Hūṇas had not then succeeded in penetrating into the Deccan and so could have inflicted no defeat on the Vākāṭakas. The Pushyamitras, who had for a time brought even the Gupta empire to its knees, are not known to have launched any expedition against the Vākāṭakas. It therefore seems certain that no power other than the Naḷas of the former Bastar State could have been the cause of the humiliation of the Vākāṭakas.

The precise time of the Vākāṭaka débâcle is not known, but we shall not be far wrong in placing it between c. A.D. 440 and 445, the first five years of the reign of Narendrasena. The Naḷas were not in a position to occupy the Vākāṭaka territories for a long time. Soon after the death of Bhavadattavarman, Narendrasena succeeded in reoccupying the home provinces of his kingdom. Arthapati, the son and successor of Bhavadattavarman, had a short reign and (Skanda)varman, his brother, is described as regaining the family throne and repopulating the capital.¹ It therefore seems probable that after regaining his patrimony Narendrasena carried the war into the enemy's territory and devastated his capital. Arthapati, the immediate successor of Bhavadattavarman, probably soon lost his life in war and was then succeeded by his brother (Skanda)varman, who retrieved the fortunes of his family and repopulated the capital. For some time, however, the Naḷas were apparently the feudatories of the Vākāṭakas; for Narendrasena is described as the lord of Mekala or the Amarakaṇṭaka mountain, which was near, if not within, the kingdom of the Naḷas.

The Vākāṭaka records give the entire credit for restoring the fortunes of the family to Narendrasena, but it is very probable that he may have received some assistance from his father-in-law, the Kadamba prince; otherwise it is inexplicable why Prīthvīśeṇa II, son of Narendrasena, should have referred to his maternal grandfather in his own family genealogy. It does not seem that Kumāragupta I helped his grand-nephew in the hour of his misfortune. By c. A.D. 450 he was himself already in great difficulties and could not have afforded to send any help to Narendrasena, even if he had desired to do so.

Narendrasena is described in his son's record as being the overlord of Malwa. This province had been included in the Gupta empire since the beginning of the fourth century; does it then follow that Narendrasena sided with the Pushyamitras, the enemies of Kumāragupta and Skandagupta, and

¹ Cf.

*Śrī Nalāmṃayamukhyasya śikramakṣapitadvīṣaḥ
Nṛpater-Bhavadattasya satputrenānyasamsthītām
Bhrasṭhāmākṛṣhya rājyarthīm sūnyāmāyasya Pushkarīm.*

FI, xxi, 155.

secured a temporary overlordship over Malwa during the period of confusion following the defeat of Kumāragupta I? Though possible, this does not seem actually to have been the case. Narendrasena's hands were too full with the Nāla invasion to permit any offensive alliance with the Pushyamitras. The Guptas were besides near relations of the Vākātakas, and Narendrasena is not likely to have exploited their difficulties by stabbing them in the back. Had the Vākātakas sided with the Pushyamitras, the Bhitari inscription would have described the defeat not only of the Pushyamitras but also of their allies. It would then appear that when the Gupta empire was for a time reeling under the blows of the Pushyamitras, the king of Malwa may have for a time transferred his allegiance to the Vākātakas, who were related to the Guptas, in the hope that they might help him in the task of maintaining his own position. We should remember that at this time the prestige of the Vākātakas had been increased by the defeat of the Nālas. Malwa, however, did not long remain within the Vākātaka sphere of influence; for it came under Gupta overlordship during the reign of Skandagupta and Budhagupta.

Narendrasena's reign terminated in c. A.D. 460. He was a moderately efficient ruler. He was not only able to retrieve the misfortunes of his family, but even to extend its power by conquering, though temporarily, a large part of the Nāla kingdom in the former Bastar State. His relations with the branch family ruling at Basim seem to have been normally peaceful and cordial.

Prithvīsheṇa II¹

(c. A.D. 460–80)

In c. A.D. 460 Narendrasena was succeeded by his son Prithvīsheṇa II, who may be presumed to have reigned up to c. A.D. 480. His contemporary in the Basim branch was Devasena, who is described as a king who had his fill of pleasures. Devasena had obviously no military ambitions and his relations with Prithvīsheṇa were therefore doubtless cordial.

We know few incidents regarding the reign of Prithvīsheṇa. He is described in his Bālāghāt grant as the elevator of his family, which had twice fallen on evil days. We, however, have no definite information as to the causes of the troubles which befell the Vākātakas during the reign of Prithvīsheṇa. The first misfortune above mentioned probably refers to the invasion of Māna-mātra, the king of Śarabhapura in Chhattisgarh, who succeeded temporarily in occupying Berar and the southern Madhya Pradesh. He was, however, soon expelled from these territories by the exertions of Prithvīsheṇa.

The Vākātaka family seems to have fallen on evil days again during the reign of Prithvīsheṇa following an attack by the Traikūtakas in the west, a line of rulers which was fast rising into importance and power in northern

¹ In the Pandurangapalli grant of Avidheya this king, who was the grandfather of the grantor, is described as *Āṅga-Vīdarbhāshmakavijetā*. See *MASR*, 1929, p. 197.

Konkaṇa at this time. King Dahrasena of this family, who ruled from c. A.D. 445 to 475, had performed a horse-sacrifice. The expansion of power of which this sacrifice was a sign must obviously have taken place partly at the cost of Pṛithviṣheṇa, his eastern neighbour and perhaps at one time his overlord. Pṛithviṣheṇa's victories were merely defensive actions; for the Traikūṭakas continued to prosper and to expand farther still during the reign of Vyāghrasena, the successor of Dahrasena.

No ruler of the main Vākāṭaka house is known after Pṛithviṣheṇa II. It seems that he left no sons competent enough to succeed him and that the leadership of the Vākāṭaka family passed after his death to king Harishēṇa of the Basim branch. For this ruler is described in the Ajanta record as the conqueror of Kuntala, Avanti, Kālīṅga, Kośala, Trikūṭa, Lāṭa, and the Andhra countries. These achievements could only have been possible to him if he had first acquired effective control over the territory and resources of the main Vākāṭaka family. We shall now proceed to describe the career of this king, prefacing it with a short account of the history of the Basim branch.

IV

THE BASIM VĀKĀṬAKA BRANCH

OCCASIONAL references have been made to the princes of the branch Vākāṭaka line who ruled at Basim in Southern Berar, but it is necessary to deal with their history in a connected manner before describing the glorious achievements of its last ruler, Harishena, who once more made the Vākāṭaka empire as extensive as it had been in the days of Pravarasena I. This subsidiary dynasty was founded by king Sarvasena, a younger son of the emperor Pravarasena I, who had, according to the *Purāṇas*, divided his empire among his four sons. Since the emperor Pravarasena died in c. A.D. 335 after a long reign of sixty years, Sarvasena, who succeeded him at Basim, can have reigned for only a short time. We shall not be far wrong in placing his rule between c. A.D. 335 and 350. No specific events of his reign are known, but it is not unlikely, as was suggested above (p. 164), that Sarvasena and his brothers may have tried to prevent the accession of Rudrasena, their young nephew, to the throne of the principal line of their family. Sarvasena was succeeded by his son Vindhyaśakti II, also called Vindhya-sena. Since his Basim plates are dated in the 37th year of his reign, he had obviously a long reign, which may have extended up to c. A.D. 400. The revised readings of the Ajanta inscription in Cave XVI show that it was this ruler, and not Prithviśena I of the direct line, who was responsible for the conquest of Kuntala or the southern Marāṭha country. He may, however, have received some assistance in his venture from the government of the main line. Vindhyaśakti was the ruler of a fairly extensive kingdom, which included Southern Berar, Northern Hyderabad,¹ the Khaṇḍesh, and the districts of Nāsik, Poona, Nagar, and Satara. Most of his descendants continued to govern this fairly extensive territory.

Vindhyaśakti II was succeeded by Pravarasena II in c. A.D. 400. Pravarasena II succeeded a father who had had a long reign of about fifty years and was himself succeeded by a son who was only eight years old at the time of his accession. His reign, therefore, must have been a short one and may be placed between c. A.D. 400 and 415. It will be thus seen that by a curious coincidence he was for some time a contemporary of Pravarasena II of the main line. The name of the child king who succeeded him has not been preserved in the Ajanta record. It is likely that during this child's minority Pravarasena II of the senior family may have acted as his regent: the two governments may thus have been amalgamated for a while. On attaining

¹ His Basim plates confirm the grant of a village situated in the Nander District in Hyderabad State.

his majority, the Basim ruler took the reins of administration into his own hands. He is specifically described as a very good ruler. It is therefore likely that he paid more attention to the welfare of his subjects than to the expansion of his kingdom. Since he was a boy of eight at the time of his accession in *c.* A.D. 415, we may assume with some probability that he may have ruled until *c.* A.D. 455.

It was during the reign of this prince that king Narendrasena of the main dynasty suffered seriously from the invasion by the Nāḷa king Bhavadattavarman; the Basim kingdom, however, seems to have escaped the inimical attentions of the invader. It is just possible that the king of the branch line may have later afforded assistance to Narendrasena, when the latter launched his offensive against the Nāḷas. At any rate he most probably afforded facilities to the Kadamba contingent which must have passed hastily northwards through his kingdom to give a helping hand to Narendrasena.

King Devasena succeeded his father in *c.* A.D. 455 and ruled up to *c.* A.D. 475. He seems to have been a pleasure-loving ruler, but had the good sense to entrust the government to the care of his very efficient minister Hastibhoja, who was able as well as popular. It does not appear that his kingdom suffered much from the hostile activities of the Traikūṭakas.

Devasena was succeeded in *c.* A.D. 475 by his son Harisheṇa, who continued to rule down to *c.* A.D. 510. Harisheṇa was the most ambitious and successful ruler of the Basim line. Soon after his accession, Prithviṣheṇa II of the senior Vākāṭaka line died *c.* A.D. 480. Apparently he either left no heir or else his legal successor was superseded by Harisheṇa. Whatever may have been the real case, it is absolutely certain that Harisheṇa became ruler over the territories of the Basim as well as of those previously held by the senior Vākāṭaka dynasty. He is stated to have conquered or extended his sphere of influence over Malwa, Gujarāt, the northern Konkaṇa, Kuntala (the northern Karnāṭak), Andhra, and southern Kośala (the Chhattisgarh division). This implies that the block of territory including the Madhya Pradesh, Berar, the Bombay Maharāshṭra and Kanāṭaka, and a majority of the districts included in the Hyderabad State were under his direct government. The empire over which he ruled was thus as extensive as that of Pravarasena I had been.

This expansion of the Vākāṭaka kingdom became possible because the period during which Harisheṇa ruled (*c.* A.D. 475–510) was one of confusion, and he was able to use the disturbed political conditions for the purpose of his own aggrandisement. The Gupta empire disintegrated rapidly after the death of Budhagupta in *c.* A.D. 495. Central India, Malwa, and Gujarāt slipped out of its control and Harisheṇa stepped in at the opportune moment to establish his own sovereignty over all this territory. The Varman family ruling in Malwa seems to have been compelled to acknowledge Vākāṭaka supremacy for some time. The Traikūṭaka ruler Vyāghrasena was ruling over the northern Konkaṇa and southern Gujarāt as late as *c.* A.D. 495. We do not

hear anything further about his line; its kingdom would seem to have been conquered by Harishēṇa, as is indeed actually claimed in the Ajanta record.

How far the conquest of Kuntala, i.e. southern Karnāṭak, attributed to Harishēṇa was a reality it is difficult to say. The mother of Prithviśheṇa II was a Kuntala princess, and if it is true that the son of Prithviśheṇa II was set aside by Harishēṇa, it is quite likely that the Kadambas of Kuntala may have tried to espouse his cause, and so come into conflict with this king. The Kadamba records, however, do not reveal whether Mṛigeśa and Ravi-varman, who were the contemporaries of Harishēṇa, ever suffered any serious defeat at the hands of any northern power. The alleged conquest of Kuntala by Harishēṇa must, it would seem, refer only to certain frontier skirmishes between the Kadambas and Harishēṇa, from which the latter most likely emerged as victor.

In the Andhra country the Vishṇukuṇḍins were slowly rising to power at this time. It is not unlikely that the second ruler of this house, King Vikramendra, may have thought it politic to recognize the suzerainty of his powerful neighbour Harishēṇa in order to facilitate the expansion of his own kingdom towards the east. He married his son Mādhavavarman I to a Vākāṭaka princess, who was probably a granddaughter of Harishēṇa. The latter could therefore legitimately boast in his record that Andhra country was included within his sphere of influence.

Southern Kośala is the last country to be considered in connexion with the conquests of Harishēṇa. The Nālas ruled in this province for several generations, and we have seen already how Narendrasena eventually inflicted a signal defeat upon them in c. A.D. 450. It seems that they acknowledged the suzerainty of Harishēṇa towards the end of the fifth century A.D., when no other course was open to them.

The Vākāṭaka kingdom was thus at the zenith of its influence, prestige and power at the death of Harishēṇa. Practically the whole of Hyderabad State, Bombay Mahārāshṭra and Karnāṭak, Berar, and most of the Madhya Pradesh were under the direct administration of Harishēṇa, and the northern Koṅkaṇa, Gujarāt, Malwa, the Andhra country, and Chhattisgarh were within his sphere of influence. The achievements of Harishēṇa were as notable as those of the emperor Pravarasena I, and they must have become possible only because he was both an exceptionally efficient ruler and a skilful general. When he died in c. A.D. 510, the Vākāṭaka kingdom was undoubtedly the most powerful state in India.

V

THE DISINTEGRATION AND DISAPPEAR- ANCE OF THE VĀKĀṬAKA EMPIRE

WE have seen above how in c. A.D. 510 at the death of Harishena the Vākāṭaka empire was at the zenith of its power and prestige and extended over practically the whole of the Deccan. Within fifty years of this date the Deccan passed under the sway of the Chālukyas, who in c. A.D. 565 were masters of the greater part of the territory that had been included in the Vākāṭaka empire. How the Vākāṭakas came to disappear from the scene is, however, not yet definitely known. The mystery is rendered still more inexplicable by the fact that neither the records of the Vākāṭakas themselves nor those of the Chālukyas refer to any conflict between the two powers.

It has been recently argued with great ingenuity and plausibility that the Vākāṭaka empire was supplanted not by the Chālukya empire but by an early Rāshtrakūṭa empire, which continued to include practically the whole of the Deccan during the sixth century A.D.¹ The Rāshtrakūṭa king Mānamātra or Mānāṅka laid the foundation of this empire in c. A.D. 475 by conquering Aṅga, Āsmaka, and Vidarbha, i.e. Bihar, the southern Madhya Pradesh, and Berar. His home was in the Chhattisgarh division of the Madhya Pradesh and his capital Śarabhapura. This Rāshtrakūṭa kingdom expanded farther during the reign of Sudevarāja, the son of Mānamātra, but was eventually divided into three portions over which his three sons Jayarāja, Bhavishya, and Avidheya ruled separately. The kingdom of the first was in Chhattisgarh, that of the second in Berar and the western Madhya Pradesh, and that of the third in central and southern Mahārāshtra. These three kingdoms formed a kind of Rāshtrakūṭa confederation, which governed the whole of Mahārāshtra down to the beginning of the sixth century, when they were overthrown by the Chālukya king Pulakeśin II.

This theory of the Rāshtrakūṭa empire existing during the sixth century would indeed have been very convenient to explain the sudden disappearance of the Vākāṭaka power, but unfortunately it does not bear any close examination.² We have about half a dozen charters of the so-called Chhattisgarh branch of this assumed Rāshtrakūṭa family, but in none of them is it given the epithet of Rāshtrakūṭa. The southern Mahārāshtra branch is known to us by a single charter, and there too the giver of the grant is not described

¹ See M. H. Krishna, in *MASR*, 1929, pp. 197 ff.; and the K. V. Aiyangar *Commemoration Volume*, pp. 55 ff.

² See *ABORI*, xxiv, 149-55 for a more detailed discussion of this topic by the present writer.

as a Rāshtrakūṭa. It is only in a single grant of Abhimanyu, who belonged to the Berar branch, that he is mentioned as the crest-jewel of the Rāshtrakūṭas. This epithet was never taken by his predecessors who ruled in Chhattisgarh; he seems to have adopted it himself, since it is clear that he was for some time a provincial or district governor (*rāshtrakūṭa*) before he became independent.

But even if we suppose that the cousins of the Rāshtrakūṭa ruler Abhimanyu ruling in Chhattisgarh and southern Mahārāshtra were known as Rāshtrakūṭas, the theory of a Rāshtrakūṭa empire of the sixth century embracing the whole of the Deccan still does not become acceptable. In Chhattisgarh the rule of the so-called Rāshtrakūṭas came to an end with Sudevarāja, the great-uncle of Abhimanyu. There is no evidence whatsoever to show that any of his descendants were ruling over this part of the country after c. A.D. 510. The province had then passed under the rule of the Somavamśi kings, as we know from the charters of Tivaradeva, who describes himself as the lord of the whole Kośala country. No descendants either of Abhimanyu or of the western Madhya Pradesh or Avidheya of southern Mahārāshtra are known to have held sway in the territories concerned from c. 530 onwards.

There is in fact no evidence at all to support the theory that the descendants of Sudevarāja, Abhimanyu and Avidheya were ruling over an empire extending from Chhattisgarh to the Khandesh, and from Malwa to the Karnāṭak during the latter part of the sixth century. If such a formidable empire had really existed, its overthrow would have been the most memorable achievement of the Chālukyas, and would have been described in the most exaggerated language in their records. The Aihole eulogy describes every military achievement of Pulakeśin II and of each of his predecessors; it tells us how Pulakeśin I captured Vātāpī, how his successor overthrew the Nāḷas, Mauryas, and the Kadambas, how the next king exterminated the Kaḷachuris, and so on. Pulakeśin II himself defeated a large number of kings, and the eulogy gives the names of every one of them in full detail. Is it not then strange that this eulogy, which mentions specifically even the most insignificant kings defeated by the Chālukyas during the sixth century, should be silent about this most glorious achievement of the family, consisting of the overthrow of the mighty Rāshtrakūṭa empire, which had embraced practically the whole of the Deccan? The eulogy, in fact, does not refer to this empire for the simple reason that it never had any historical existence.¹

¹ It is argued that Āppāyika and Govinda, who attacked Pulakeśin II in the Bhīmā valley, were Rāshtrakūṭa rulers, and thus it has been attempted to prove that the Rāshtrakūṭa empire existed at the beginning of the sixth century A.D. It must therefore be pointed out that these rulers are not described as Rāshtrakūṭas in the Aihole eulogy, and that there is no other evidence to show that they bore that epithet. And even if we concede that they were Rāshtrakūṭas, the eulogy makes it absolutely clear that they were ruling over a petty principality in the Bhīmā valley and not over a vast empire embracing the whole of the Deccan.

The defeat by the Chālukya king Jayasinha, of a Rāshtrakūṭa king Indra, son of Kṛishṇa, is mentioned for the first time in the records of the later Chālukyas composed more than five centuries after the alleged event. If this defeat really took place, why should not a single record of

The supposed rise of a mighty Rāshtrakūṭa empire in the sixth century cannot therefore be used to explain the disintegration of the Vākāṭaka kingdom. The mystery of its disappearance can be satisfactorily solved only if and when we obtain fresh historical evidence bearing on the point. At present we can offer only tentative suggestions.

No successor of either Harisheṇa of the Basim branch or of Pṛthivīsheṇa II of the main branch is so far known to us. We may, however, assume that on his death, Harisheṇa was succeeded by his son, who may well have ruled from c. A.D. 510 to 530. The Vishnukunḍin king Mādhavavarman I (c. A.D. 525-70) had married a Vākāṭaka princess, and most probably she might have been a daughter of the successor of Harisheṇa.

In the reign of this king, the disintegration of the empire proceeded apace. Chhattisgarh slipped from Vākāṭaka control and passed under the rule of Tīvaradeva, a Somavamśi king, who ruled also over the Chanda district.¹ In Malwa and the northern Madhya Pradesh a Rāshtrakūṭa king named Abhimanyu set up an independent kingdom. The same thing happened in southern Mahārāshtra where a king named Avidheya, a cousin of Abhimanyu, established an independent principality. These Rāshtrakūṭa kingdoms did not last long. That in the northern Madhya Pradesh was eventually overthrown by the Kālachuris, who were rulers of Malwa and northern Mahārāshtra during the latter half of the sixth century. The southern Rāshtrakūṭa kingdom was soon absorbed by the Kadambas. In the east the Nālas once more became powerful and repudiated the Vākāṭaka overlordship.

The Vākāṭaka empire had thus disappeared by c. A.D. 540 since the Kadambas of Karnāṭak, the Kālachuris of northern Mahārāshtra, and the Nālas of the former Bastar State managed to absorb most of its territories during the weak rule of the successor (or successors) of Harisheṇa. None of these powers, however, were able to succeed in building up an empire embracing the whole of the Deccan. Quite unexpectedly there arose a new ruling house in Karnāṭak, that of the Chālukyas, which soon managed to defeat each of these powers in turn and to annex their territories. How this happened will be narrated in Part IV.

the early Chālukyas mention it? Why should this most glorious achievement of Jayasimha have been suppressed in all the early Chālukya records? The later Chālukyas could not conceal the fact that their ancestors had once been overthrown by the Rāshtrakūṭas. In order to magnify their importance, they invented a tradition that Jayasimha, the founder of the early Chālukya family, had defeated a Rāshtrakūṭa king Indra, a feat actually performed by Tailapa, the founder of the new Chālukya dynasty centuries later.

¹ It seems that Mādhavavarman I, the Vishnukunḍin king and brother-in-law of the Vākāṭaka ruler, tried to help him by attacking Tīvaradeva. Tīvaradeva was defeated but Chhattisgarh did not come under Vākāṭaka control.

VI

VĀKĀṬAKA ADMINISTRATION AND SOCIETY

It is not yet possible for the historian to give a vivid and comprehensive picture of the administration of the Vākāṭakas and of the life of people living under their rule. The material available for the purpose is very meagre. Their records, discovered so far, are few in number, and the vast majority of them happen to be those issued during the minority or reign of a single ruler, viz. Pravarasena II. The Vākāṭaka copper plates mention only a few officers and hardly supply us with any material for giving an adequate picture of the central and local administration. No foreign traveller visited their court, who could have left for us an account of the condition of the people under their rule. There are hardly any literary works that can be assigned to their period and kingdom, containing any information useful for the historian. We can, therefore, give at present only a very incomplete account of the Vākāṭaka administration and society.

At the head of the Vākāṭaka government was the king of the dynasty, whose post was hereditary. The second ruler of the house, Pravarasena I, made extensive conquests and found it convenient to entrust the different parts of his far-flung empire to the charge of his four sons, who eventually established practically independent houses after their father's death. This division weakened the empire and caused a number of complications in the reign of Rudrasena I, the successor of Pravarasena I. Later on therefore the same mistake was not repeated, and the kingdom was not again divided among rival brothers. Two of the three Vākāṭaka family branches, founded at the death of Pravarasena I, appear to have been reabsorbed in the main kingdom; but the house founded by his son Sarvasena at Vatsagulma (the modern Basim) continued to exist almost as an independent dynasty until the end of the fifth century. The unwisdom of the division of the kingdom into smaller semi-independent units was fully realized by the rulers of the direct line, and they appear not even to have permitted feudatories within their jurisdiction. Koṇḍarāja and Nārāyaṇa-Mahārāja no doubt figure in the records of Pravarasena II,¹ but their titles, *rājā* and *mahārāja*, seem to be purely formal. Even if they were feudatories, it does not seem that they enjoyed any considerable ruling power. They are seen requesting the Vākāṭaka king to make certain land grants for some projects in which they were interested. If they were feudatories at all, it is certain that their ruling powers were very limited. The available evidence shows that the Vākāṭaka empire was more united

¹ *GI*, p. 235; *EI*, xxiii, 86.

and centralized and less perforated by semi-independent feudatory states than was the case with the Sātavāhana, the Chālukya, or the Rāshtrakūṭa, empires.

The Vākāṭaka kingdom was fairly extensive, but its rulers were content with the mere title of *mahārāja*. Only one amongst them, Pravarasena I, who was undoubtedly a great conqueror, took the title *śamrāt*, probably because he had performed the *vājapeya* sacrifice, which, according to the sacred texts, entitles a ruler to assume that designation. His successors reverted to the old and simple title *mahārāja*. We have shown already that this title had nothing whatever to do with any imagined reduction of the Vākāṭaka sovereigns at any time to mere feudatory status,¹ and had in fact no connexion with such a status, whether real or fancied.

Members of the royal family like the Yuvarāja (heir-apparent) and other princes must have been entrusted with some duties in the administration, but we have no definite information on the point. Queens of reigning monarchs or princesses do not figure as administrative officers, as we find that they do in the Chālukya administration. Dowager queens, however, used to supervise and direct the administration, if the heir-apparent to the throne happened to be a minor. Prabhāvatīguptā, the widow of Rudrasena II, successfully steered the ship of state through troubled waters for a period of about twenty years. Adequate steps were taken to give proper literary and administrative training to the royal princes. Most probably Kālidāsa was one of the tutors of Pravarasena II. Contemporary records show that young princes used generally to receive special training in the military art at this time;² the same usage must have been the practice of the Vākāṭaka rulers.

Curiously enough ministers are referred to very rarely in the Vākāṭaka records. Only one of them, that in the Ajanta caves, refers to a minister, without giving the designation of his portfolio. We may, however, assume that the non-reference to ministers in other Vākāṭaka records is accidental and that the Vākāṭaka government was carried on by the king with the help of an adequate number of advisers and deputies, as was the case in other contemporary administrations. The Ajanta record indicates that some of the ministers held hereditary offices and that all of them were usually well trained in the sciences of politics and warfare. The prime-minister was in charge of the whole administration; it is probably he who is referred to by the appropriate and significant title *sarvādhyakṣa*. How he conducted the administration is, however, but imperfectly known, for the Vākāṭaka plates refer only to a very few officers. In the Deccan records of the successors of the Vākāṭakas, the provincial, district and subdivisional officers, as also the hereditary officers of the villages, are usually mentioned in connexion with the exhortation not to disturb the possession of the donees of the grants. The Vākāṭaka

¹ *Supra*, pp. 168-9.

² *IA*, vii, 37.

records, however, mention only four classes of officers.¹ Of these, *chaṭās* and *bhaṭās* refer to the members of the police and military forces and throw no light on the administrative machinery. The term *santaka*, which is mentioned in the exhortation, seems to denote officers in general, or perhaps the district officers, but we have as yet not sufficient data for defining the scope of their office or duties. The last class of officers mentioned in our records is, however, very interesting. They are described as high officers conveying the orders of the central government and appointed by or working under the direction of the *sarvādhyaksha* or prime-minister. These were obviously the inspectors appointed by the central government to tour in the kingdom and find out whether its orders were being properly carried out or not by the subordinate and district officers. The inspection machinery of the central government is but rarely referred to in ancient Indian records, and the Vākāṭaka plates are, therefore, regarded as very valuable evidence in this respect by the student of ancient Indian administration.

The officer of the title *rajjuka* figures in a solitary record as its writer;² but what precisely was his function we do not know. Probably he was an officer in charge of the revenue administration and of the measurement of the lands in the kingdom. Hence we find him sometimes entrusted with the task of executing charters alienating land revenues.

Bhukti, *rāshtra*, and *rājya* are the names of territorial divisions occurring in the Vākāṭaka records, but they seem to indicate the same administrative unit.³ None of them is ever mentioned as forming part of or situated within the limits of the other. They, therefore, seem to have all denoted the district units into which the kingdom had been divided, and which appear to have been differently designated in different parts of the kingdom according to local tradition. Districts were divided into smaller administrative divisions. Sometimes these were known after the chief town included in them; thus, for instance, *Pravareśvara-shaḍvīmśaka* denoted a subdivision of twenty-six villages of which Pravareśvara was the chief town.⁴ Sometimes the subdivisions of the district were simply known as its eastern or western part.⁵

Districts were in charge of officers of the central government probably designated as *santakas*. They were heads of the general administration and were responsible for the maintenance of law and order and the collection of land revenue. Members of the police and military force (*chaṭāh* and *bhaṭāh*) helped them in this work and worked under their general direction. The central government controlled the district administration through its inspecting staff, which has been already referred to above.

We get very little information about the village administration in the

¹ *Asmat-santakāh sarvādhyakshaniyoganiyuktāh ājnā-sanchārikula-putrādihikṛitāh bhaṭāh chaṭrāścha*, EI, xxiii, 86.

² EI, xxiv, 56.

³ *Asi-bhukti*, EI, xxv, 265. *Pakkaṇa-rāshtra*, EI, xxiv, 261; *Bhogakataka-rājya*, GI, p. 241.

⁴ EI, xxiv, 265.

⁵ Cf. *Bennakataśya aparabhāge*, GI, p. 246.

Vākātaka records. The elders of the village of Kadambagiri are referred to in one record and exhorted not to disturb the possession of the donee.¹ We may, however, safely conclude that village administration under the Vākātakas was carried out by a council of village elders presided over by the village headman, as was the case in other contemporary and earlier states.² The precise nature of the powers of the village council or of the control exercised over it by the central or district government is not known.

Some of the Vākātaka plates state at their end that when they were issued, so and so was the *senāpati* or the general of the king. Thus Chitravarman was the *senāpati* of Pravarasena II when one of his incomplete charters was issued in the eleventh year of his reign, as also when the Chammaka plates were issued seven years later. Six months later, however, when the Sivani plates were issued, Bappadeva was the *senāpati*.³ The manner in which the names of the generals are mentioned at the end of the copper plates suggests that their importance was next to that of the king himself. May it be that the names of these generals are given in this prominent manner because they were the prime-ministers or *sarvādhyakshas*? Military skill and leadership was one of the necessary qualifications for appointment to ministerial posts in contemporary times. Many of the ministers of the Guptas were *daṇḍanāyakas* or *senāpatīs*, and the same may have been the case under the Vākātakas as well.

Let us now consider the different items of revenue in the Vākātaka state. We can get some indirect idea in this connexion from the privileges and exemptions granted to the donees of the copper plates. They are usually given the right to work salt mines, appropriate hidden treasures, and use village pastures.⁴ This would suggest that normally the state claimed ownership over all mines and treasure troves, as also over the waste lands in the kingdom. The same probably was the case with forests. The ownership of the cultivable lands was vested in private owners. When villages were granted by the state, their rights were not affected. Formerly they had been accustomed to pay their taxes to the state, now they had to pay them to the donee or grantee. It is not, however, to be supposed that the state owned no arable land at all. Sometimes it would reclaim forest land and become its owner. Sometimes some pieces of land would lapse to it for lack of heirs or would be taken over in default for non-payment of the land tax. Pieces of land thus owned by the state formed, however, only a very small part of the total cultivable land. Sometimes we find the Vākātaka kings giving such lands to temples or Brāhman colonists.

The land tax was the main source of the state revenue, but curiously enough we do not know what technical name it bore. The usual expressions for it like *bhāgakara*, *bhogakara*, or *udraṅga* or *uparikara* do not occur in our records.

¹ EI, xix, 102.

³ GI, p. 245.

² EI, xxiv, 267; GI, p. 240.

⁴ GI, p. 236.

⁵ EI, iii, 260-2.

Probably the expression *kṛipta* figuring there refers to it. The incidence of this tax is not known. It was probably paid in kind.

Import duty was another source of state revenue. Fuel, vegetables, flowers, milk-products, &c., had to pay a duty when they were imported, whether into a village or into a town. The same must have been the case with more important articles like cloth, grain, and oil, though they are not especially mentioned in our records. Whether there were excise duties on the manufacture of cloth and wines we do not know.

The visits of the inspecting or detective staff were usually recognized functions. The expenses connected with their stay had to be borne by the villagers; the donees of the religious grants are seen to have been exempted from such payments. The inspectors had also to be provided with free labour and transport (*begār*) in order to enable them to move on to their next halting-place.

We thus get only an imperfect picture of the Vākāṭaka administration, but such evidence as we possess indicates that it was on the whole vigilant and efficient. Copper plate grants were not issued before they had been checked; each of them usually bears a certificate to this effect, as testified by the term *drishṭam* inscribed on the plate. There is evidence to show that inaccurate or unsatisfactory plates were rejected.¹ Still more interesting is it to note that even the Brāhman donees of the copper plate grants were not permitted to be a law to themselves; some of the grants expressly lay down specific conditions under which alone the grants were to be continued. First of all they and their descendants were to be loyal to the state and to offer the fullest co-operation in apprehending persons guilty of treason, theft, and immorality. They were further not to interfere with the rights of neighbouring villages.² If these conditions were not fulfilled, the state could resume the grant without any moral or spiritual compunction. Land also was carefully surveyed according to the measure determined by the state, and the requisite entries were made in the relevant records. There is no evidence to show how far the people themselves had any voice in the administration, but there can be no doubt that in the sphere of village government, at any rate, the village councils consisting of the village elders had a decisive voice.

Let us now survey the religious condition of the people. Hinduism, Buddhism, and Jainism were the three main religions of the age, but, strangely enough, we get no reference whatsoever to any Jaina temple or establishment in the Vākāṭaka records. Very probably few among the Vākāṭaka subjects were followers of Mahāvīra.

Buddhism was fairly popular in the Deccan at this time. The inscriptions and monuments of Kārli, Bhājā, Junnar, Nāsik, and other places show that the gospel of the Buddha was accepted by a large number of people in Western India belonging to the Brāhman, Kshatriya, and Vaishya classes, and following various professions such as medicine, metal-working, wood-working, the

¹ See *EI*, xxii, 209.

² *GI*, iii, 236 ff.

distribution of food-stuffs, &c. This continued to be the case down to the fourth century A.D. at least. It is interesting to note that Junnar possessed a nunnery as well.¹

Ajanta and Ellora were still flourishing centres of Buddhism during our period, as is shown by the caves, sculptures, and paintings at these places. The majority of these caves were executed in the Vākāṭaka period, and this would not have been possible if Buddhism had not possessed a large following among the wealthy classes. The Vākāṭaka rulers were all Hindus, but it would not be surprising if new records were to be discovered showing that they had contributed liberally to the development of the Buddhist establishments at these two places, both situated within their kingdom. At any rate some of their ministers are known to have been Buddhists and figure among the donors of a few of the caves.

Ajanta was the centre to which several famous Buddhist monks who were widely known throughout the country were attached. One of these was Sthavirāchala, who figures in a record in Cave 26. He is probably to be identified with the Arhat A-che-lo mentioned by Yuan Chwang.²

The Vākāṭaka period (c. A.D. 250-550) coincides with the golden and creative period of Mahāyāna Buddhism. Not far from the boundary of the kingdom lived the famous Mahāyāna philosopher, Nāgārjuna, at Nāgārjunikoṇḍa on the bank of the Kṛishṇā. By founding the Sūnyavada he infused new life into Indian Buddhism and helped the eventual development of the Advaita school in the Hindu Vedānta. It is no wonder that the Buddhists of the Ajanta and Ellora monasteries during this period should have been mostly Mahāyānists, and that they did not subscribe to the simpler Hīnayāna dogma of barren atheism. A record at Ajanta definitely asserts that the Buddha has not been dissolved into nothingness, but has won immortality for himself and continues to govern the world and to guide his devotees from his abode high above the universe.³ It is but natural that owing to the influence of the dogma, the Mahāyānists should have introduced the images of the Buddha at suitable places in the earlier Hīnayāna caves at Ajanta, which suggested the presence of the master only by significant symbols like the *stūpa*.

It is not to be supposed that Buddhism was confined only to the places mentioned above. A record in the Chanda District shows that a local king named Sūryaghosha had the misfortune to have his son killed by an accidental fall from the palace.⁴ He decided to commemorate his memory by erecting a temple in honour of the Buddha. It is thus sufficiently clear that Buddhism must have found adherents in many individuals scattered all over the kingdom, though no sufficient inscriptions or other evidence has survived to our time to substantiate this statement.

The relations between Buddhism and Hinduism were on the whole friendly.

¹ *ASWI*, iv, 33.

³ Burgess, *Cave Temples of Western India*, p. 77.

² Watters, II, 239-40.

⁴ *JRAS*, 1905, p. 617.

The followers of each faith naturally claimed that their own gospel was superior to the other. The monk Sthavirāchala of Ajanta, for instance, proudly points out that gods in Hinduism are subject to decay, that even Kṛishṇa had to succumb to death and that Mahādeva could not escape from a curse, but that the Buddha on the other hand is ever immortal, ever free from fear and always guiding the destinies of the universe.¹ Hindus on their part advanced similar claims and maintained that the doctrine of the Void as taught by Buddhists was obviously unsatisfactory. These philosophical wranglings could have led to persecutions of the adherents of one faith by those of the other. The common people, however, had the good sense to realize that each religion was good in its own way and led to the same goal though by a different road. Each should follow the gospel that appealed to him most, without caring to see what others were doing.

Let us now survey the position of Hinduism. Early in the period under study Vedic sacrifices were still popular all over India, and we find Pravarasena I, the real founder of the Vākāṭaka greatness, performing a number of them like *Agnishtoma*, *Āptoryāma*, *Ukthya*, *Shodashin*, *Atirātra*, *Vājapeya*, *Bṛhaspatisava*, and *Sādyaskra*. He was a great conqueror and it is therefore no wonder that he should have celebrated the *Aśvamedha* sacrifice as many as four times. Though the Vākāṭakas were Brāhmins, Pravarasena's zeal for Vedic religion did not descend to any of his successors. None of them seems to have cared to perform even a single Vedic sacrifice. The fact was that the Smārta religion was fast getting the upper hand over the Śrauta form of faith. Pravarasena's grandson Rudrasena I became a Śaivite, probably under the influence of his maternal grandfather Bhavanāga of the Bhārasiva dynasty. All the subsequent Vākāṭaka kings were devotees of Śiva, with the exception of Rudrasena II, who became a Vaishṇava under the influence of his wife Prabhāvatiguptā and her illustrious father Chandragupta II. It should, however, be noted that the followers of Śiva and Viṣṇu lived in complete amity, and that members of the same family often changed the object of their devotion according to their individual inclinations. Thus the Naḷa king Bhavattavarman was a Śaivite; he attributed his successes to the favour of Mahāsenā. But his son Skandavarman, who built a Viṣṇu temple, was a Vaishṇavite.² Pravarasena II was a Śaivite but he wrote his *Setubandhu* to glorify the achievements of Rāma, an incarnation of Viṣṇu. In fact the Vākāṭakas paid particular reverence to the god Rāmāgirisvāmin, whose temple was situated on the hill at Rāmtēk, not far from their capital.³

As far as the ordinary Hindus were concerned, they had a much more fervent faith in the Paurāṇic than in the Vedic deities. In their daily life they used to perform the *sandhyā* and the five great sacrifices recommended by the

¹ *Cave Temples of Western India*, p. 77.

² *JASB*, xx, 56.

³ *EI*, xxi, 155.

Smritis. They also occasionally went on pilgrimage to holy places like Prayāga, as the Nāla king Bhavattavarman did after his victory over the Vākātakas.¹ The Paurāṇic *vratas* had not yet become popular in our age. In fact those portions of the modern *Purāṇas* which recommend them had not yet been added to these works in our period. The *Ekādaśī-vrata* was, however, already in vogue; many of the Vākāṭaka grants are made a day or two after the *Ekādaśī*. Eclipses and *Śaṅkrāntis* were apparently not regarded as particularly suitable occasions for religious charity in our age; no Vākāṭaka grant is to be seen made on their occurrence.

The cult of the temple was gradually becoming more and more popular. Free feeding houses were often conducted under its auspices; the Pattan plates grant of Pravarasena II was ordained for the purpose of defraying the expenses of a *sattra* attached to a temple of Mahāpurusha or Viṣṇu.² On the other hand, there is no evidence to show that temples had become centres of education in our period.

The Vākāṭaka records throw very little light on contemporary social life. The caste system existed in Hindu society, but it was not yet very rigid. There was considerable freedom in the choice of professions. The Vākātakas were themselves actually Brāhmins, but were still following the Kshattriya profession of kingship. The percentage of Brāhmins among their officers was probably fairly large. Intercaste marriages were also permitted in our period. The Vākātakas, though Brāhmins, had no hesitation in accepting a Gupta princess in marriage, belonging to the Vaiśya caste. Soma, the ancestor of one of their ministers, though a Brāhman by caste, had also married a bride of the Kshattriya caste, and his descendant Hastibhoja insists on pointing out that it was a procedure fully approved both by the *Śrutis* and the *Smritis*. At a time when intercaste marriages evoked no opposition, interdining must naturally have also been fairly common. The *Upanayana* ritual was gradually getting unpopular among both the Kshattriyas and the Vaiśyas in this period.³

A few words may be added about the position of women. Pre-puberty marriages gradually became the order of the day in our age, at least in Brāhman families. This put an end to the education and *Upanayana* of girls. The widow's right to inherit the property of her husband was being advocated in our age, but was meeting with strenuous opposition. The *satī* custom was followed in rare cases in Kshattriya families. The paintings in Ajanta caves show that women commanded respect in society.

As pointed out already, neither monasteries nor temples had developed into centres of education in the Vākāṭaka age. Education used to be imparted by private teachers, who were the pivots of the educational system. These were all Brāhmins and they usually congregated in capitals and holy places, as they could easily get state and public support at these centres. Nāsik, Pravarapura, Vatsagulma, and Paithana were the main centres of higher education in the

¹ *EL*, xix, 102.

² *EL*, xxiii, 86.

³ *ASWI*, iv, 140.

Vākāṭaka dominions. Agrahāra colonies consisting of learned Brāhmins settled in certain villages, the revenues of which had been assigned to them by way of maintenance, were also centres of higher learning. There were probably several Agrahāra villages in the Deccan of our period, but unfortunately we do not get any reference to them in the extant Vākāṭaka grants. There can, however, be no doubt that the Vākāṭakas, like their contemporary rulers, must have created a large number of such centres for the purpose of promoting religion, education and culture. Some of these Brāhman donees who had been assigned grants by the state used to conduct large schools, where they were accustomed to impart free education. Thus the donee of the Pāṇḍurāṅgapalli grant (c. A.D. 500) is described as a teacher of hundreds of Brāhmins.

A number of books were no doubt written in Sanskrit and Prākṛit on various subjects during the Vākāṭaka period, but very few of them can be definitely assigned to authors belonging to the Deccan. The *Purāṇas* were remodelled, the *Yājñavalkya*, *Nārada*, and *Kātyāyana Smṛitis* were written, and the *Śabarabhāṣya*, the *Vyāsabhāṣya*, the *Padārthasaṃgraha*, the *Sāṅkhya-kārikā* and the *Laṅkāvatāra-sūtra* were composed in our period, but whether the authors of any of these works were subjects of the Vākāṭaka kings we do not know. Bhāsa, Sūdraka, Viśākhadatta and Kālidāsa no doubt flourished in our period, but we have no information as to whether they were natives of the Deccan or composed their works there.

It is very likely that Kālidāsa lived for some time in the Vākāṭaka court and we may well presume that part of his *Meghadūta* was composed at Rāmateka, the place of his hero's exile. The only work that can be definitely ascribed to the Deccan of the Vākāṭaka age is the Prākṛit poem *Setubandha*, written by King Pravarasena II and revised by the poet Kālidāsa himself.

Very little light is thrown by the Vākāṭaka documents on contemporary economic conditions. The Deccan and Telāṅgana were famous for their fine muslins in the second century A.D. and we may presume that the cloth industry continued to flourish during our period as well. Paithan was one of its most important centres. Contemporary records show that the different trades were organized into autonomous guilds elsewhere in India; earlier Deccan records prove that they were very popular in that province also in the Sātavāhana period. We may therefore well conclude that they were equally efficient and popular under the Vākāṭakas and that the non-occurrence of any mention of them in their records is purely accidental.

Like many other contemporary dynasties of the Deccan, the Vākāṭakas issued no state currency. We have shown already how the view that Rudrasena, Pravarasena and Prithviṣeṇa had issued their own coinages is altogether untenable. Retail commerce on a small scale was carried out with *couries* (shells) as the means of exchange. Barter was also extensively practised. Bullion was used for more important transactions. The rate of interest probably varied from 12 to 24 per cent.

PART IV

THE CHĀLUKYAS OF BĀDĀMI

By PROFESSOR K. A. NILAKANTA SASTRI

- I. Introductory remarks, sources—Inscriptions, the name of the dynasty, legends of origin.
- II. Rulers of the dynasty; Pulakēśin I; Kīrtti-varman I; Mangaleśa, Pulakēśin II, Vikramāditya I, Vinayāditya, Vijayāditya, Vikramāditya II, Kīrtti-varman II, Minor lines—Chālukyas of Mudugonḍa and Vēmulavāda.
- III. Government and Social life—the king, royal titles, princes, queens, courtesans, oral orders, administrative divisions, village taxation, weights and measures, the people, army and navy, learning, arts, the temple, religion, literature—Sanskrit, Kannada.

I

INTRODUCTORY REMARKS

THE Chālukyas were the most important dynasty of rulers that held sway in the Deccan before the foundation of Vijayanagar. With Vātāpai (Bādāmi) as their first capital they brought about the political unification of the Deccan in the sixth century A.D. and held their own for well over two centuries (except for a short interval of about fifteen years) against powerful antagonists like the Pallavas in the south and Harshavardhana in the north. At the same time they established semi-independent kingdoms ruled by their collaterals in Gujerat and in Vengi. The Eastern Chālukyas of the Vengi kingdom (Andhradeśa) kept up their rule continuously for four centuries and more, and when their western kinsmen suffered eclipse from the rise of the Rāshtrakūṭas they kept their independence with the aid of the Chōḷas, with whom their relations became more and more intimate until in the latter part of the eleventh century a single ruler came to occupy the thrones of both the Vengi and Chōḷa kingdoms. Towards the close of the tenth century the power of the Rāshtrakūṭas waned, and the main line of the Chālukyas emerged from the obscurity of two centuries, and once more filled the stage of Deccani history with Kalyāṇapurī, 'the best of all cities in the world', for their capital, dividing and contesting with the Chōḷas of the Tamil country the sovereignty of India south of the Vindhya. War and politics were by no means the only concerns of the Chālukyas. They were great builders, and one dominant style of Indian architecture derives its name from them. Kannaḍa and Telugu literatures drew sustenance from their patronage, and Vijñāneśvara, perhaps the greatest jurist of ancient India, was proud to count himself among the courtiers of the illustrious Vikramāditya VI. The fortunes of the Chālukyas of Gujerat lie beyond the scope of the present volume; the other three lines will claim our attention in the order in which we have named them above.

Sources: Inscriptions

Inscriptions form our main source, and they are found engraved on stone slabs and pillars or on copper plates. They are written in Sanskrit and Kannaḍa in the western half of the Deccan, and in Sanskrit and Telugu in the eastern zone, and are usually donative or dedicatory in purpose. The inscriptions of the Chālukyas of Bādāmi number a few score only; those of the Chālukyas of Vengi, mostly on copper plates, do not amount to many more; but those of the Chālukyas of Kalyāṇī, the bulk of them on stone, exist in great quantities, though their historical value is by no means proportionate to their numbers. Even this most reliable class of our sources, however, offers

problems, not all of which can be solved to satisfaction. Dates are often given in the Śaka era with details which can be verified, but they do not always fall into a consistent system; mutually contradictory statements of fact and of chronology are thus not uncommon; and when the inscriptions of contemporary dynasties with whom the Chālukyas came into contact are also considered, as they must be, these contradictions multiply. Invention and embellishment are constantly at work, later inscriptions sometimes professing to give more detailed and widely different accounts of subjects more summarily treated in earlier records, and this treatment is applied to legends as well as to historical occurrences. The data from inscriptions have therefore to be worked up with discretion, and it would be tedious to set forth fully the reasons governing the choice in every case. Spurious copper-plate grants have been ignored altogether. Fresh inscriptions are being discovered every year, but few of them are as important as the Bādāmi rock inscription of Ś. 465 (A.D. 543)—discovered in 1941—recording the erection of the hill fort of Vātāpi by the Chālukya Vallabheśvara. Notwithstanding this the main outline of Chālukya history may be regarded as now well established, and there is little likelihood that new discoveries will demand revolutionary readjustments on any large scale.

The information yielded by inscriptions we may eke out with the aid of literature, monuments, and coins. But little help is to be had from these sources for the Bādāmi period; the only important literary sources for this period are the notes of Hiuen Tsang on the country of Mahārāshṭra, its rulers and its people, and a notice in the Persian historian Ṭabarī which was once held to support the interpretation of some paintings in the first cave at Ajanta as representations of the Persian monarch Khusrau II and his celebrated consort Shīrīn, and of Pulakēśin II receiving a Persian embassy. No coins of the Western Chālukyas of this period are known, though several gold and silver pieces of the Vengi branch have been found.¹

The name

'Chalkya' seems to have been the original form of the dynastic name; by the insertion of a euphonic vowel, this became Chalukya, which was later embellished into Chālukya, Chauḷukya, the last being a derivative form applied to the later collateral lines of Gujerat and farther north. Possibly Khamda Chaliki Remmanaka, i.e. Remmanaka the Son of Khanda Chaliki of one of the Nāgārjunikonda inscriptions,² who was *mahāsenāpti* and *mahātalavara* under the Ikshvāku ruler Vīrapurisadata, is the earliest Chālukya chieftain known to history; but this is by no means certain as he is called Vāsiṭhīputa—the Chālukyas were Hārītiputras—and belonged to the family of Hiram-ṇaka. Whether this official was a Chaliki or not, there is now little room for

¹ See, however, *MAR*, 1933, p. 98 for a 'boar and lotus' doubtfully assigned to Pulakēśin I.

doubt that the Chāḷukyas, like the Chutus and the Kadambas to whom they bear many resemblances, and like the Rāshtrakūṭas, were an indigenous clan which rose to importance in the service of the later Sātavāhanas and their successors. They belonged to the Karnāṭaka country, sometimes called also by the name Kuntala, and their mother tongue was Kannaḍa. There is little evidence to support the view often expressed by earlier writers that they were a foreign tribe who entered India along with the Huns. One of the earliest literary references to them occurs in a Tamil lexicon of about A.D. 800 called *Divākaram* which mentions Chāḷukkai-Vēndar (Chāḷukya kings) as rulers of Vēḷpulam who had the boar-banner (Kēḷal-koḍi) as their emblem; the meaning of Vēḷpulam (Vēḷ country) has not been satisfactorily elucidated.

Legends of origin

A Bādāmi inscription of A.D. 578 is the earliest record among those which deal with the family legend of the Chāḷukyas; here it is stated in its simplest form, and they are said to be meditating at the feet of the sacred Svāmi (Kārttikeya as later inscriptions show), to be Hārītiputras of the Mānavya *gotra*, and to have had their heads purified by the final ablutions after the performance of the *agnishṭoma*, *agnichayana*, *vājapeya*, *pañḍarika*, *bahusuvarṇa*, and *aśvamedha* sacrifices. It should be noted that the Brāhman dynasty of the Kadambas, and before them the Chutus who called themselves Sātavāhanas, were also Hārītiputras of the Mānavya *gotra*. The Kadambas were also devotees of Kārttikeya, and being Brāhmins of kingly race, were naturally given to the performance of Vedic sacrifices. This identity of family legends at the beginning of the story, particularly of those concerning the metronymic and the *gotra*, is sure proof of a definite historical connexion most probably dating back to the days of the Sātavāhanas. The long epithet naming the sacrifices, first applied to the family as a whole, is found twenty-five years later applied in the Mahākūṭa inscription to the first great ruler of the line, Pulakēśin I. The legend grew in the course of time in length and complexity; during the Bādāmi period the variations were not great, and very soon a standard form was reached which was subsequently kept unchanged. The Māhākūṭa pillar inscription (A.D. 602), unique in many ways, includes a whole line from the *Raghuvamśa* of Kālidāsa¹ in the *praśasti* of the family, but this was not repeated in other records; it also praises the energy, wisdom, strength, and courage of the rulers of the line, their devotion to their parents, and their generosity and beneficence. The definitive form of the *praśasti* for the Bādāmi period is found first in the Haidarabad grant (A.D. 612) of Pulakēśin II, and speaks of 'the family of the Chāḷukyas who are Hārītiputras of the Mānavya-*gotra* which is praised throughout the world; who have been nourished by the Seven Mothers who are the mothers of the seven worlds;

¹ *yathāvidhi hutāgninām yathākumārcitārthinām.*

who have acquired an uninterrupted continuity of prosperity through the protection of Kārttikeya; who have had all kings made subject to them at the sight of the boar-crest which they acquired through the favour of the divine Nārāyaṇa'. Let us note that even in these early legends we find the devotion of the line directed both to Kārttikeya the son of Śiva, and to Viṣṇu, to whose favour they owed their all-victorious boar-crest. This crest was adopted to indicate the nature of their work, that of protecting the earth from molestation by bad rulers, by suggesting a comparison with the task achieved by Lord Nārāyaṇa in his boar-incarnation.

About the beginning of the eleventh century A.D. a fresh crop of legends grows up and begins to fill a large place in epigraphy and literature; that was the time when all the dynasties of South Indian rulers gave themselves respectable pedigrees with the aid of their court poets, generally claiming descent from the sun or the moon. In the case of the Chālukyas, these legends run in two main streams, one western and the other eastern; there is no agreement between them, and no useful purpose will be served by seeking to analyse such late and discordant traditions in any detail. Fifty-nine kings of the Chālukya line ruling at Ayodhyā, after them sixteen kings ruling over *dakṣiṇāpatha* (Deccan), a temporary obscuration of the line, followed by a restoration under Jayasimha who overthrew 500 kings besides the Rāshtrakūṭa Indra, with the 800 elephants in his army—these are the chief features of the western version starting with the Kauthem grant (A.D. 1009) of Vikramāditya V. Other inscriptions found in the same region trace the descent of the line from Manu through Mānavya and Hārīta to Chālukya; yet others carry the ancestry back to the moon, or to Brahmā, while Bilhaṇa produces a story that the eponymous ancestor of the line issued from the Chuluka (the cupped palm) of Brahmā in response to Indra's appeal to him for the creation of a hero who should put an end to the growing godlessness on the face of the earth. The eastern version beginning with the Raṇastipūṇḍi grant of Vimalāditya (A.D. 1011) is more comprehensive; it includes Brahmā, the moon, and the fifty-nine emperors of Ayodhyā, with Udayana among them, in the pedigree; then it says that Vijayāditya, a member of the family, went on an expedition to the south, and lost his life in battle with Trilochana-Pallava. His widowed queen gave birth to a posthumous son whom she called Viṣṇuvardhana, in honour of the Brāhman Viṣṇubhaṭṭa Sōmayājīn of Muḍivēmu with whom she had found refuge in her distress. When he grew up, Viṣṇuvardhana made pūjā to Gaurī, the goddess of the Chālukya hill, and by her grace he regained the royal insignia of his line and established its rule in the entire seven-and-a-half-lakh country of the *dakṣiṇāpatha*, extending from the Narmadā river in the north to Rāmeśvaram (Setu) in the south. Interesting as the beliefs cherished by the members of a historic dynasty for several generations, these puerile stories are of course of no value as factual history.

II

RULERS OF THE DYNASTY

Pulakēśin I

History must treat Pulakēśin I as the first ruler and founder of the dynasty of the Chālukyas of Bādāmi. The name of the king is curious; Fleet was inclined to explain it as half Kannaḍa and half Sanskrit, and draw the meaning 'tiger-haired'. It seems much more likely that the first half of the name is also Sanskrit and connected with the root *pul*, meaning 'to be great' (Monier-Williams); this derivation, if it were accepted, would explain both the forms Pula- and Pola-kēśin, and kēśin means 'lion', so that the whole name means 'the great lion'. The names of Pulakēśin's father Raṇarāga, and grandfather Jayasimha are first given in the Mahākūṭa pillar inscription of A.D. 602 with some ornamental epithets obviously devoid of any historical import; they may possibly have been obtained from some grant of Pulakēśin I drawn up in accordance with *dharmaśāstras* and therefore giving the names of his father and grandfather. An inscription discovered in 1941 on a boulder in the fort at Bādāmi records that by Ś. 465 (A.D. 543-4) the hill fort at Vātāpi had been fortified above and below by the Chālukya Vallabheśvara, who performed several sacrificial rites, including the Aśvamedha; this ruler was doubtless Pulakēśin I. The choice of the capital was dictated by strategic considerations, and its neighbourhood soon became studded with Chālukya monuments. Vātāpi itself stood on a defensible eminence within three miles of the Malaprabhā river; among the hills to the east is Mahākūṭa: five miles farther in the same direction and on the river is Paṭṭadakal, and another eight miles down the river is Aihoḷe—all these witnesses of the age of Chālukyan ascendancy being noted for their ancient temples and inscriptions.¹ The Aihoḷe inscription of Pulakēśin II also mentions particularly the occupation of Vātāpi by Pulakēśin I and his performance of the Aśvamedha. He was therefore the real founder of the Chālukyan kingdom; he must have established his independence from Kadamba rule by fortifying Vātāpi and making himself master of the surrounding territory. The fame of his horse sacrifice, the symbol of sovereignty, is recalled in several inscriptions, even as late as the twelfth century A.D. He also performed the costly *Hiraṇyagarbha-dāna*, the gift of the golden egg. He is praised in the Nerūr grant of Mangaleśa for his wisdom in counsel and his knowledge of the Laws of Manu, and of the epics—the *Rāmāyaṇa* and *Mahābhārata*. In the Mahākūṭa pillar inscription he is given the *birudas* Satyāśraya (the asylum of truth), Śrī-prthivī-vallabha (the beloved of fortune and the earth)—a title which equates him with Viṣṇu—and Raṇavikrama (valorous in war). He is said to have

¹ *I.A.*, vi, 354. Vātāpi was the name of an Asura famous in the Agastya legends. *Ram.*, III, ii, 56 ff. His capital is called *durjaya* in *Mbh.*, *Vana* 94, 1 (Kumbakonam ed.).

followed the advice of the elders and of respected Brāhmins. His queen was Durlabha-devī of the Batpura family. He had two sons, Kīrtti-varman and Mangaleśa, who succeeded him on the throne.

Kīrtti-varman I

The 12th regnal year of Kīrtti-varman (fame-armoured) fell in Ś. 500 (Bādāmi cave inscription); consequently he must have ascended the throne after his father in A.D. 566–7. In the inscriptions of his son Pulakēśin II he is called the first maker of Vātāpi and the night of death (*kālarātri*) to the Naḷas, Mauryas, and Kadambas. Vātāpi having become the capital under Pulakēśin I, his son must be taken to have adorned it by the construction of temples and in other ways. His successes against the Naḷas, the Mauryas, and the Kadambas doubtless marked important stages in the expansion of the newly established kingdom, and their memory is preserved in the *prastis* of the line issued in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. The expansion of the Chāḷukya power was effected at the expense of that of the Kadambas, and they were indeed the chief power attacked by Kīrtti-varman. In inscriptions of the second half of the seventh century he is said to have, by the exercise of his valour, occupied Vanavāsi and other kingdoms (*maṇḍalas*) belonging to his enemies. The contemporary Kadamba ruler reduced to subjection by Kīrtti-varman was perhaps Ajarvarman. The Naḷas were at that time probably ruling the territory known as Naḷavāḍi which 'lay in the direction of Bellary and Karnul'.¹ An early stone inscription of the Naḷas comes from the border between the Jeypore agency and the Bastar state, and it shows that as early as the second half of the fifth century A.D. the dynasty had already experienced many violent changes of fortune.² The Mauryas were ruling in Konkan with their capital at Purī described as 'the Lakshmī of the Western ocean'. It is clear that under Kīrtti-varman the sway of the Chāḷukyan kingdom was extended in all directions, and we may well believe that he fought many victorious battles, performed the *Agnishtoma* and *Bahusuvarṇa* sacrifices, and earned the title of *puru-ṛaṇaparākrama*, 'puissant in many battles'. But the Mahākūṭa pillar inscription asserts that the hostile rulers of Vanga, Anga, Kalinga, Vattūra (?), Magadha, Madraka, Kerala, Ganga, Mūshaka, Pāṇḍya, Dramila, Cōliya, Āluka, Vaijayantī, and other kingdoms were overcome by Kīrtti-varman; we can accept this only as a measure of the knowledge of Indian geography possessed by the writer of the *prastis*. The same inscription states further that an extremely beautiful cave temple to Viṣṇu was constructed under the king's orders by his younger brother Mangaleśa; the work was completed and the image of Viṣṇu consecrated perhaps after the death of Kīrtti-varman, during Mangaleśa's reign. From an inscription of Pulakēśin II we learn that his mother, Kīrtti-varman's queen, was a sister of Rājā Śrīvallabha Senānanda of the Sendraka family which held a subordinate

¹ Fleet, *DKD*, p. 345.

² *EL*, xxi, 154.

position in the Nāgarakhaṇḍa division of the Banavāsi province, at first under the Kadambas and then under the Chālukyas; the marriage alliance of Kīrtti-varman with the Sendrakas confirms the evidence of other records regarding the southward expansion of the Chālukya power at the expense of the Kadambas. A certain Dhruvarāja-Indravaram began his rule in Konkan as a subordinate of the Chālukyas about A.D. 590; he was stationed in Revatidvīpa (Goa) and was governor of four *vishayas* and *maṇḍalas*; he is called Satyāśraya, an ornament of the *ādi-mahā-Bappūra-vamśa*, probably the same line as that of Durlabhadevī, the queen of Pulakēśin I. The date of Dhruvarāja-Indravaram's appointment as governor here shows that he became ruler of a new province added to the growing Chālukyan empire after Kīrtti-varman's conquest of Konkan; in this capacity he continued for at least twenty years, for his Goa copper-plate grant, which yields these particulars, is dated in Ś. 532 (A.D. 610-11) and in the twentieth year of his government. But if Goa was conquered for the first time only by Mangaleśa, as seems probable, Indravaram must have ruled his province from some other centre before he moved his capital to Goa. Considering his title Satyāśraya, and the dating of his records in his own regnal year, it seems probable that he was a member of the royal family.

Mangaleśa

Kīrtti-varman was succeeded after his death in A.D. 597-8¹ by his younger brother, possibly a half-brother, Mangaleśa (prosperous lord), whose Mahākūṭa pillar inscription states that the Vaiśākha Paurṇamī of the Sid-dhārtha year (12 April, A.D. 601) fell in his 5th regnal year. While contemporary inscriptions offer no direct explanation for this apparent deviation in the line of succession, those of the Kalyāṇī period contain a stereotyped verse saying that Mangaleśa took upon himself the burden of administration during the nonage of his elder brother's son and duly returned the kingdom to Satyāśraya when he grew up to be a young man; the verse points the moral at the end with a question asking: 'who indeed among the Chālukyas would swerve from the path of *dharma*?' This protestation on behalf of Mangaleśa rouses our suspicion, and it is, in fact, only a belated attempt to gloss over occurrences mentioned in the Aihole inscription of Pulakēśin II which may be reserved for discussion at the end of the reign.

Mangaleśa continued the policy of expansion, and one of his earliest wars of conquest was directed against the Kalachuris or Kalatsuris. As this event is mentioned in the Mahākūṭa pillar inscription, it must have occurred before A.D. 602. The Aihole inscription of Pulakēśin II says that the cavalry of Mangaleśa raised canopies of dust on the shores of the eastern and western oceans; there is no evidence to support this rhetorical reference to the eastern ocean, as Chālukya power was still, at the close of Mangaleśa's reign,

¹ *IA*, xix, 10, and 12 n.

confined to the western half of the Deccan. Of the Kalachuri war the same inscription says that Mangaleśa obtained on the field of battle the hand of the lady who had brought prosperity to the Kalachuris. The Nerūr grant (undated) of Mangaleśa states that the king put to flight Buddharāja, the son of Śankaragaṇa, who had elephants, horses, infantry, and treasure. And in the Mahākūṭa pillar inscription we read that Mangaleśa made up his mind to conquer the northern quarter, and first of all overcame King Buddha and seized all his wealth; then, eager to plant a religious pillar of victory (*dharma Jayastambha*), he, with his mother's approval, made the endowments recorded on the Mahākūṭa pillar in favour of Makuṭeśvaranātha—a name which shows that Makuṭa, not Mahākūṭa, is the original name of this celebrated group of temples.

From the provenance of the contemporary Kalachuri inscriptions it is clear that a branch of this celebrated dynasty was then ruling a fairly extensive territory comprising portions of Gujerat, the Khandesh, and Malwa; three generations of this line are now known, viz. Krishṇarāja, his son Śankaragaṇa, and his son Buddharāja, the foe of Mangaleśa.¹ The Chālukyan invasion of the Kalachuri territory was clearly nothing more than a successful raid marked by a battle which ended favourably for the invader and put him in possession of much booty; we have inscriptions of Buddharāja which show that very soon after this invasion, about A.D. 609 and 610, he was ruling in full regal splendour as an independent monarch, and Fleet's view that as a result of his northern invasion Mangaleśa acquired the whole of the northern territory up to the river Kim, if not to the Mahī, must be given up. There is nothing in the early Chālukyan inscriptions² calculated to support the ascription of any permanent results to this campaign.

In Konkan proper Mangaleśa continued his brother's work with better results, and his reduction of the Revatidvīpa is described in considerable detail in the inscriptions. 'When he was desirous of taking the island of Revati', says the Aihole inscription, 'his great army with many bright banners, which had ascended the ramparts, as it was reflected in the water of the sea appeared like Varuṇa's forces, quickly come there at once at his word (of command).'³ The later Chālukyan inscriptions assert that Mangaleśa had sufficient troops to occupy all the islands and that his forces crossed the sea by a bridge of boats to attack the Revatidvīpa. The Nerūr grant has nothing to say of this island, but mentions that Mangaleśa killed a certain Svāmīrāja of Chālukyan descent who had been victorious in eighteen battles. It appears probable that after Kīrtti-varman's conquest of the Konkan, Svāmīrāja was posted as viceroy in Revatidvīpa, and that the attack on the island was rendered necessary by his rebellion against the central power. The rebel was killed and

¹ *EI*, ii, 21; ix, 296; vi, 294; xii, 30.

² The Kaṭthem grant (A.D. 1009) and later records imply accession of territory.

³ Kielhorn, *Aihole Inscription*, *EI*, vi, 8.

his stronghold reduced, and another viceroy already functioning elsewhere in the Konkan, Dhruvarāja-Indravarman, was put in charge of the island after its reconquest

Mangaleśa had the titles Raṇavikrānta, valorous in war, and *parama-bhāgavata*, most devoted worshipper of Bhagavān (Viṣṇu). He was a great builder, and to him was entrusted by his brother the construction of the Mahāviṣṇu-gṛha at Bādāmi, a cave-temple of wonderful workmanship well-proportioned in all its parts, viz. the ground floor (*bhūmi-bhāga*), the adjuncts (*upa-bhāga*), and the upper circuit (*upari-paryanta*). He endowed the temple at the time of the consecration of the image of Viṣṇu after the construction was completed, and later. But he was no narrow sectarian, and Maṇuśeśvara, a form of Śiva, was, as noted above, equally the subject of his benefactions. He gets high praise for learning, character, and liberality, and for his great knowledge of the political arts.

But the manner in which Mangaleśa's reign closed does not bear out the high praise bestowed on his ability and character by the court poets who wrote the *prafastis*. What exactly happened is not easy to determine since the language of the Aihole inscription, our only source of information about this matter, is enigmatic. It says that Mangaleśa's elder brother's son, Pulakēśin, who had the dignity of Nahusha, was a favourite of fortune (Lakṣmī); he saw, however, that his paternal uncle was envious of him on that account, and so he made up his mind to lead the life of an exile. But in due course Mangaleśa's strength was reduced on all sides by the application of the gifts of good counsel and energy with which Pulakēśin was endowed, and Mangaleśa had to abandon three things at the same time, viz. his effort to secure the kingdom for his own son, that vast kingdom itself, and his own life. It is clear that Pulakēśin was kept out of his rights for some time by Mangaleśa's attempt to secure the kingdom for his own son; probably Mangaleśa made his son Yuvarāja, though Pulakēśin had the better claim and greater fitness for the place.¹ Pulakēśin left his uncle's hostile court, and from his exile planned and carried out a successful attack on Mangaleśa, killed him, and proclaimed himself king. Who Pulakēśin's allies were in this enterprise we are not told.

Whether the differences between Pulakēśin and his uncle arose at the very beginning of the latter's reign, or after he had reigned in peace for some years and Pulakēśin had had time to grow up, cannot be ascertained; however that may have been, it is clear that Pulakēśin and his successors during the Bādāmi period never recognized Mangaleśa's right to the throne, and consistently passed over his name in the official genealogies in their charters. But his reign reappears in its proper place in the grants of the Kalyāṇī period and with fairly reliable details and a belated gloss over his conduct towards Pulakēśin—which shows that the history of the reign must have been carefully preserved in archives of some sort.

¹ *El*, vi, 9, n. 1.

Pulakēśin II

The Hyderabad copper-plate grant of Pulakēśin II which is dated Ś. 534 mentions a solar eclipse in the third year of his reign, and this shows that his assumption of sovereignty must have taken place some time during A.D. 609-10.¹ Pulakēśin was a great soldier, and all his martial ability was needed to accomplish the tasks that faced him on his accession to the throne. The civil war of the closing years of Mangaleśa's reign had brought ruin on the Chālukyan empire, and at the time when Mangaleśa's power was overthrown, the world was, in the words of Ravikīrtti, the author of the Aihole inscription, 'encompassed by the darkness of enemies'. Pulakēśin found himself master of Vātāpi, but that was all; he had to begin the work of building up the Chālukyan power all over again. But he was equal to the task and succeeded very soon in inaugurating the dawn of the brightest day in the annals of the Chālukyas of Bādāmi and making his power respected throughout all India, and even in the court of Khusrau II of Persia. He brought the whole of the Deccan under his sway, started the eastern branch of his line on its long career in the Telugu country, and paved the way for another branch which came into existence in southern Gujerat in the reign of his son Vikramāditya I. But unfortunately there was something in the too ardent militarism of Pulakēśin that roused the implacable animosity of his foes, and his reign ended in a gloom worse than that from which it had emerged; but his work had been so well done that the empire he had built up survived even his fall and the civil strife that followed, and once more, under his son Vikramāditya, avenged itself on the enemy who had cut short the career of Pulakēśin while it was still at its apogee.

The campaigns of Pulakēśin's reign are best studied with the aid of the Aihole inscription, and according to that record the first enemies to be dealt with by Pulakēśin were Āppāyika and Govinda who, desiring to gain some territory for themselves in the prevailing confusion, made their appearance to the north of the Bhīmarathī river with a considerable host of elephants; one of them was repulsed in battle while the other became an ally and was received into favour. From the way they are mentioned we can only infer that Āppāyika and Govinda were mere military adventurers with no hereditary claims to royalty. Next came the turn of the Kadamba capital Vanavāsi, which, as described by the poet Ravikīrtti, rivalled the city of the gods in its wealth and was adorned by a girdle of swans sporting on the high waves of the Varadā river; when it was being besieged by the ocean of Pulakēśin's forces which surrounded it, Vanavāsi, though a land fortress, bore the appearance of a castle in the sea. The enthusiasm of Ravikīrtti's description, and the practical disappearance of the early Kadambas from history about this time, warrant the assumption that Pulakēśin's campaign against Vanavāsi

¹ *DKD*, pp. 351, 356; *EI*, xviii, 260-1.

was a complete success. The Ālupas and Gangas who are said to have become the constant attendants of Pulakēśin must have felt the weight of his arm about the same time as did Vanavāsi. The Ālupas were a minor dynasty of local chieftains who had ruled in the South Kanara District for several centuries, as their stone inscriptions discovered in recent years, particularly in the Udupi *tāluk*, go to show. The Gangas were doubtless the celebrated Western Gangas of Talakāḍ. These and the Ālupas are indeed included in the Mahākūṭa pillar inscription among the rulers subdued by Kīrtti-varman I; but there is good reason to doubt the truth of that statement, and to give to Pulakēśin II the credit of having first brought them under the overlordship of the Chālukyas. The Ganga ruler at the time was most probably Durvinīta, and there is some evidence, though this is relatively late, to lead us to suppose that Durvinīta gave one of his daughters in marriage to the conqueror, and that this princess became the mother of Vikramāditya I.¹ Pulakēśin then turned against the Konkan where he reduced the Mauryas with ease, and attacked Purī, the Lakshmī of the western ocean, with a fleet comprising hundreds of ships that looked like arrays of rutting elephants. Purī was most probably on the island of Elephanta near Bombay.² Purī was a very prosperous seaport town, and Pulakēśin was naturally eager to make himself master of it. The Lāṭas, the Mālavas, and the Gurjaras then offered submission one after another; and the frontier of the Chālukyan empire was thus extended right up to the river Mahī. Lāṭa in this period was a small territory south of the river Kīm, and had its capital at Navasārika, the modern Nausāri in Baroda territory.³ This was the country where Buddharāja of the Kalachuri line was ruling at the time of Mangaleśa's inroad and for some years later; after its conquest Pulakēśin seems to have entrusted it to the care of some member of the royal family as it was held in A.D. 643 by a certain Vijayarāja of Chālukyan extraction.⁴ The Gurjaras ruled the territory between the Kīm and the Mahī rivers, and these, like the Lāṭas to their south and the Mālavas to the east, must have formed part of the Kalachuri dominions just before they offered their submission to Pulakēśin, if not at the time; but if Buddharāja had been still living and ruling at the time of Pulakēśin's northern conquests, Ravikīrtti, who mentions his defeat at the hands of Mangaleśa, would not have omitted to include his name among the vassals of Pulakēśin. There is no indication that Pulakēśin's power ever actually extended into the Malwa country; and it seems possible that the alliance of this nation as well as the submission of the Lāṭas and Gurjaras was dictated by the rapid spread of Harshavardhana's growing empire over practically the whole of northern India.

The inevitable conflict between the conquerors of northern and southern

¹ N. Venkataramanyya, *Durvinīta and Vikramāditya I*, Trivēni, i, pp. 112-30.

² Gadre, *Important Inscriptions from the Baroda State*, p. 45.

³ Fleet, *DKD*, p. 310.

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 359-60.

India was thereafter not long delayed. There was a battle in which Harsha lost heavily, particularly in elephants; and the Narmadā was the frontier successfully held by Pulakēśin who did not send his elephants into the difficult Vindhya terrain, but guarded the passes with powerful divisions of infantry. This is confirmed by the testimony of Hiuen Tsang who writes: 'The great king Śīlāditya at this time was invading east and west, and countries far and near were giving in allegiance to him, but *Mo-ha-la-ch'a* (Mahārāshṭra) refused to become subject to him.' His biographer, doubtless basing himself on the notes of the pilgrim, supplements this statement, and says that the proud Śīlāditya was unable to prevail against Pulakēśin though he marched against him at the head of troops gathered from all the Northern countries and was accompanied by their best generals.¹ This was in fact the only check to the otherwise victorious career of Harshavardhana.

The Hyderabad grant (A.D. 612) does not mention Śrī Harshavardhana, the lord of the entire Uttarāpatha, by name, but says that Pulakēśin obtained the title of Parameśvara by defeating a hostile king who had given himself to the contest of a hundred battles. Later inscriptions dating from the reign of Vikramāditya I are more explicit, but use almost the same expressions and mention only this and no other achievement of Pulakēśin. There can be doubt that Harsha is also meant by the composer of the Hyderabad grant, and the battle between Pulakēśin and Harsha must have occurred before A.D. 612. And this is in conformity with Hiuen Tsang's statement that the first six years of Harsha's rule (A.D. 606-12) were crowded with wars and campaigns, while the rest of his long reign was relatively much more peaceful. But the date of the Aihole inscription is A.D. 634-5, and that of Hiuen Tsang's visit to Mahārāshṭra still later (A.D. 642); their testimony is of value as showing that the balance of power reached after the first shock of conflict before A.D. 612 remained undisturbed for thirty years; but this does not preclude constant vigilance on the part of the *Parameśvara* of the south, or fresh attempts to renew the trial of strength by the *Parameśvara* of the north.²

The repulse of Harsha was a fitting finale to Pulakēśin's campaigns in the Western Deccan, and this is well recognized in retrospect by Ravikīrtti who devotes one verse to the portrayal of the position reached by Pulakēśin at this stage, before proceeding to an account of his further achievements elsewhere. He says that, possessed of many noble qualities and being almost the equal of Indra by virtue of the powers of mastery, good counsel, and energy which he had gathered by legitimate means, Pulakēśin attained the sovereignty of the three Mahārāshṭras, comprising 99,000 villages. It seems probable that this empire included the region between the Narmadā and the Taptī comprising the modern Betul district and its neighbourhood in the Madhya Pradesh, where the rule of Rāshṭrakūṭa chieftains in this period is attested

¹ *Watters*, ii, 239; *Béal*, *Life of Hiuen Tsang*, p. 147.

² R. Mookerji, *Harsha*, p. 36 n.; Smith, *EHI*, 4, p. 353 and n. 3.

by the Tivarkhed plates of Nannarāja dated Ś. 533. (A.D. 611);¹ if that was so, then we may trace to this fairly early period the beginning of the hostility between the Rāshtrakūṭas and Chālukyas which lasted for several centuries and formed a dominant feature of the history of the Western Deccan during that long period.

Soon after this Pulakēśin installed his younger brother Vishṇuvardhana as Yuvarāja, left him in charge of the home territory, and began an extensive campaign in the Eastern Deccan. The victorious march is described by Ravikīrtti in regular stages from north to south, and we may well assume that the description follows the actual course of the expedition, though it is just possible that the poet imposed his own rhetorical arrangement on the campaigns of the reign up to date in order to give to Pulakēśin's *digvijaya* the appearance of a *pradakṣhiṇa* round the Deccan. However that may be, we must follow Ravikīrtti's guidance, which is all that we have. The rulers of (Southern) Kosala and Kalinga, who had inflicted defeats on other rulers, showed signs of fear at the approach of Pulakēśin's forces and submitted. The fortress of Pishṭapura, modern Piṭhāpuram on the coast in the Godāvarī district, was then attacked and reduced. In the next stage, fighting centred round Kunāla, Colair lake, whose waters were dyed red with the blood of men killed with many weapons in battle. This is the famous Vengi-*deśa* proper, then in the hands of Vishṇukuṇḍins, who offered opposition to the invader and suffered defeat. The Vishṇukuṇḍins were still the leading power in the Andhradeśa at the time of Pulakēśin's invasion, and probably Kalinga, and certainly Pishṭapura, fell within their sphere of influence if they did not actually form part of their kingdom. A certain Prithivīmahārāja was ruling in Pishṭapura at this time with some claim to independence; he describes himself as the grandson of Raṇadurjaya, and son of Vikramendra,² a name which betrays the original feudatory relation of these rulers to the Vishṇukuṇḍins. Prithivīmahārāja was deprived of his territory either by Pulakēśin II himself or by his younger brother Vishṇuvardhana, who made Pishṭapura his capital thereafter. The Vishṇukuṇḍins continued to rule with diminished power for some years after this invasion.

South of the Vishṇukuṇḍin Kingdom lay the territory ruled by the Pallavas of the Simhavishṇu line whose rapidly growing power rivalled that of Pulakēśin himself.³ The Aihoḷe inscription asserts that the forces of Pulakēśin, flushed with victory in many battles, caused the splendour of the lord of the Pallavas first to be obscured by the dust they raised, and then to vanish behind the walls of Kāñchīpura. The lord of the Pallavas at that time was most probably Mahendravarman I, who is said in the Kaśākūḍi plates to

¹ *El*, xi, 279.

² *El*, xxiii, no. 15, Tandivāda grant.

³ This seems to be the real meaning of the phrase *ākṛānta-ātmabalonnatim* (v. 29) of the Aihoḷe inscription, which Kielhorn rendered by: 'who had opposed the rise of his power'—a rendering that has led to much speculation as, e.g. at p. ii of *SII*, xi (i). See *Journal of Andhra History and Culture*, i, 166-71.

have gained a victory against an unnamed enemy at Pullālūra (Pollilore), fifteen miles north of Kāñchīpuram on the route which must have been taken by Pulakēśin. Though it is a little difficult to reconcile the two versions, there is yet no doubt that they refer to the same event. Probably the Pallava forces offered battle to the invader in an effort to save the capital; they were indeed forced to retreat, but the Chālukya was nevertheless in no position to follow up his victory or to inflict any great loss on the Pallava people. This was the first move initiating what developed into one of the most persistent lines of conflict in South Indian history; it became almost a social law that kingdoms centred in Karnāṭaka and those centred in the Tamil country should not tolerate each other, but should keep up an almost perpetual war in which the rulers of the Mysore country and the Andhradeśa mingled and took sides, sometimes in their own interest, at others in that of their suzerains.

After the battle of Pullālūra, and possibly an ineffective attempt to besiege Kāñchī, Pulakēśin may be taken to have returned to his capital. In the absence of details in the inscriptions, the chronology of Pulakēśin's campaigns can only be vaguely surmised. His younger brother Vishṇuvardhana already bears the titles *Vishamasiddhi* and *Śrī-prithivīvallabha-Yuvarāja* in his Satara grant, dated in the eighth year of Śrī-mahārāja, i.e. Pulakēśin II (A.D. 618). In his later but undated Timmāpuram plates issued from Pishtapura he is said to have earned the name *Vishamasiddhi* by successes (*siddhi*) achieved against impregnable (*vishama*) fortresses on land and sea (*sthala-jalādi-durga*);¹ this naturally leads one to suppose that Vishṇuvardhana took part in the campaigns against Vanavāsi, Purī, and other places, and was rewarded with the rank of Yuvarāja soon after Pulakēśin's coronation, if not at the same time. Yuvarāja Vishṇuvardhana's presence in the Western Deccan may indicate that Pulakēśin's campaigns in the Eastern Deccan occurred round about this date, say A.D. 617-20.² In the 21st year of Pulakēśin's reign, A.D. 631, the date of the Koppāram plates, we find both brothers in the Eastern Deccan, for the Vallabha (Pulakēśin) is said to have been present when a grant was made by Prithivīyuvarāja (Vishṇuvardhana); and by this time Vishṇuvardhana had overcome many enemies by the strength of his own arm and had secured the kingdom of Vengi for his son's descendants, and accordingly very soon after he seems also to have been styled Mahārāja (Timmāpuram plates) as was his brother Pulakēśin. We may assume that shortly after Pulakēśin returned to Bādāmi from his *digvijaya*, his brother, the Yuvarāja, was sent to the eastern districts as yet only half-conquered so that he might complete the process of conquest, and establish the Chālukyan power firmly in that region, work which he had nearly accomplished by A.D. 631 when his

¹ Hultzsch's rendering, *El*, ix, 319, overlooks the force of the technical phrase I have cited last. The Chīpurapalle grant (*IA*, xx, 16) is more explicit, and Fleet gives the correct rendering.

² This date casts a doubt on synchronism no. 12 on which Geiger relied for his system of chronology in his *Cūlavamsa* (1929), i, p. 70, n. 9, and ii, p. xix.

brother came once more to the Eastern Deccan. Probably it was then that a definite understanding was reached that, in return for the invaluable services that Vishṇuvardhana had rendered, and with a view to making sure that he did not follow in the footsteps of Mangaleśa, Pulakēśin would promote Vishṇuvardhana to equal dignity with himself, making him and his successors sole rulers of the eastern territories. The undated Timmāpuram record is the earliest evidence of the new arrangement, and it shows that the new kingdom had its centre at Piṣṭapura. Possibly the Vishṇukunḍins still dragged on a lustreless existence in the region of Vengi.

In the interval between Pulakēśin's return to Bādāmi from the *digvijaya* and his second visit to the east must have taken place the dispatch of a complimentary embassy by Pulakēśin to the Persian court, an occurrence clearly attested by the Persian historian Ṭabarī. In the 36th year of the reign of Khusrau II, A.D. 625-6, Pulakēśin sent ambassadors carrying letters and presents, which last included an elephant, to that monarch and his sons. A return embassy may have been sent to India from Persia, but about this we have no information. Some have sought to identify two panels of the paintings in Cave I at Ajanta, one on the ceiling, as a representation of Khusrau and his beautiful consort Shīrīn, and the other, on the wall of the front aisle, as showing Pulakēśin receiving the return embassy from Persia. Good reason has been shown for doubting the correctness of this view of the paintings in question, but the evidence of Ṭabarī, who is known to have followed Pehlevi sources dating from before the Arab conquest of Persia, is clear enough.¹

Before Pulakēśin's second visit to the Eastern Deccan, a change of rulers had occurred in the Pallava country, Narasimhavarman I having succeeded his father Mahendravarman I. This event seems to have roused hopes of better success in the mind of the Chālukyan emperor, who had had no great reason to be pleased with the results of his last expedition against Kāñchīpuram. There is indeed some evidence to show that after that expedition the Pallavas were active against the Chālukya power and extended their sphere of influence. An undated stone inscription² from the Gooty *tāluk* of the Anantapur district mentions the subjugation of Raṇavikrama by Egeyitiyaḍigal, and a grant of a village made with the consent of the Bāṇa king in the Bāṇarājavishaya. Here is obviously a victorious campaign of Pulakēśin against the Bāṇas; the name of the Bāṇa ruler Raṇavikrama shows that his line became vassals of the Chālukyas in the days of Pulakēśin I, while that of the engraver of the inscription, Mahendra Pallavāchāri, makes it equally certain that the Bāṇa had changed his allegiance and become a vassal of the Pallavas. And Pulakēśin's reconquest of the Bāṇa territory and restoration of Chālukyan power there may well have been the first steps in the renewal of

¹ Yazdani, *Ajanta*, pt. i, pp. 46-9; also K. A. N. Sastri, *Foreign Notices of S. India*, p. 9.

² *SII*, ix (i), no. 45 (343 of 1920).

his contest with the Pallavas.¹ But the final results of the renewal of the contest we learn only from the side of the Pallavas who undoubtedly got the best of it in this round. Narasimhavarman is said to have forced Pulakēśin to turn his back upon the battlefields of Pariyāla, Maṇimangala, Sūramāra, and so on, and to have written on them the word 'victory' on every occasion as on a plate. Of these battlefields, only Maṇimangala can now be identified with a place of the same name about twenty miles to the east of Kāñchīpuram; but it is clear that once more the Pallava capital was threatened, and that many battles had to be waged with the powerful invader before he was beaten back. In these battles Narasimha was ably assisted by the Ceylonese prince Mānavamma who, according to the Sinhalese accounts, was duly rewarded by Narasimhavarman by being helped to the throne of Ceylon.² Pulakēśin's second attack on the Pallavas in fact turned out more disastrous for him than the first, since the Pallava ruler now realized that he would be obliged to do something effective to prevent the recurrence of this serious threat to his capital, which had occurred twice in the course of about twenty years. And on his side Pulakēśin must have been chagrined at the disgrace that had befallen him a second time, and it must have dawned on him that he had provoked a foe of tough mettle with whom he must be prepared to face a fight to the finish on some day not far off.

While the two mighty rivals were thus engaged in preparing for the next bout, the pious Chinese pilgrim Hiuen Tsang moved peacefully from the dominions of Narasimhavarman into those of Pulakēśin. His main interest was Buddhism, not Indian politics; he mentions Kāñchīpura, but not the name of its ruler. He travelled in the Deccan and South India during A.D. 641-2. On his way to Kāñchīpuram he passed districts that had recently come into the possession of the Chālukyas and the charge of Vishnuvardhana; there is nothing to indicate that he was aware of these important political changes. From Kāñchīpuram Hiuen Tsang went to the Pāṇḍyan country, and thence he seems to have returned to Kāñchīpura before he started for Mahārāshṭra, which he reached after passing *Kung-Kan-na-pu-lo*, a place which has not been satisfactorily identified. Of Mahārāshṭra and its people and of the monasteries of Ajanta and the paintings there he says much that is of interest. He gives the name of the ruler Pulakēśin, 'a kshatriya by birth'; his 'benevolent sway reached far and wide, and his vassals served him with perfect loyalty'. He knows, as we have seen, of Pulakēśin's successful resistance to Harsha's might. The pilgrim says that the capital of Mahārāshṭra 'had a large river on its west side, and was above thirty *li* (say six miles) in circuit', and that it lay about 200 miles (1,000 *li*) south-west of Bharoach—a description that

¹ If this view is correct, we have here contemporary evidence that Pulakēśin II had the name Egeya, and the doubts expressed by Fleet in *DKD* at p. 351, n. 3 and 358, n. 1 regarding (a late copy of) the Lakshmesvar inscription may be laid at rest.

² *Cūlavamsa*, ch. 47, vv. 15-61.

certainly does not point to Bādāmi, but may be taken to apply to Nāsik, an important centre of Buddhism where Hiuen Tsang may well have spent some time and even met Pulakēśin, and which he perhaps consequently took to be the capital of the kingdom.¹

Soon after the departure of Hiuen Tsang the Pallava ruler, who had completed his preparations against the enemy, invaded the Chālukya country in great force and, rapidly advancing to the capital Vātāpi, made himself master of the city and its fortress. The blow was swift and strong, and as nothing more is heard of Pulakēśin II it is a fair assumption that he lost his life in the encounter. An inscription, now much damaged, engraved in beautiful florid Pallava characters on a rock behind the temple of Mallikārjunadeva in Bādāmi, and dated in the 13th regnal year of Narasimhavarman, attests to this day his occupation of the enemy capital and the fierce retribution that fell on Pulakēśin for his having twice threatened Kāñchipuram with a similar fate. Other Pallava inscriptions say that Narasimha destroyed Vātāpi like the sage Agastya, and that he captured the pillar of victory set up by his enemy in the centre of this city.

How long Vātāpi remained in the occupation of the Pallavas we do not know; conquest or annexation was obviously not intended by the invader, but only punishment for the threat which Pulakēśin had twice held out against Kāñchī. The invasion, however, plunged the Chālukyan kingdom into a period of darkness and confusion from which it emerged only with the accession of Vikramāditya I (Sun of Valour) sometime in A.D. 654-5.² During this interval the feudatories of the Chālukyan empire began to declare themselves free; thus at the beginning of the period, in April, A.D. 643, Vijayarāja, who must have owed his position in Lāṭa to his connexion with the Chālukya family and Pulakēśin's favour, is found issuing the Kaira grant which is dated in the local Kalachuri era and makes no mention whatever of the Chālukyas of Bādāmi;³ towards the close of this period in A.D. 655 we find another grant of the Sendraka prince Prithivīvallabha-Nikumbhallaśakti whose phrasing is also marked by the same apparent independence, although the Sendrakas are well known from earlier grants to have been loyal feudatories of the Chālukyas of Bādāmi at least from the time of Kīrtti-varman I. This revolt, open or covert, of the feudatories was not all; the period was marked by succession disputes among the sons of Pulakēśin, who sought, like the feudatories, their own security by attempting to convert their charges into independent kingdoms and thus break up the unity of the empire which Pulakēśin had striven so hard to establish. From Karnūl we have a copper-plate grant dated in the 1st regnal year of Ādityavarman, who calls himself the dear son of Pulakēśin II, bears all the full regal titles of the Chālukyas, and claims to have, with the prowess of his own

¹ Cf. Fleet, *DKD*, p. 355.

² *El*, ix, 102.

³ Fleet, *DKD*, pp. 359-61.

arms, brought the whole earth under his sway.¹ Again at Nerūr in the Śāvantvādi state has been found another copper-plate grant which is dated in the fifth year of the reign of Vikramāditya, and records a grant by Vijaya-bhaṭṭārikā, the beloved queen of his elder brother Chandrāditya Prithivī-vallabha Mahārāja, who was obviously not living at the time of the grant.² Later Chālukya inscriptions of the Kalyāṇī period are thoroughly confused over this interval and introduce two generations between Pulakēśin II and Vikramāditya I, whom these records describe as the son of Ādityavarman. The actual course of events is hinted at in some of the early inscriptions of Vikramāditya's reign,³ in which he claims to have gained for himself the regal fortune of his father which had been concealed by three kings, and thus to have made the entire burden of royalty rest upon one person—expressions which indicate sufficiently that the kingdom had suffered by division until Vikramāditya restored its unity. Ādityavarman and Chandrāditya, the brothers, or probably half-brothers, of Vikramāditya, were doubtless two of the three kings indicated here; their names do not figure in the official genealogy of the period; the third was, equally clearly, the Pallava Narasimhavarman whose sudden onslaught marked the beginning of the troubles in the kingdom.⁴ During this period of unrest Vikramāditya was aided by his maternal grandfather, the Gaṅga king Durvinīta, who is said in an inscription dated Ś. 999 (A.D. 1077) to have captured the Kāduveṭṭi (of Kāñchī) who was disturbing the peace of the world like Rāvaṇa, to have established his own daughter's son in the hereditary kingdom of Jayasimhavalabha, and thus to have become formidable in the world.⁵ The Gaṅgas were feudatory to the Chālukya power in Pulakēśin's reign, and their position was not different after Vikramāditya's restoration of the Chālukyan power. Interest in his widowed daughter and her son, hostility to the Pallava who had destroyed his son-in-law and his kingdom, and loyalty to the suzerain power, inspired Durvinīta's action; and though we may not accept literally everything that is claimed for Durvinīta, it is clear that he was of great assistance to his grandson in ridding the country of the foreign intruder and restoring the unity and strength of the kingdom which had been rudely shattered by his intrusion. The famous charger Chitrakaṇṭha (speckled neck) on which Vikramāditya rode is said to have played a conspicuous part on many fields of battle in securing his victory.

¹ *IA*, xi, 67; *JBBRAS*, xvi, 233-5.

² *IA*, vii, 163-4. Also *ibid.*, viii, 45-46 for the Kochre grant of a similar character, issued during Chandrāditya's reign, as the inscription on the seal shows.

³ Karnūl plates of year 3, *JBBRAS*, xvi, 236. Talamanchi plates of year 6, *EI*, ix, 98-102.

⁴ The meaning of *Avanipati-tritaya* given here has, I believe, been suggested for the first time though it seems very obvious. For other views see N. Venkataramanyya—*Trairāja-Pallava-Madras Chr. Coll. Magazine*, Jan. 1929, a phrase with which our phrase has little to do in my opinion. One copper plate from Karnūl has the expression *sarvān dāyādān vijitya*, 'having conquered all his kinsmen', but the genuineness of the record is not beyond reproach. *JBBRAS*, xvi, 240.

⁵ Nagar 35, *EC*, viii and N. Venkataramanyya, *Durvinīta and Vikramāditya*.

Vikramāditya I

Vikramāditya's inscriptions date the commencement of his reign in A.D. 654-5. His first care was to restore confidence in the country and to repair the damage that had befallen its civil institutions, and he is said to have gained merit and fame by re-establishing by his own orders all the charitable gifts to temples and Brāhmins which had lapsed or been abolished under 'the three kings'. He then recovered for himself the position of Paramēśvara together with the regal fortune of his family by conquering in war the hostile kings of every district.¹ Practically no details have been recorded for us as to the stages of the reconquest; the Ceded Districts and Nellore must certainly have slipped from the grasp of the Chālukyas during the interregnum; but Vikramāditya's power was soon established in these areas; the beginning is marked by the Karnūl plates of Vikramāditya bearing a date in the 3rd year of his reign. There are other records from Karnūl also. The Talamanchi plates of Vikramāditya dated in the 6th year of the king's reign come from the Nellore *tāluk* on the east coast; a stone inscription from Annavaram² of the reign of Vikramāditya refers to the Kāḍuveṭṭi as having disturbed an earlier donation and records the erection of a sculpture commemorating Annuvayya for some notable act of his in connexion with his charity; a gap in the record obscures the nature of the service which he had rendered. A stone inscription of the 1st regnal year of Vikramāditya Satyāśraya comes from Tippalūru, in the Kamalāpuram *tāluk* of the Cuddapah District, in which Pormukharāma figures as the feudatory ruling over that part of Bāṇarāja's territory bounded by the Peṇṇā river.³ Pormukharāma is doubtless identical with Puṇyakumāra of the Mālēpāḍu plates, which together with a stone inscription, also from Mālēpāḍu, show that the Telugu Cholas of Renāṇḍu, who had begun as feudatories of the Pallavas under Mahendravarman I, went over to the side of the Chālukyas and figured among their most important feudatories; their title, Chola-Mahārāja, shows the measure of autonomy which they enjoyed, near to independence; but the *birudas* of the princes and princesses like Prthivīvallabha, Vikramāditya, Satyāditya, and Poṛi attest their connexion, political and possibly also dynastic, with the Chālukyas. Lastly, two undated inscriptions of Arkatavemula (Jammalamadugu *tāluk*, Cuddapah District), one of them mentioning Śrīvallabha Mahārāja,⁴ may also be of the reign of Vikramāditya. There is therefore sufficient evidence to show that Vikramāditya by his exertions before and soon after his accession succeeded in a short time in restoring Chālukya power in the Ceded

¹ Note the distinction between the hereditary right to the father's estate (*sva-guroh-śriyam*) and the dynastic right to empire (*sva-vaṁśajām lakṣmīm*).

² 183 of 1933-4, *ARE*, ii (1934), 2.

³ 284 of 1937-8, *ARE*, ii (1938), 15, where Vikramāditya is identified with Vikramāditya II; but see Venkātaramanyya's note on the date of the Mālēpāḍu plates; appendix to his paper on *Trairāja-Pallava*, *Madras Chr. Coll. Magazine*, Jan. 1929, pp. 7-18.

⁴ 474 and 476, of 1906.

Districts and Nellore. Similar success in another direction is attested by the Nausārī (Baroda State) plates of Dharāśraya Jayasīrṇhavarman bearing the date A.D. 671;¹ this prince owed his position and prosperity to the kindness of his elder brother, Vikramāditya; the grant recorded in these plates was made by the son of Dharāśraya, called *Śryāśraya Śilāditya Yuvarāja*. Here we see the branching off of the Gujerat family of the Chālukyas in the same manner as the Eastern Chālukyas had branched off under Vishṇuvardhana in the reign of Vikramāditya's father.

The Nausārī plates of Dharāśraya mention only one achievement of Vikramāditya, the subjugation of the dynasty of the Pallavas by his irresistible might,² and this in a manner which indicates that the event was either quite recent or actually in progress at the time of the grant. This impression is strengthened by the fact that Vikramāditya was in a large military camp (*mahāskandhāvāra*) in Malliyūr to the west of Kāñchīpuram during A.D. 670-1, a period corresponding to the 16th year of his reign.³ Then there are the Gadvāl plates issued in A.D. 674 from the victorious camp at Urāgapura in the Cholika-*vishaya*, Uṛaiyūr on the south bank of the Kāvērī,⁴ which give further details of this invasion of the Pallava kingdom, details which must be considered along with others to be gathered from various Pallava inscriptions. The Gadvāl plates devote four verses, not found in earlier records,⁵ to the Pallava war; but as usual these verses contain more rhetoric than history. The first verse states that victory was achieved by Śrīvallabha who crushed the glory of Narasimha, caused the dissolution of the valour of Mahendra, and subdued Īśvara with his eyes. Here is obviously a play upon the names of three successive Pallava monarchs, Narasimhavarman I, Mahendravarman II, and Parameśvaravarman I, by conquering whom Vikramāditya excelled the three divinities whose names they bore—Narasimha, Mahendra, and Īśvara.⁶ The second verse states that Śrīvallabha, the favourite of fortune, became even more so after having forcibly wooed the lady of the Southern Quarter and taken possession of Kāñchī, the city which was her girdle. In the third verse Raṇarasika (war-lust) is said to have rightly borne the title Rājamalla (wrestler with kings), since he had destroyed the family of Mahāmalla (the great wrestler), i.e. Narasimhavarman. The last verse describes the defences of Kāñchī, the strength of its ramparts and the depth of its moat, adding that the city was captured by the conqueror of Īśvarapōta-rāja. The third and fourth verses thus only repeat in other words the ideas of the first two. To turn to the other side of the medal; after a long and tiresome description of a battle,⁷ the Kūram grant of Parameśvaravarman asserts that he forced Vikramāditya, whose army consisted of several lakhs of men, to take

¹ *JBBRAS*, xvi, 1, *EI*, viii, 229.

² Honnūr plates, *MAR*, 1939, no. 30.

³ But reproduced in the spurious Hyderabad and Kurtakoti plates, *IA*, vi, 76-7; vii, 219.

⁴ This verse was correctly explained by Dr. N. Venkataramanyya: *Did Parameśvaravarman I capture Vātāpi?* *MCC. Mag.*, Oct. 1927, p. 241.

⁵ *anivārīta-pauruṣhākṛānta-Pallavāmāyana*.

⁶ Dubreuil, *Pallavas*, p. 43; *EI*, x, 100.

⁷ *SII*, i, pp. 148-9, ll. 23-41.

flight, alone and covered only by a rag. In later inscriptions we read that Parameśvaravarman gained victory over the forces of the Vallabha in a battle at Peruvalanallūr;¹ that his valour dried up the slough of the army of Raṇarasika;² and that lastly he oppressed the city of Raṇarasika,³ doubtless Bādāmi.

We have also a verse in the Tamil poem *Periyapurāṇam* (twelfth century A.D.) describing the attack on Vātāpi led by Parañjōti alias Śiṛuttoṇḍar, a Tamil general, who came back with a vast amount of booty and laid it at the feet of the king whom he served.⁴ This king's name is not given in the *Purāṇam*. Older writers connected Śiṛuttoṇḍar's raid on Vātāpi with the invasion of Narasimhavarman I, but recent studies have shown that Śiṛuttoṇḍar is best placed in the reign of the later Pallava ruler.

Again, the Vaishṇava saint Tirumangai Ālvār makes a pointed reference to a defeat inflicted by the warriors of Nāṅgūr on the strong Pāṇḍya and the northern king who were both constrained to flee from the battlefield, one after the other.⁵ The warriors of Nāṅgūr (Tanjore district) doubtless formed a strong contingent in the Pallava army, and the reference to the flight of the northern king sounds like an echo of the account of the battle of Peruvalanallūr in the Kūram plates; and if it may be so accepted, we may infer further that the Pāṇḍya ruler of the time, Arikesari Parāṅkuśa Māṇavarman (A.D. 670-710), co-operated with Vikramāditya I and shared his defeat. The general political conditions prevailing in South India at the time render this extremely probable, for the long-drawn-out rivalry between the Pāṇḍyas and Pallavas begins in the reign of Arikesari, and an alliance between these two enemies of the Pallava power would have been quite natural.

The course of events can be followed only in a general way. Vikramāditya's success against Narasimhavarman, of which we get no details, was certainly part of the early struggles which preceded his accession to the throne, and possibly continued for some years thereafter. Mahendravarman II had a short and uneventful rule; but seeing his name also included among the opponents of the Chālukya ruler, we may well assume that the invasion of the Pallava territory began in his reign;⁶ the encampment at Malliyūr (Malaiyūr in the Wandiwash *tāluk*) and the capture of Kāñchīpuram fell early in the reign of Parameśvaravarman. This invasion seems to have taken place across Gaṅga territory from the West; the Honnūr plates issued by Vikramāditya from his great camp at Malliyūr record a grant made at the request of the Gaṅga prince Mādhava, the son-in-law of an otherwise unknown elder

¹ *SII*, ii, p. 366, ll. 16-17.

² *Ibid.*, i, p. 22, v. 2.

³ *Ibid.*, i, p. 12, v. 5, l. 1. The word '*ummadana*' cannot mean 'destroyer'. Here Parameśvara is designated *Ugradanda*.

⁴ Śiṛuttoṇḍar, v. 6.

⁵ *Periya-Tirumoli*, 4. 5. 6.

⁶ The obscure Gaddemane inscription (*MAR* 1923, p. 83, no. 72) may be a reference to a fight between Mahendra II and Śilāditya the son of Jayasimha the younger brother of Vikramāditya I. See *IHQ*, v, 325.

brother of Vikramāditya called Raṇarāgavarma. And we know that the Gadvāl plates were issued four years later at the request of Gaṅga-mahādēvī, possibly the mother of Vikramāditya. Parameśvaravarman made his escape from Kāñchī, gathered forces from the rest of the kingdom for relieving the capital and expelling the invader, and caused a diversion by sending out an army into the Chālukya country under Śiṛuttoṇḍar in order to divide the enemy's forces before the decisive battle should be joined; this happened at Peruvaḷanallūr (Lālgudi *tāluk*, in the Trichinopoly district) sometime about the date of the Gadvāl grant (April, A.D. 674). We may perhaps not accept at their face value the exaggerated claims made for Parameśvara in the Kūram grant; but there is little reason to doubt that the Pallava ruler gained his main objective and disappointed the invader by forcing him to retreat into his own territory and so leave the Pallava kingdom alone for the time being.

During the fairly long absence of Vikramāditya in the south, the home territory was ruled and guarded by his son Vinayāditya (sun of discipline), and his son Vijayāditya (sun of victory). They were quite equal to the task of beating back the Pallava army of Śiṛuttoṇḍar, though no doubt only after a hard fight, as that army seems to have advanced as far as Vātāpi and sacked the city. The son is said to have stemmed the exultant forces of the lord of the triple kingdom of Kāñchī at the word of his father like Kumāra arresting the army of *Asuras* at the command of Śiva; and the grandson was also engaged during his grandfather's absence on his conquering expedition to the south, in rooting out all the thorns from the body politic.¹ That the Pallava invasion had caused unsettlement in the Chālukya kingdom may also be inferred from the further statement that Vinayāditya pleased the mind of his father by pacifying all the provinces in the realm. Thus father, son, and grandson had their hands full for some years with work, civil and military, at home and abroad. But the kingdom stood the test well and came out unscathed. On the other hand, the attack on the Pallavas had brought no gain, and had made no great difference to the firm hold which these Pallavas still had on the southern country.

Later inscriptions² pile up complimentary epithets regarding Vikramāditya's widespread fame as a warrior, his defeat of the Pallava who had put a disgrace on the spotless family of the moon (Chālukyas), and the capture of Kāñchīpura which followed; his valour leading to the destruction of the Pāṇḍya, Chōḷa, Keraḷa, Kaḷabhra, and others, his having forced the lord of Kāñchīpura, who had never before bowed to anyone, to come and lay his head at his lotus feet; and his having become the overlord of the whole earth included within the three seas. What is new here is not history; the element of history in these epithets has been traced above with the more reliable guidance of contemporary inscriptions.

¹ Jejuri plates, *EI*, xix, 62; Nerūr, *IA*, iv, 126.

² Kendūr plates— *EI*, ix, 202, *EC*, xi, Dg. 66.

Vinayāditya

Vinayāditya succeeded his father Vikramāditya I. In his inscriptions his regnal years are counted from two different starting points,¹ one set starting from some day between 2 June and 4 July A.D. 681, and the other from between 18 October A.D. 678 and 2 July 679; the explanation of this is not easy; it has been suggested that at the earlier date Vinayāditya might have become Yuvarāja, but we have found him actively engaged in the administration and defence of the kingdom during his father's absence in the south, and it seems probable that he had become Yuvarāja much earlier than A.D. 679. Vinayāditya's rule continued till A.D. 696 when his son Vijayāditya succeeded him. The inscriptions of Vinayāditya, of which there are a fair number, give the impression of a prosperous and peaceful reign; the king took an active part in the work of the state and was constantly on the move, fixing his camp successively in different parts of the realm; it is interesting to note in passing that one of his camps was located at Pampātīrtha, celebrated both in the *Rāmāyaṇa* and in the annals of Vijayanagar. The king was loyally served by feudatories like the Ālupas, Sendrakas, and others, and ably assisted in his tasks by his son Vijayāditya who is called Yuvarāja in a record of the 11th regnal year. Vinayāditya's queen, the mother of Vijayāditya, was Vinayavatī; she survived her husband and set up in A.D. 696 the images of Brahmā, Viṣṇu, and Maheśvara in Vātāpi.²

The Pallava, Kaḷabhra, Keraḷa, Haihaya, Viḷa, Māḷava, Chōḷa, Pāṇḍya, and others are said to have been reduced by Vinayāditya to a state of servitude comparable to that of the original feudatories of the Chāḷukya family like the Ālupas and the Gaṅgas; such omnibus statements not accompanied by any details are obviously embellishments by court-poets which should be considered as such by the historian, and not treated as serious records of facts. The Rāyagaḍ plates of the reign of Vijayāditya (A.D. 703)³ give the story of a northern expedition of Vinayāditya in which his son Vijayāditya played a prominent part, and this is repeated in almost all subsequent grants of the period. The story is preceded by a phrase which is calculated to rouse our suspicion about what follows: it says that Vinayāditya made the kings of Kavēra, Pārasika, Simhaḷa, and other *dvīpas* pay tribute to him. The story that follows is given only in part under Vinayāditya, the rest of it being credited to his son Vijayāditya. The father is said to have procured for himself the *pālīdhvaja* (a particular arrangement of flags in rows)⁴ and all other signs of supreme sovereignty by attacking (lit. churning) all the monarchs of the northern country. Of the son we learn that when his father was desirous of conquering the north, he took an active part in the fighting in the very presence of his father, that he had the edge of his sword blunted by its being used against hosts of enemy elephants, that he took the lead in all fighting,

¹ *EI*, xxii, also *ARE* (1936), ii, 11.

³ *EI*, x, 14.

² *KI*, p. 3.

⁴ *LA*, xiv, 104.

being fond of displaying heroism in a just cause, that he forced his enemies to turn their backs, and delivered to his father the images of Gaṅgā and Yamunā, and *pāli dhvaja*, the *ḍhakkā* (drum), the insignia of the (five) great sounds, rubies, and rutting elephants. No one has so far succeeded in throwing historical light on this grandiloquent description of Vināyaditya's northern campaign, of which we hear first in the inscriptions of his son, whose glorification appears indeed to be the chief object of this part of the *prasasti*. There is, however, one statement in the early Rāshtrakūṭa records¹ to the effect that the Chālukyas won victories against a certain Vajraṭa who seems to have been a North Indian ruler, and this may after all be the basis for all these statements. The identity of this Vajraṭa is not clear.

Vijayāditya

Vijayāditya's rule began sometime in July A.D. 696;² his reign was the longest in the Bādāmi period, and perhaps also the most prosperous and peaceful. He had had a long apprenticeship which began under his grandfather whose great ability as soldier and statesman secured the proper training of his son and grandson and laid foundations for the continued peace and prosperity of his extensive empire during three generations. The only political event recorded in his inscriptions beside those already noticed is as vague and uncertain from the point of view of exact history as is his part in the northern wars of his father. His fleeing enemies somehow got hold of Vijayāditya and carried him away, because fate willed it so; then we are told, somewhat inconsequentially, that he stopped the popular commotion and anarchy (due to his absence?) by his own prowess, and, like Vatsarāja, made good his escape from captivity without any external aid. We have no means of deciding whether the comparison with Vatsarāja of legendary fame is all that is meant; at any rate we do not know who these enemies were who carried Vijayāditya into captivity in their flight, and when they did so. It must be noted, however, that there is a gap of about ten years in the inscriptions of the reign from the 10th regnal year to the 23rd.

Like his father and grandfather, Vijayāditya associated his son Vikramāditya II with him in the rule of the kingdom. The recently discovered stone inscription from Uḷchala dated in the thirty-fifth year of Vijayāditya (A.D. 731) refers to Yuvarāja Vikramāditya returning from an expedition to Kāñchī in which he levied tribute from the Pallava Paramēśvara-varman II. This was doubtless the first of the three expeditions of Vikramāditya against Kāñchi referred to in an undated inscription of his queen Lokamahādevī at Paṭṭa dakal.³ Another undated stone inscription from Paṭṭadakal⁴ registers a joint donation by the father and son to the image of Anantaḡaṇa in the Lokapālesvara temple built by a certain Añjanāchārya, the *devāchārya* of the

¹ *IA*, xi, 112.

³ *Ancient India*, No. 5—*Ten Years of Epigraphy*.

² *DKD*, p. 370, n. 5; *KI*, p. 3.

⁴ *IA*, x, 165.

āsthāna (court). An undated copper-plate grant from Nerūr is also likewise issued by father and son together; the father has the title Bhaṭṭāraka in addition to the other imperial titles common to both. The number of Vijayāditya's inscriptions is not as great as one might expect from the length of his reign. They show him encamped at different places, once in Elāpura (Ellora) about the tenth year, at Hatampura in the twenty-second year,¹ and once in Raktapura (Lakshmeśvar) in the 34th year of his reign. Among his feudatories are found the Bāṇas,² the Telugu-Chōḍas of Renāṇḍu,³ a certain Bhūpāditya mentioned in an inscription from Dānavulapāḍu (Cuddapah Dt.)⁴ and an Upendra who figures as Vijñapti in the Nerūr grant of the tenth year.⁵ In addition to the usual imperial titles of the Chālukyas during the period, viz. Satyāśraya śrī Prithivīvallabha Mahārājādhirāja Parameśvara Bhaṭṭāraka, Vijayāditya is also given the title *Samastabhuvanāśraya*, 'the refuge of the whole world', in the inscriptions of his successors, a title which is explained as due to his being perfect master of the three powers (*śakti-traya*), his having curbed the pride of his enemies, his liberality, and his faultlessness.

Vijayāditya built the great Śiva temple at Paṭṭadakal, calling it Vijayēśvara after his own name;⁶ the temple now bears the name of Saṅgameśvara which it must have acquired during Kīrtti-varman's reign since his inscription on a pillar in the temple opens with a verse in praise of Hara-Gaurī-sangama (the union of Hara and Gaurī). Deep human interest lingers over a unique dateless inscription⁷ of Vijayāditya's reign from Mahākūṭa which mentions the king's favourite mistress Vināpoṭigal, and records her performance of the *hiranya-garbha dāna* (the gift of the golden egg) and her precious gifts to the deity, comprising a *pīṭha* (pedestal) set with rubies with a silver umbrella spread over it, and a field called Maṅgaḷulle measuring 800 units. Vijayāditya had a sister, Kunkumadevī,⁸ who is mentioned in an inscription.

Vikramāditya II

Vikramāditya II succeeded his father in A.D. 733-4. During the first years of the reign there was real danger of an Arab invasion of the Chālukyan empire; we hear nothing of it in the records of the main dynasty, but the Nausārī grant (A.D. 739)⁹ of Avanijanāśraya Pulakēśin of Lāṭa, a son of Dharāśraya Jayasimhavarman, gives valuable information about it. There was a formidable invasion of Gujerat by the Tājikas or Arabs; they are said to have already destroyed the Saindhava, Kachchella, Saurāshṭra, Chāvotaka, Maurya, and Gurjara kings, and then, wishing to enter the Deccan to conquer all the southern kings, they attempted to reduce the Navasārikā District in the southern country; but Pulakēśin was equal to the task of stopping their

¹ Bopgami plates, Ś. 640-*JRISM*, ix, 2, pp. 1-6.

² 333 and 359 of 1920.

³ Rajole inscription (*Mark. MSS.*).

⁴ 339 of 1905.

⁵ *LA*, ix, 130.

⁶ Paṭṭadakal inscription of Kīrtti-varman II, *EI*, iii, 1.

⁷ *LA*, x, 103.

⁸ *ARE*, 195, ii, 8; *LA*, xviii, 38.

⁹ *DKD*, pp. 375-6; *EHD*, pp. 187-8.

progress and throwing them back out of the Gurjara country, and also of annexing that territory to the empire of the Chālukyas. The Chālukya emperor duly recognized the great service rendered by his kinsman and feudatory by conferring on him many titles, among them *Avanijanāśraya* (refuge of the people of the earth). The wise policy of Vikramāditya I on the northern frontier of the empire thus bore good fruit even after so many years, as a result of that policy having been scrupulously continued by his successors.

Very soon after this, Vikramāditya began a war against the Pallava ruler of Kāñchī, Nandivarman II Pallavamalla. The only reference to these campaigns in the documents of the reign occurs in an undated inscription from Paṭṭadakal which describes Lokamahādēvī as the queen of Vikramāditya who thrice overran Kāñchī.¹ But the Kendūr and Vakkalēri plates of Kīrtti-varman II describe in identical terms two of the three campaigns in some detail; the narrative is confirmed by the presence of a Kannada inscription of Vikramāditya engraved on one of the pillars in the temple of Rājasimheśvara (Kailāsanātha) at Kāñchī; the Pallava inscriptions are altogether silent on these important occurrences. Vikramāditya, we learn, was in high spirits after his attainment of the world's sovereignty, and he then made up his mind to destroy his natural foe, the Pallava, who had cast a shadow upon the glory of his ancestors; he reached the Tuṇḍāka country by forced marches, defeated in battle and drove from the field the Pallava king called Nandipōtavarman who had advanced to meet him, seized the instruments of martial music known as Kaṭumukha-vāditra and Samudra-ghōsha together with the Khaṭvānga-banner, a number of high-class war elephants and mounds of sparkling jewels, entered the city of Kāñchī without damaging it, pleased its people by his liberal gifts to Brāhmins, the poor, and the indigent, and achieved great fame by returning to Rājasimheśvara, which Narasimhapotavarman had built of stone, and to all other temples, the heaps of gold that belonged to them. Then follows a rider in two long and wordy paragraphs which tell us that the irresistible valour of Vikramāditya caused distress to the Pāṇḍya, Chōḷa, Keraḷa, Kaḷabhra, and other kings, and that he erected a *Jayastambha* to celebrate and keep in memory his great fame which had spread to the southern ocean. The Kāñchipuram inscription of Vikramāditya says that he took Kāñchī and became happy at the sight of the wealth of Rājasimheśvara, which he duly returned to the deity; the inscription records at the end that it was written by order of the Vallabha-Durjaya.²

The inscriptions are clear in themselves and no comment is needed. Vikramāditya was the aggressor on this occasion; the disgrace of the Pallava occupation of Vātāpi and the inscription left behind by Narasimhavarman near one of the great temples of the city rankled in the mind of the Chālukya, and he paid his foe back in the same coin by putting up an inscription of his own in his own language on the largest and the most beautiful of the numer-

¹ *IA*, x, 164-5.

² *EI*, iii, 360.

ous temples of the Pallavas in their capital city. We do not know where the battle between Nandivarman II and Vikramāditya took place, or the route followed by Vikramāditya. An inscription of the 15th year of Nandivarman at Mallam in the Gūḍūr *tāluk* of the Nellore district records a gift of gold to a temple made by order of the Chalukki-arasar at the request of the Āḷuvarasar, and this may well be accepted as an indication of the route followed by Vikramāditya either to Kāñchī or on his way back thence.¹ We may well allow his claim to have spared the city and its temples from destruction and loot, and infer that Narasiṃha's occupation of Vātāpi a century earlier was marked by the same restraint and moderation.

Some time later another expedition against the Pallava kingdom was led by Vikramāditya's son Kirtti-varman II, who is said even as a boy to have gained mastery over the weapons of war as well as over his passions, and to have been installed as Yuvarāja by his father who was pleased with the many good qualities of his son. The Yuvarāja asked to be sent to put down the enemy of their family, the lord of Kāñchī, and soon after started on the expedition; the Pallava, who was unable to face him and fight in the open field, took refuge behind the walls of a fort where he was beleaguered until his strength gave out. Kirtti-varman returned home with numerous elephants captured from the enemy and a vast amount of spoil in the shape of gold and jewels, and presented them to his father. This successful raid, it was clearly nothing more, must have occurred in the last years of Vikramāditya, and the Pallava ruler at the time was doubtless Nandivarman Pallavamalla. This was the third conquest of Kāñchī claimed for Vikramāditya by his queen.

Two sisters from the Haihaya (Kalachuri) family were the queens of Vikramāditya, and each of them built temples and founded charitable institutions. Lōkamahādevī was the elder; she built the great stone temple of Lokeśvara, now known as the Virūpāksha temple, to the south of the Vijayeśvara temple erected by her father-in-law at Paṭṭadakal.² This shrine was obviously in existence earlier, perhaps as a much smaller structure, for Lokamahādevī confirmed the old privileges (*pūrva-maryādegā!*) granted to the musicians (*gāndharvas*) of the temple by Vijayāditya.³ The architect of the temple was Śrī Guṇḍan Anivāritāchāri, who was honoured by the grant of many titles and privileges, and the temple itself was richly endowed by the queen with incomes from the district of Narengalla 50.⁴ The younger queen, mother of Kirtti-varman II, Trailokyamahādevī, also erected a large stone temple, Trailokyēśvara, to the north of the Vijayeśvara temple; the Trailokyēśvara temple is no longer in existence. The construction and location of

¹ *Nellore Inscriptions*, pp. 429-30, G54. *MAR*, 1941, p. 220, no. 45 from Tumkur District in Mysore also seems to refer to this expedition of Vikramāditya.

² *Et*, iii, 1-7.

³ *IA*, x, 166.

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 164-5, 167.

these three temples are accurately described in an inscription on a pillar to the west of the Vijayēśvara temple, that is in the midst of the three shrines and in front of his own dwelling, by Śubhadeva, alias Jñānaśivāchārya, who came from Mṛigathaṇikāhara Vishaya on the northern bank of the Ganges and was living as a dependant of Vijayeśvara-bhaṭṭārka; obviously he was the worshipping priest imported from Northern India by Vijayāditya after the construction of the great temple now known as Saṃgameśvara. Evidently the reign of Vikramāditya II was marked by other constructions elsewhere, as inscriptions from Lakshmeśvar and Aihole go to show.¹

Kīrtti-varman II succeeded his father and began to rule as paramount sovereign sometime in A.D. 744-5.² The building activity that marked his father's reign continued into his, and inscriptions from Āḍūr and Annigere record the erection and endowments of Jain temples.³ The Sindas, Śendrakas, and other feudatories like king Mādhavatti of the Āḍūr record continued to serve the monarch loyally. The king himself was devoted to his duties and we find him in various camps on the banks of the Bhīmā once in his 4th regnal year (Ainuli plates) and again in the eleventh (Vakkalēri grant). Kīrtti-varman was the last Chālukya ruler of the Bādāmi period, and, as the later Chālukya records put it, 'in his reign the Rājyaśrī of the Chālukyas disappeared from the face of the earth'. Danger to his rule came from the rise of the Rāshtrakūṭas. Several petty rulers bearing this name are found in different parts of the Deccan about this time, and some of them were doubtless feudatories of the Chālukyan empire like Govindarāja, the son of Śivarāja, and *vijñapti* of the Naravaṇa grant of Vikramāditya II (A.D. 743);⁴ Naravaṇa is a village in the Chiplun *tāluk* of the Ratnāgiri district. The Rāshtrakūṭa who actually overthrew Kīrtti-varman II was Dantidurga, the founder of the main line of the Imperial Rāshtrakūṭas of Mānyakheta (Malkhed). He was the son of Indra by a Chālukya princess Bhavagaṇā whom he married by force on the battlefield at Kaira⁵ (Kheṭaka). The Sāmangad plates of Dantidurga which come from Kolhapur territory and bear the date A.D. 753-4⁶ already speak of the overthrow of Chālukyan sovereignty as an accomplished fact. The fact is reported in two verses which say: one, that the mighty Karṇāṭaka army which had once overcome the lord of Kāñchī, the king of Keraḷa, Chōḷa, Pāṇḍya, Śrī Harsha, and Vajraṭa, was now easily routed by Dantidurga with the aid of a few followers mounted on invincible chariots; and the other, that the Vallabha succumbed at the sight

¹ *IA*, vii, p. 106, ll. 61-82; viii, 286.

² Fleet's date 746-7 is now seen to be too late from the Kendūr plates, *EI*, ix, 200 and Ainuli fragment—*MAR*, 1909, p. 12a. *Contra* N. L. Rao at *EI*, xxi, 204-6.

³ *IA*, xi, 68; *KI*, 4-8; *EI*, xxi, 204.

⁴ Altekar: *Rashtrakutas*, p. 15; *JBISM*, x (i), 9-16.

⁵ *EI*, xiv, p. 124, v. 11; xviii, p. 243, v. 7.

⁶ The genuineness of this record has been questioned recently on rather inadequate grounds. See Altekar, *op. cit.*, p. 33, n. 11. The Bhāṇḍak plates, *EI*, xiv, p. 125, v. 17, run the two verses into one, perhaps by a copyist's error.

of the enemy forces without offering any resistance and readily surrendered to him the position of Supreme Overlordship. This last is doubtless an exaggeration. Dantidurga evidently made long and adequate preparations, military and diplomatic, before he delivered his assault on the imperial power, and when it came, Kīrtti-varman found that he had lost the battle before ever it had really begun. Dantidurga must have begun his activities somewhere in the Madhya Pradesh, since the scene of his early exploits is laid on the banks of the rivers Mahī, Mahānadī, and Rēvā (Narmadā); he subdued the Gurjaras of Mālwā, the rulers of Kosala and Kalinga, and the Śrīśaila country (the Telugu Choḍas), and most important of all he went down to Kāñchī, and there, after a demonstration of force, struck up an alliance with Nandivarman Pallavamalla to whom he gave his daughter Rēvā in marriage. Having thus by a policy of indirect approach almost completely isolated Kīrtti-varman and deprived him of his outlying provinces, Dantidurga delivered the final assault on Kīrtti-varman's position and openly declared himself the sovereign power in the Deccan. In fact all indications point to a rapidly progressing attenuation of Chālukyan power before Dantidurga's aggrandizement rather than a sudden military disaster of an overwhelming character. After the date of Dantidurga's Sāmangad charter (753), Kīrtti-varman ruled for some years more; for Dantidurga's successor, Krishṇa I, also claims successes against the Chālukyas; it seems possible that Kīrtti-varman put up a belated and futile struggle. However that may be, the Vakkalēri plates which record a grant made by him from his victorious camp at Bhaṇḍāragavittage on the north bank of the Bhīmā river in the 11th year of his reign is the last we hear of the imperial line of the Chālukyas of Bādāmi.

Minor lines

With the rise of the Rāshtrakūṭas, the Chālukyas quit the stage for well over two centuries, and then they appear once again on the ruins of the Rāshtrakūṭa empire. In the interval we find a number of subordinate chieftains in different parts of the Deccan bearing the Chālukya name; but with two important exceptions to be mentioned presently, there is nothing to attest their connexion with the main line of the Chālukyas of Bādāmi or with one another. About A.D. 800 we find a certain Kattiyāra ruling with some show of power in the Dharwar region, and an inscription of his from Didgur mentions a certain Dosi who was ruling Banavāsī 12,000 as a subordinate of his; that Kattiyāra was a Chālukya is clear from the boar sculptured on the stone which bears his inscription, and from a reference to him in the Managoli inscription of A.D. 1161. He was one of several princes who co-operated with the Rāshtrakūṭa Kambha against his brother Govinda III.¹ Again in A.D. 944-5 a *mahāsāmanta* Katyera of the Chālukya family was ruling over Kogali 500 and Masiyavāḍi 140 under the Rāshtrakūṭa Krishṇa III.² Under the same

¹ *EI*, vi, 253.

² *SII*, ix (i), no. 64 (75 of 1904).

Rāshtrakūṭa ruler we find another Chālukya chieftain, Rājāditya by name, ruling Kadambalige 1000 to the east of the Tungabhadra in the Mysore country.¹ Yet another Chālukya prince, Parahitarāja, is mentioned in an inscription from Koṭūr in the Belgaum district, recording the self-immolation of a Śaiva ascetic, by name Śambhu.² The Kaḍaba plates of Govinda III, of doubtful authenticity, make mention of a Chālukya Vimalāditya as ruling Kuṇigal-deśa about A.D. 813 and of the names of his father and grandfather, Yaśovarman and Balavarman respectively.³ Short stone inscriptions of the late ninth or early tenth century from Varuṇa in Mysore mention a Chālukya Narasimha and his wife Gāvilabbarasi and a *mahāsāmanta* Goggi or Gugga with the boar crest.⁴ Diligent search may yet reveal the existence of other minor chieftains bearing the name of the Chālukyas.

But certainly more important than the minor chieftains were the Chālukyas of Mudugoṇḍa (Warangal District) and of Vēmulaṇḍa (Karimnagar District), both holding sway in adjacent tracts in the eastern half of the modern Hyderabad province, and playing occasionally an important role in the wars between the Rāshtrakūṭas and the Eastern Chālukyas, owing allegiance to the one or the other according to changes in the fortunes of the contest. The history of the Vēmulaṇḍa line is now better known than before, and given in the form of an Appendix at the end of Part V, in which the history of the Rāshtrakūṭas is studied.

¹ *MAR*, 1935, no. 40.

² *SII*, ix (i), no. 64 (75 of 1904).

³ *IA*, xx, 69.

⁴ *EC*, iii, Mys, 35-7, 41-5.

III

GOVERNMENT AND SOCIAL LIFE

The King

MONARCHY of the type prescribed in ancient books on Indian polity was the form of government which prevailed in the Chālukyan empire. The monarch not only reigned but actively ruled the kingdom, devoted personal attention to details, and spent most of his working time in the audience chamber or on the battlefield at the head of his forces. He toured his kingdom constantly and fixed his camp in different places so as to keep in touch with all parts of the realm. Succession to the throne was hereditary, and generally the eldest son succeeded the father. At the death of Kīrtti-varman I, his son Pulakēśin II had not yet come of age, and his uncle Mangaleśa occupied the throne during the minority without let or hindrance; but when he sought to divert the line of succession and hand the kingdom down to his own son, Pulakēśin had public opinion on his side and found it easy to gather support for the overthrow of the uncle who, having begun as guardian, had turned usurper. The confusion at the death of Pulakēśin II was due to a major military disaster. The capital was lost to the enemy and the emperor had fallen in its defence; chaos followed for a time; the sons of the late monarch each sought his own security and proclaimed himself emperor in the area committed to his charge; one of them had a better vision; he realized the strength and durability of his father's life-work and had confidence in his ability to save the empire from dissolution; some hard fighting brought him final success and he became emperor after disposing of two, if not three, of his elder brothers. One of his younger brothers stood by him and had his reward. The occurrences before the accession and after the death of Pulakēśin thus prove that hereditary right and ability to rule were the criteria which determined the order of succession.

The Royal Titles

At first the kings bore the titles *Satyāśraya Śrī-Prithivī-vallabha Mahārāja*; after the successful resistance put up against Harshavardhana by Pulakēśin II, the title *Parameśvara* was added; under Vikramāditya I the higher titles of paramountcy *Mahārājā-dhirāja* and *Bhaṭṭāraka* come into use, so that the fully developed imperial style came to be—*Satyāśraya Śrī Prithivīvallabha Mahārājādhirāja Parameśvara Bhaṭṭāraka*. This full style was not always used and was often abridged by the omission of one or more of the titles contained in it. Sometimes the expressions *Paramabhāgavata* and *Paramamāheśvara* were

introduced to indicate the devotion of the monarch to Viṣṇu or Śiva whenever it was felt necessary to do so.

The Princes

The education and training of the prince was carefully attended to. Pulakēśin I had a good knowledge of Manu, the *Purāṇas*, the *Rāmāyaṇa*, and the *Mahābhārata*, and was well versed in the art of politics.¹ Mangaleśa had a mind trained by the study of all the *śāstras*² and his proficiency in diplomacy forms the subject of a eulogium in the Mahākūṭa pillar inscription. Vikramāditya I trained his son and grandson by associating them actively in the administration during his own lifetime, and it is no surprise to find Vijayāditya credited in his inscriptions with having attained, early in life, to a mastery of all the *śāstras*. Kīrtti-varman II too had a similar training under his father Vikramāditya II.

We hear little of any formal council of ministers; but there are many indications that the entire administration of the state was treated as more or less vested in commission in the whole royal family, and of the ruling sovereign's readiness to employ all capable and loyal members of that family in suitable administrative posts in the kingdom. This policy had the obvious advantage that the monarch gained welcome assistance in his onerous task, but it was not free from risks. The growth of the Eastern Chālukya kingdom and of Lāṭa into practically independent realms was a development approved, if not sanctioned, by the ruling emperors at the time—Pulakēśin II and Vikramāditya I. The risk of fission was seen at its worst in the interval between the death of Pulakēśin II and the accession of Vikramāditya I. But on the whole, in a state which was by no means highly centralized or unitary in its nature and which permitted the conquered rulers of several local dynasties to continue to rule their respective kingdoms as vassals of the emperor, the king's policy of placing his near relatives in dignified positions in different parts of the empire had its undoubted advantages.

The Queens

The queens and princesses had also, some of them at any rate, a part in the conduct of public affairs, and were devoted to learning, and to charity. Vijayabhaṭṭārikā, the queen of Chandrāditya, the elder brother of Vikramāditya I, issued two grants in her own name—a reminiscence of her former short-lived glory as the chief queen of a reigning king; she was a poetess who won high rank in the esteem of literary critics. Princess Kunkumadevī, the younger sister of Vijayāditya, was present with him in his camp at Kuṇḍinagar in A.D. 705 and took the initiative in getting her brother to make the gift of a village to a learned Brāhman;³ a much later inscription

¹ Nerūr grant, *IA*, vii, 161.

² Bādāmi inscription, *IA*, vi, 363.

³ *ARE* (1934-5), ii, 8.

(A.D. 1077) at Guḍigere states that she caused a Jaina *basadi* to be built in that city.¹ Vijayāditya's mother Vinayavatī installed the images of Brahmā, Viṣṇu, and Maheśvara in the capital, Vātāpi.² An undated stone inscription of Vijayāditya from Kurtakoṭi mentions that Lokatinimmaḍi was administering Kuruttakuṇṭa;³ the name sounds feminine and one wonders if she was identical with Vijayāditya's daughter-in-law, Lokamahādevī, the elder of the two Haihaya princesses, who became queens of Vikramāditya II and built one temple each at Paṭṭadakal in the neighbourhood of the great temple erected by Vijayāditya himself and called Vijayeśvara after him. The grant recorded in the Kendūr plates was made by Kīrtti-varman II at the request of his chief queen (*mahādevī*), who was evidently present in his camp at Raktapura.⁴

The Courtesans

We may note in passing one striking testimony which we get in contemporary records as to the role of hetaerae who have, by their charms and wiles, enslaved and disturbed the courts and cities of India in all ages. Vijayāditya's beloved mistress Vināpōṭi and her gifts have been noticed already; though she is described with quaint candour as Vijayāditya's beloved, the courtesan named Vināpōṭigal, yet the names of her mother and grandmother, Kucipōṭigal and Revamanchalgaḷ, are duly recorded in the inscription in true *śāstraic* fashion, and the names of all these three women bear the honorific plural at the end.⁵ Certainly Chālabbe, who endowed three pillars in the Vijayēśvara temple, and perhaps also Mātibhodamma, who contributed to make two other pillars of the temple, were other women of the same class.⁶

Oral Orders

We get only small peep-holes in the inscriptions into the system of administration, and what we see is not nearly enough to give a complete picture. The term *Rājaśrāvitam* occurs in some inscriptions.⁷ It is usually rendered as 'royal proclamation'. It may mean that; but there is a suggestive vagueness about this term which conveys much more, and the term is therefore best left untranslated. It may mean reported to the king as much as proclaimed or ordered by him. The corresponding term in Tamil epigraphy *tiru-vāyk-kēḷvi* (lit. heard from the sacred mouth) shows that the term includes not merely set proclamations of a formal character, but orders issued to officers and others who acted as *viññaptis* (petitioners) to the king and brought to his notice in a suitable manner matters requiring his personal attention. Such oral orders were taken down in writing by 'secretaries' attending on the monarch,

¹ *IA*, xviii, 37-9.

² *KI*, p. 3.

³ *BK*, 127 of 1926-7. ⁴ *EI*, ix, 205.

⁵ *IA*, x, 103.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 170, cxii and cxiii.

⁷ Belagāṃve inscription of Vinayāditya, *IA*, xix, 144-5; Aihole inscription of Vikramāditya II, *IA*, viii, 286, and Lakshmēśvar inscription of Yuvarāja Vikramāditya, *EI*, xiv, 188.

and they put them into proper shape for further action such as communication to the concerned officers or parties, having them engraved on stone or copper plates and so on. The names of the persons who drafted the inscriptions, particularly copper-plate grants, are often mentioned at the end of the grants, and they sometimes bear the rank and title of *mahāsāndhivigrahika* (lit. the great maker of peace and war). Two names of such composers are preserved from the reign of Vikramāditya I—Vajravarman of the Vaidyānvaya¹ and *mahāsāndhi vigrahika* Jayasena.² And the names of four generations of the Puṇyavallabha family—note the name, itself an indication of the loyalty of the family to the Chālukyas—all *mahāsāndhi-vigrahikas*, are preserved in the records of the succeeding reigns, viz. Śrī-Rāma, Niravadya, Anivārita, and Dhanañjaya.³

Even some private inscriptions, it may be noticed by the way, contain names of composers of inscriptions, among whom the most celebrated was Ravikīrtti, the author of the Aihole inscription of the time of Pulakēśin II. The Yekkeri rock inscription of the same reign was written by an Īśāna, the Annigere inscription of the sixth year of Kīrtti-varman II by a certain Diśāpāla and so on.

Administrative divisions

The number and size of the administrative divisions, and the agencies employed in the maintenance of order, the collection of taxes and the performance of judicial duties, were determined by historical causes, and there was apparently little attempt to impose a uniform system on all parts of the empire. The rulers of conquered dynasties were, in accordance with the precepts of the ancient books on Indian polity, allowed to carry on much as they had done before, subject only to the recognition of the suzerainty of the emperor; this meant only the payment of a periodical tribute, often disguised as a present, to the emperor, and following him with their own contingent of troops to the battlefield in war, and little other interference by the suzerain, so long as these terms were kept, with the details of the government of their realms. Such must have been the position of the Ālupas, Sindas, Sēndrakas, Bāṇas, Gangas, Telugu Chōlas, and others. The terms *rāshṭra*, *vishaya*, and *nāḍu*⁴ occur in the inscriptions; but their sizes seem to have varied greatly, and a name like *Bāṇarāja-vishaya*⁵ is proof that what were once independent states had become subordinate divisions of the Chālukyan empire. The relatively simple formulae in which the grants made by the Chālukyas of Bādāmi are announced on their copper plates confirm our view of the absence of any elaborate centralized system of imperial administration in this age. One of the fullest of these formulae, that of the Satāra grant of Viśṇuvardhana,⁶ merely announces the grant to all *vishayapatīs*, *sāmantas*, *grāmabhogikas*, *mahattaras*,

¹ Talamanchi plate.

² *EI*, x, Pathak on Rayagad plates.

³ *SII*, ix (1), no. 46.

⁴ Karnūl, Honnūr, and Gadval plates.

⁵ *BK*, 43 of 1932-3.

⁶ *IA*, xix, 309-10.

and others in the neighbourhood. *Vishayapatis*, called *deśādhipatigaḷ* in the Kannada language, were doubtless royal officers; their duties are nowhere defined and they were custodians of the interests of the king whose authority they represented and exercised in their respective offices. *Sāmantas* were the feudatories already noticed.

The Village

Everywhere the village (*grāma*) was the lowest unit of administration. The *gāmunda* (village officer) was the link between the villagers and the king's government, and he seems to have been an official appointed from the centre. He may have been identical with the *grāma-bhogika* mentioned above, but we cannot be sure of this. Two *gāmundas* are known from the inscriptions each to have built a *Jinālaya* (Jain temple), both of the reign of Kīrtti-varman II, one of them being Kaliyamma, the *gāmunda* of Jebulagēri,¹ the other mentioned in the Āḍūr stone inscription.² The *karaṇas* (village-accountants) are also mentioned in the Āḍūr inscription as having joined the *gāmundas* in preferring a request to *Mādhavatti-arasa*. The details of village administration and the regulation of its social and economic affairs were in the hands of the *Mahājanas* (village-elders), who are stated to have been governing Benniyur in the reign of Vijayāditya,³ and whose permission was obtained in another instance before a piece of land was given away to a temple—*mahājana-prajā-sammatade-koṭṭadu*,⁴ i.e. given away with the assent of the subjects who were *mahājanas*.

The Lakshmeśvar inscription of Yuvarāja Vikramāditya⁵ is valuable evidence regarding the relations between the king's government and rural institutions. By recording an *āchāra-vyavasthe* (charter of rights and duties) given by the Yuvarāja to the *mahājanas*, *nagara*, and the eighteen *prakritis* (classes?) of Porigeṛe (the ancient name of Lakshmeśvara), this record shows that in the last resort local affairs were in fact susceptible to royal regulation. It mentions '*rājapurushar*' (royal officials) and lays on them the definite duty of protecting certain established rights. Besides the *mahājanas* it mentions the *nagara*, the industrial and commercial interests, and 'the eighteen *prakritis*' the nature of which is not clear. The body of the inscription prescribes rates of taxes (*tere*) to be given to the *deśādhipatis* every year in the month of Vaiśākha, and to the *Sēni* (guild) in the month of Kārttika. It also mentions the specialized guilds of braziers (*kañchagāra sēni*) and of oilmongers (*telliga-sēni*) and the payments of dues to them. We thus get a glimpse into the complex economic and political organization of life in a fair-sized city.

Taxation

Some idea of the taxes raised may be gained from the descriptions of the

¹ *SII*, xi (i), no. 5.

² *KI*, no. 8.

³ *BK*, 16 of 1933-4.

⁴ *SII*, ix (i), no. 48.

⁵ *Ep. Ind.*, xiv, 188. Not all is clear in this difficult record and the statements in the text are confined to what is absolutely certain in it.

exemptions accompanying grants of villages or assignments of the dues themselves for charitable purposes. Almost the only instance of a direct mention of the dues to be paid by citizens is in the Lakshmeśvar inscription of Yuvarāja Vikramāditya which seems to imply that persons who owned houses and house sites paid taxes on them, while families which had no house property paid according to their status 15, 10, 7, and 5 *paṇas* per annum to the king's officers; other payments are mentioned as due from all families either on occasions of public festivals (Barnett), or possibly at happy domestic functions. The Satāra grant of Vishṇuvardhana Yuvarāja says that the village Ālandatirtham was, from the date of the charter, to be free from the visitations of *chāṭas* and *bhaṭas* (armed troops of sorts) as well as *kusidas* (money-lenders), and from all imposts whatsoever (*sarva-ādāna-viśuddha*). General freedom from imposts is sometimes expressed by the phrases *sarvopadhā parihāram* (Talamanchi) or *sarva-bādhā parihāram* (Sorab). The Hyderabad grant of Pulakēśin II (A.D. 612) records that the village Mākarappi is given away together with its *nidhi*, *upanidhi*, *klipta*, and *uparikara*, terms which may be taken respectively to stand for treasure, deposit, settlement (of land revenue), and extra dues possibly of the nature of surcharges on land revenue or more simply taxes other than land revenue. The Nausārī plates of Śrīyāśraya Śilāditya (A.D. 671) mention the *udranga* and the *parikara* of a village as being included in the gift; the terms seem to imply market dues and tolls. *Māruñcha*, *Ādiyuñcha*, *Uñchamanna*, and *Marumanna* are names of local dues attaching to land which are mentioned in the inscriptions from the Karnūl district and of which the nature is not at present clear. In the reign of Vinayāditya, Mahārāja Pogili of the Sendraka family was governing the two districts of Nāgarakhanda and Jegugur, each counted as seventy, and had under him an *adhikāri* by name Kandarba. This officer obtained a royal proclamation (*rājaśrāvitam*) remitting in both the territories the contributions due to the royal treasury under the heads—great festivals (*pēriyā osage*), salt, and property of the childless. The move to gain this concession seems to have been set on foot by the *dāsas* (devotees) of Valligāma (Belagamve, the place where the inscription is found), the temple establishments of Amali and Vedevali, Ravichandra, and three *gāmunḍas* (named) representing Alavalli, the people of Nāvalli, the *gāmigas* of Aṇḍugi, and *Sindera gāmiga* of Nīrilli.¹

Besides these general taxes of a regular nature which made up the fisc, there were other impositions of an occasional character like the *Tere-pon* (tribute in gold) laid on every village of the *Bāṇa-rāja-vishaya* soon after its conquest by Pulakēśin II (Eṇṇaya),² and other dues payable in kind towards expenses on specified occasions, or to institutions. An inscription at Bādāmi belonging to the reign of Vijayāditya registers a gift of several taxes and incomes in kind like oil, sugar, and so on, to be paid, at prescribed rates for

¹ Fleet, *IA*, xix, 144-5; same as 8 of 1902 and *EC*, vii, Sk, 154; my interpretation of the record differs from that of Fleet in some ways.

² *SII*, ix (1), no. 46, ll. 66-67.

each shop, to the shrine of *trimūrtis* established by the queen-mother Vinayavatī;¹ surely these contributions were used up in the daily offerings to, and worship of, the deities. Another inscription of the thirteenth year of Vijayāditya, A.D. 709, records the gift of oil at one *ṣoṇṭige* (ladleful) per oil mill to the *Bhaṭārar* of Aihole at the instance of a certain Eḷtugolugasaṇi.² A similar gift, including fifty leaves on each *pēru* of betel-leaves, to the shrine of Ādityabhaṭāra in the temple of Āṭada Ālekomarasinga at Aihole is recorded in the reign of Vikramāditya II, and it is said that this had the sanction of the king, and of the *nakara* before the *mahājanas*—evidently an instance of voluntary levy by trade associations made with royal approval and due publicity in the locality for the benefit of the shrine of Āditya.³ Again when Lokamahādevi, the queen of Vikramāditya II, assigned to Lokeśvara the temple erected by her at Paṭṭadakal, the district of Nareyangal 50, she fixed a payment of two *kuḷa* (*kolaga* of 64 seers) of millet on each *matṭar* of land; but this gift is coupled with the unusual statement that its collection could not be enforced by proclamation or distraint by royal officers,⁴ apparently because the queen felt that the religious merit of her work would suffer if force were employed in its maintenance.

Weights and Measures

The variety of standards of local weights and measures has always been a marked feature of Indian economic life, and the mention of *rājamāna* (royal measurement) in some of the land grants⁵ may be taken to imply some attempt at standardizing them so far as public accounts went.

The People

Of the people of Mahārāshṭra under the Chālukyas of Bādāmi we possess a general account of an eye-witness in the notes of Hiuen Tsang, who toured the country towards the close of the reign of Pulakēśin II. Hiuen Tsang knew that the king of Mahārāshṭra was a Kshatriya by birth and that his name was Pu-lo-ki-she; 'the benevolent sway of this king reached far and wide, and his vassals served him with perfect loyalty'. 'The inhabitants', says the pilgrim, 'were proud-spirited and warlike, grateful for favours and revengeful for wrongs, self-sacrificing towards suppliants in distress and sanguinary to death with any one who treated them insultingly. Their martial heroes who led the van of the army in battle went into conflict intoxicated, and their war-elephants were also made drunk before an engagement. Relying on the strength of his heroes and elephants, the king treated neighbouring countries with contempt.'⁶

¹ KI, no. 2.

² IA, viii, 285.

³ Ibid., viii, 286.

⁴ Ibid., x, 167. I differ from Fleet's interpretation of *tagappilla*, &c.

⁵ Gadvāl, Karnūl plates of Ādityavarman; SII, iv (1), no. 48, and so on.

⁶ *Watters*, ii, 239.

Army and Navy

The power of Pulakēśin's army was proved, as we learn also from Hiuen Tsang, in the successful resistance it offered against Harshavardhana's attempts to extend his sway to the south of the Narmadā. In the century that followed, the same army won renown in many wars, and it became in later times the proud boast of the Rāshtrakūṭas that they had risen to eminence after Dantidurga had defeated the Karṇāṭaka army (of the Chālukyas) which had tasted victory in so many encounters.

That a naval force of some strength was maintained by the Chālukyan monarchs we may infer from the operations against Revatidvīpa and Purī; we have unfortunately no detailed notice of this navy in any of our sources.

In the life of Hiuen Tsang compiled by his pupil Hwui-li¹ from the notes of the master, we read further: 'In this country, therefore, the troops and cavalry are carefully equipped, and the rules of warfare thoroughly understood and observed. Whenever a general is dispatched on a warlike expedition, although he is defeated and his army destroyed, he is not himself subjected to bodily punishment, only he has to exchange his soldier's dress for that of a woman, much to his shame and chagrin. So, many times, those men put themselves to death to avoid such disgrace.' This curious practice of disgracing soldiers by compelling them to wear women's clothes is attested by Chōḷa inscriptions relating to the Chālukyan wars of the eleventh century.

Learning

'The people were fond of learning', says Hiuen Tsang. Some idea of the training and education of princes has been given already. Inscriptions record several instances of grants made to learned scholars to enable them to devote themselves to the practice of education and religion untroubled by the problem of livelihood. The capital Vātāpi is described in an inscription of Vijayāditya as being adorned by the presence of several thousands of *dvijas* (twice-born) who were proficient in the 'fourteen *vidyās*';² while another record from the city makes a pointed reference to a kind of academy in the phrase *śrī-mahāchāturvidya-samudāyam-irchchāsirvar*, i.e. the 2,000 of the academy of the four great sciences.³ Whether the four great sciences were included in the fourteen of the other inscription or were altogether different, we have no means of deciding. But it is well known that according to tradition the number fourteen refers to the four *vedas*, six *angas*, and the *Purāṇa*, *Mīmāṃsā*, *Nyāya*, and *Dharmaśāstra*, whereas the four *vidyās* are taken to be *ānvikṣikī* (philosophy), *trayī* (Veda), *vārttā* (economics), and *daṇḍanīti* (politics). The language of the people, Kannaḍa, is called *prākṛtabhāṣā*, the natural tongue, as opposed to the language of culture—*Saṃskṛta*—in the Bādāmi inscription of the reign of Vijayāditya.⁴ The presence of skilled and

¹ Beal, *Life*, pp. 146–7.

² *Ibid.*, p. 9.

³ *KI*, p. 3.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 3, text ll. 9–10.

literate artisans who could engrave long inscriptions mostly in Sanskrit fairly correctly on stone and copper, and the practice of engraving stone inscriptions in public places frequented by the populace, such as the walls of temples and fortresses, may well be an indication of a fair proportion of literacy among the general public; we have little direct evidence about the level of popular education or on the organization and working of popular schools.

Arts

Similarly there is not much direct evidence on the state of the arts, of industry, and of trade, though there is every indication that these were, speaking generally, to be found all over the country in a fairly advanced and prosperous condition. Of the excellence attained in architecture and sculpture during the period we can form a reasonably good idea from the stone monuments which have survived intact to this day, and the inscriptions give us the names of the donors and artists whose co-operation raised these forms of beauty which still astonish and please the traveller and student from other lands and cultures. The architect who built the Lokeśvara (now Virūpāksha) temple was called Śrī Guṇḍan Anivāritāchāri; he was dubbed Tribhuvanāchāri for the excellent work he did in the construction of the temple, and he was able to procure for the superior artisans (*binnāṇigaḷ*) of his class exemptions from some imposts, though not from fines for wrongs committed by them. Among the other titles borne by this celebrated architect are some which indicate that he had a great part in the planning of several cities—*aneka pura-vāstu-pitāmahan*—and in the construction of palaces, vehicles, thrones, and furniture, *vāstu-prāsāda-yān-āsana-śayana-maṇimakūṭa-ratna-chūḍa-maṇi*.¹ In fact he was so eminent as to become known as *temkana diṣeya sūtradhāri*, i.e. the architect of the southern region. He must have been responsible also, directly or indirectly, for the decorative sculptures in the Virūpāksha temple which depict scenes from the *Rāmāyaṇa* and also bear inscriptions designed to identify the persons and situations there depicted.² The Paṭṭadakal pillar inscription of the time of Kīrtti-varman II mentions three generations of another line of architects and sculptors (*rūpas*) who belonged to the Śāṇḍilya *gotra*, viz. Śivavarddhman, his son Śiva and his son Śubhadeva, who also seem to have had a hand in the erection and decoration of the famous temples of this city.³

The Temple

The role of the temple in the social economy of India can hardly be exaggerated. Almost all the useful arts and fine arts of the country flourished around it, and were devoted primarily to the divine service, which was also the service of society pursued in a spirit of consecration. Besides providing

¹ *IA*, x, 164-5.

² *Ibid.*, p. 168.

³ *EI*, iii, 5.

employment on a considerable scale for the best technical skill available in the land, the temple was the centre for regular free feeding of scholars and holy men, and it also distributed alms to the needy. The Bādāmi inscription of Mangaleśa¹ records for instance that the village of Lañjīśvaram was given to the new Viṣṇu temple for *nārāyaṇa-bali* (funerary offering for ascetics), the regular feeding of sixteen Brāhmins every day, and the feeding as far as resources allowed of *parivrājakas* (ascetics); while *dāna-śālas* (alms-houses) are mentioned in the Lakshmeśvar inscription² of Vikramāditya II and the Ādūr inscription³ of the time of Kīrtti-varman II. An inscription in Paṭṭadakal mentions the musicians (*gāndharvar*) of the temple, the privileges which these had obtained from Vijayāditya, and the confirmation of the same by the queen Lokamahādevi.⁴ Another inscription, also from Paṭṭadakal, comprises two verses in Sanskrit in the Āryā metre signed at the end by Achalada; these beautiful verses are eloquent mementos of what must have been an exciting chapter in the history of the art of dancing in the Western Deccan; they mention the rising popularity of a new work on the dance following the precepts of Bharata which secured a decisive victory for the school of Bharata against the votaries of the rival school or schools, referred to as *para-naṭa* and *kuṣiḷonnatanata*, i.e. the hostile actor and the actor who is crookedly eminent.⁵ The garland-makers of the new stone temple of Mangaleśa and endowments in their favour form the subject of an inscription from Bādāmi of the time of Mangaleśa or a little later.⁶

Religion

Hiuen Tsang observed that in the sphere of religion, the people of Mahārāshṭra combined orthodoxy with heterodoxy; there were more than 100 Buddhist monasteries and the Brethren, who were adherents of both vehicles, were more than 5,000 in number.⁷ In the *Life* we read further: 'There are also followers of the heretics who worship the *devas* and cover themselves with ashes.'⁸ In the capital, by which the pilgrim did not mean Vātāpi but probably Nāsik, there were five Aśoka *stūpas*, and innumerable others of stone and brick. At the end of his account of Mahārāshṭra, the pilgrim gives a description of the caves of Ajanta which, according to Watters, is that of an eye-witness, though other commentators are not so sure of this. 'In the east of this country', says Hiuen Tsang, 'was a mountain range, ridges one above another in succession, tiers of peaks and sheer summits. Here was a monastery the base of which was in a dark defile, and its lofty halls and deep chambers were quarried in the cliff at their back and faced the ravine. This monastery had been built by the A-che-lo (Āchāra) of West India. . . . Within the establishment was a large temple about 100 feet high in

¹ *IA*, vi, 363.

² *KI*, i, 7-8.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 167.

⁴ *Watters*, ii, 239

⁵ *IA*, x, p. 166.

⁶ *Ibid.*, vii, 106.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 60.

⁸ *Life*, p. 147.

which was a stone image of the Buddha more than seventy feet in height; the image was surrounded by a tier of seven canopies unattached and unsupported, each canopy separated from the one above it by a space of three feet. The walls of the temple had depicted on them the incidents of the Buddha's career as Bodhisattva, including the circumstances of his attaining *bodhi* and the omens attending his final passing away, all, great and small, were here delineated. Outside the gate of the monastery, on either side north and south, was a stone elephant, and the pilgrim was informed that the bellowing of these elephants caused earthquakes. The Pu'sa Ch'en-na or Diñnāga often stayed in this monastery.' Much in this description is obviously the result of a pious memory playing upon experiences which were vivid during the pilgrimage, but no longer so at the time of writing. And there is little in the inscriptions of the time to confirm or contradict the account of the state of Buddhism in Mahārāshṭra given by the Chinese Master of the Law; they simply pass Buddhism by and give themselves solely to the 'heretics'.

The members of the royal family seem to have been generally devotees of Śiva and Viṣṇu for whose worship they built and dedicated the most important temples of the time in Bādāmi, Paṭṭadakal, and elsewhere. Though they themselves bestowed and sanctioned the bestowal by others of benefactions on Jain shrines and monasteries, there is not one clear case of any of them having embraced Jainism. The first kings of the line, Pulakēśin I, Kīrtti-varman, Mangaleśa, and Pulakēśin II, seem to have gloried in the performance of Vedic sacrifices, in honouring learned Brāhmins and in earning for themselves titles like *brahmanya*, a title in the Sātavāhana tradition, *parama-māheśvara* and *paramavaishṇava*. They made grants during eclipses¹ and performed the *vratas* and *dānas* prescribed in the *smṛitis* of the land. The Nerūr grant of Mangaleśa, for instance, says that he fasted on a *Kārttika-dvādāśī* day and worshipped Viṣṇu before giving away the village of Kuṇḍivāṭaka to a Vedic scholar.² The same ruler transferred the merits of his excavation of the cave temple and the installation of the image of Viṣṇu to his elder brother Kīrtti-varman, pouring out water, a formal act of confirmation, in the presence of the Sun, Fire, and the *Mahājanas*, claiming for himself only the merit of having served his brother and protected his benefactions. Such formalities are seen to have attended almost every donation or gift. The gifts are sometimes earmarked for the specific purpose of the performance of domestic rituals, as in the Satāra grant of Viṣṇuvardhana³ which records the gift of a village to a group of Brāhmins, all brothers from one family, and describes the purpose of the gift as : *bali-charu vaiśvadevā-gnihotra-havana-pañcha-mahāyajñ-otsarpanārtham*. The Talamanchi plates of Vikramāditya end characteristically with a benediction on cows and Brāhmins—*svastyastu gō-brāhmaṇebhyah*. That there were periodical festivals observed in temples is

¹ Haidarabad grant of Pulakēśin II, Talamanchi and Honnūr plates, &c

² LA, vii, 161.

³ Ibid., xix, 309-10.

attested by the reference to the *Paitāmahi Hiranyagarbha-mahotsava* on the full-moon day in the month of Kārttika as the occasion of the gift recorded in the Karnūl plates of the first regnal year of Ādityavarman.¹ The contact maintained by Deccani Śaivism with its fountain sources in northern India is made clear by the presence of Jñānaśivāchārya from the northern bank of the Ganges as an *archaka* of the Vijayeśvara (Sangameśvara) temple at Paṭṭadakal; this *āchārya* made an endowment of thirty *nivartanas* of land at a cost of thirty *gadyāṇas*, intended to pay for popular lectures by *āchāryas* and the *pūjā* in the temple, as well as the materials needed for it.

Jainism had a considerable vogue and was much respected. Ravikīrtti, who built a stone temple to Jina at Ahiolē, claims to have enlisted the particular favour of Pulakēśin II for his enterprise and thus made the temple the abode of all excellence (*bhavanam mahimnām*). The temple that Kuṅkumadēvī caused to be built at Guḍigere has already been mentioned. Kaliyamma, the Jaina headman of Jebuḷagēri, built a *chediya* at Annigere in the reign of Kīrtti-varman II; and Koṇḍiśūlara-Kuppa, *alias* Kīrtti-varman *gosai*, erected a statue in front of the temple; the *prabhunāma* (named after the suzerain) of the Jaina ascetic is worth noting.² Other evidence proving the flourishing condition of Jainism which is found in the inscriptions need not be detailed here, though some of it will be noticed in the sketch that follows of the literature of the period.

Literature: Sanskrit

Sanskrit literature was being studied and cultivated in its various branches. The proficiency of the princes of the royal family and of the numerous scholars patronized by them in *Purāṇa*, *Śāstra*, and so on has been noticed above. The inscriptions bear evidence of the strong influence of the classics on the literary and epigraphical compositions of the time. The Mahākūṭa pillar inscription of Mangaleśa is a landmark in literary development since it shows that by about A.D. 600 the florid prose writing which is generally associated with the great Bāṇa, the court-poet of Harshavardhana of Northern India, had reached an advanced development in the south, for the inscription borrows freely striking terms and phrases from the *Arthaśāstra*, the *Rāmāyaṇa*, and the *Raghuvaṃśa* of Kālidāsa. The Jaina poet Ravikīrtti, the author of the Ahiolē *prastāvi* of Pulakēśin II, modelled his composition consciously, as Kielhorn has demonstrated, on the *divijaya* of Raghu as described by Kālidāsa in the *Raghuvaṃśa*, and claims at the end of the inscription that by composing it he has attained a fame equal to that of Kālidāsa and Bhāravi. Though this is an extravagant claim, the composition is not devoid of literary merit and makes skilful use of several metres. The Gaṅga king Durvinīta, father-in-law and feudatory of Pulakēśin II, is said to have composed a work on Sanskrit grammar, the *Śabdāvatāra*, and commented on that literary freak,

¹ *JBBRAS*, xvi, 233-5.

² *EI*, xxi, 204.

the fifteenth canto of the *Kirātārjunīya* of Bhāravi;¹ he seems also to have been the author of the earliest Sanskrit version, no longer extant, of the *Brhat-Kathā* of Guṇāḍhya. Vijayabhāṭṭārikā, the queen of Chandraditya, may well be identical, as P. V. Kane has suggested, with the poetess Vijayānkā or Vijjikā who claims to have been well beloved by the king of Karnaṭa (*Karnāṭarājapriyā*) and accuses the poet Daṇḍin of having described Sarasvatī, the goddess of learning, as all white, in ignorance of her true colour, dark like the petal of the blue lotus; the few verses attributed to her in the anthologies go far to justify the high praise bestowed on her by Rājaśekhara, an eminent literary critic of the tenth century A.D., who says that after Kālidāsa, the Karnaṭa poetess of the name of Vijayā takes rank as the abode of the Vaidarbhi style of writing.² The two Āryā verses of Achalada on the triumph of the Bharata school of *nāṭya* (dance) must also be noted here, both for their literary quality and for their reference to a forgotten chapter in the history of the art and literature of the dance. The Jaina grammarian and divine, Pūjyapāda, the author of *Jainendravṛyākaraṇa*, a work on Sanskrit grammar, figures as the teacher of Niravadya-Udayadevapaṇḍita, who received the grant of a village from Vijayāditya when he was camping at Raktapura (Lakshmeśvar) in Ś. 651 (A.D. 729).³ Another famous Jaina writer in Sanskrit was Somadevasūri who flourished more than two centuries later, was patronized by the Chālukyas of Vemulavāḍa, and was the author of the *Yasastilaka-campū*, a romantic tale into which the author weaves much salutary moral instruction and propaganda against animal sacrifice and in favour of the tenets of Jainism; his second work, *Nītivākyāmṛta*, is much more interesting to the student of Indian political literature as it is really an *Arthaśāstra* suffused with the *dharmic* point of view. Somadeva's vast learning and his great merits as a stylist are evident in every page of both his works.⁴

Kannaḍa

Of the literature in the language of the people, Kannaḍa, very little has survived except a few names from these early times, though evidence is not lacking that there must have been a considerable volume of prose and poetic works which had come into existence before Nṛpatunga, the Rāshtrakūṭa king, composed his *Kavirājamārga*, the earliest extant work on rhetoric in Kannaḍa. The Durvinīta mentioned in this work as one of the best writers of Kannaḍa prose may well have been the Gaṅga contemporary and father-in-law of Pulakēśin II; if this was so, Durvinīta must be considered to have been

¹ Keith's doubts on this matter (*Hist. of Skt. Liter.*, p. xvii) are misplaced except in so far as they concern the evidence of the *Avantisundarikathā* and its *Sāra*.

² Kane's ed. *Sāhityadarpaṇa* (1923), pp. xl-xli; and V. Raghavan, *Sanskrit and Prakrit Poetesses*, *QJMS*, xxxv.

³ *DKD*, p. 373; Rice, *Kan. Lit.*, pp. 26-27.

⁴ Keith, *Hist. of Skt. Liter.*, pp. 333-6 and 463-4.

equally proficient in Kannāḍa and in Sanskrit. Another celebrated writer was Śrīvardhadeva, also called Tumbūlūrāchārya from the place of his birth; he is known to have written an extensive work (96,000 verses) called *Chūdāmaṇi* in the form of a commentary on the *Tattvārtha-mahāśāstra*. This work is no longer extant though the great Kannāḍa grammarian Bhaṭṭākalanka (A.D. 1604) knew the book and referred to it as the greatest work in the language.¹ Śyāmakundāchārya, who is mentioned by later writers as an author in the Prākṛit, Sanskrit, and Kaṇṇāṭa languages, also flourished about the same time as Tumbūlūrāchārya or perhaps a little later (c. A.D. 650).

Pampa, who says that his ancestors came from Vengi, was himself born in A.D. 902 and flourished at the court of Arikesari II of Vemulavāḍa. He composed two great poems in a single year at the comparatively early age of thirty-two; they are justly celebrated as among the greatest classics of Kannāḍa literature. His *Ādi-purāṇa* narrates the life story of the first *tīrthamkara* according to the Jaina tradition; the other work, *Vikramārjuna Vijaya*, contains the author's own version of a section of the *Mahābhārata* story, and is on that account often called *Pampa-bhārata*; in it the poet makes Arjuna the hero and identifies his patron Arikesari with Arjuna, which gives him the occasion for introducing at several points many interesting details of contemporary secular history. Critics have hailed Pampa unanimously as the most eminent among Kanarese poets.

¹ Rice, op. cit., p. 27.

PART V

THE HISTORY OF THE RĀSHṬRAKŪṬAS

by DR. A. S. ALTEKAR

- I. The Rāshtrakūta Dynasty: the significance of the term *Rāshṭrakūṭa* and the chronology of the dynasty.
- II. The Rulers of the Dynasty: Dantidurga (c. A.D. 735-55); Kṛishṇa I (c. A.D. 756-72); Govinda II (c. A.D. 773-80); Dhruva Dhāravarsha (c. A.D. 780-93); Govinda III (c. A.D. 793-814); Śarva Amoghavarsha I (c. A.D. 819-81); Kṛishṇa II (c. A.D. 880-914); Indra III (c. A.D. 914-28); Amoghavarsha II (c. A.D. 928-9); Govinda IV (c. A.D. 930-6); Amoghavarsha III (c. A.D. 936-9); Kṛishṇa III (c. A.D. 939-67); Khotṭiga (c. A.D. 967-73); and Karkka II (September, A.D. 972 to December, A.D. 973).
- III. The Administrative System.
- IV. Religion.
- V. The Social and Economic Condition.
- VI. Education and Literature.

I

THE RĀSHṬRAKŪṬA DYNASTY

THE term Rāshtrakūṭa, the surname of the new dynasty which supplanted the Chālukyas, has no ethnic or tribal significance. Just as in the medieval period the terms Deśmukhs and Deśā'is denoted officers in charge of *Deśas* or districts, so also the term Rāshtrakūṭas designated officers in charge of territorial divisions called *rāshṭras*, into which kingdoms used formerly to be divided. The officer in the administrative charge of a *grāma* (village) was called a grāmakūṭa (village headman); similarly one in charge of a *rāshṭra* was called a rāshtrakūṭa. Other variations of this term like rāshṭriya in Sanskrit and raṭhika in Prākṛit occur in earlier inscriptions. Both rāshtrakūṭas and grāmakūṭas figure among the officers exhorted not to disturb the peaceful enjoyment of the land grants given in the Deccan charters of the seventh and the eighth centuries A.D. Nay, we find them in a grant of Dantidurḡa himself, the founder of the Rāshtrakūṭa dynasty, who, himself a rāshtrakūṭa, is seen exhorting other rāshtrakūṭas not to interfere with the enjoyment of the grant given by him in A.D. 742.¹

The dimensions of a *rāshṭra*, which was in charge of a rāshtrakūṭa, varied with the different centuries and dynasties. In the Mauryan period the rāshṭriya was a provincial viceroy in charge of a big province like Gujārāt or Kathiāwār. During the early centuries of the Christian era, the raṭhikas and mahāraṭhikas, corresponding to later rāshtrakūṭas, are seen ruling over much smaller territorial units in Mahārāshṭra and Berar; their jurisdiction did not extend over more than two or three districts of our modern times. Sometimes they used even to be in charge of the subdivisions of a district. These officers were always subordinate to the central government; but when the latter became weak, they used to assume an independent or semi-independent status and to found small feudatory families.

During the sixth and the seventh centuries we come across several such feudatory families ruling in the different parts of the Deccan. Abhimanyu of Mānyapura in the Hoshangābād District was one such ruler; we have seen that he was ruling in the first half of the sixth century A.D. and that he had then recently assumed the surname of Rāshtrakūṭa. About the subsequent fortunes of his family history at present knows nothing. In the heart of the kingdom of the Chālukyas of Bādāmi there existed at this time certain feudatory Rāshtrakūṭa families. The Sendraka family of the southern Marāṭhā country, which was closely related to the Chālukyas, was on terms of the closest friendship with a Rāshtrakūṭa family ruling in its neighbourhood

¹ *EL*, xxv, 25.

about the middle of the seventh century A.D.¹ The Rāshṭrakūṭas who later ousted the Chālukyas were not, however, connected with either of these families. They originally belonged to Laṭṭalūra, modern Lātūr, a small town in the Osmanābād District of Hyderabad State. Laṭṭalūra was situated in the Canarese-speaking area and Canarese was the mother tongue of this family. Durggarāja, Govindarāja, and Svāmikarāja, who flourished from c. A.D. 570 to 630, were mere district officers under the early Chālukyas of Bādāmi. Nannarāja, the son of Svāmikarāja, was an able and ambitious person. He migrated to Berar, distinguished himself on the battlefield, and won feudatory status for his family in c. A.D. 640, probably from Pulakeśin II. He carved out for himself a small principality in Berar, of which Achalapura, the modern Elichpur, was most probably the capital. Elichpur is only 225 miles from Lātūr, the original home of the family. In the course of Indian history we often find ambitious soldiers leaving their homes and migrating to far-off provinces to seek their fortunes. Scions of the early Chālukya families left Bādāmi and went to far-off Gujarāt and Āndhradeśa in order to found new ruling families. The Senas left Karnāṭak and went to distant Bengal and founded a dynasty there. Several Marāṭhā families left their homes in Mahārāshṭra and went to distant Tanjore, Indore, and Gwalior, where they were able to carve out new kingdoms. We need not then be surprised to find Nannarāja leaving his home in the northern Karnāṭak when an opportunity occurred of founding a small principality in Berar.

At the time of the rise of Dantidurga the family had domiciled itself in Mahārāshṭra for four generations. Dantidurga had become a Mahārāshṭrian by c. A.D. 750; for we find him proudly stating in his records how he had routed out the Karnāṭaka armies of the Chālukya emperor Kīrtivarman II.² When, however, the Karnāṭak country was annexed to the Rāshṭrakūṭa empire in c. A.D. 760 and the capital was shifted to Malkhed, which was situated in that province, the Rāshṭrakūṭa emperors once more assumed the Karnāṭak culture and way of life. Their sign manuals begin to appear in the Canarese script and one of them, Amoghavarsha I, wrote a work in Canarese wherein he shows his bias for the chaste Kannaḍa language then current between Muduvolal and Kupanagar.

Let us revert to the history of Nannarāja. Since he was the first to win feudatory status, we may describe him as the founder of the family. He selected the eagle as the insignia of the family and his choice in this respect was respected and accepted by his successors. His rule may be presumed to have extended from c. A.D. 630 to 650. Nannarāja was succeeded by Dantivarman, who was either his son or his nephew. He ruled from c. A.D. 650 to 665. The description of his exploits given in charters issued more than eighty years later is merely conventional. We are told, for instance, how travellers used to be saddened to see beautiful paintings on the desolate walls of the

¹ *El*, xxi, 289.

² *IA*, xi, 112.

deserted palaces of his enemies. As no specific enemies are mentioned, such conventional descriptions do not help us much.

Indra Pṛichchhakarāja and Govindarāja, the son and grandson of Dantivarman, ruled from c. A.D. 665 to 700. We know nothing of their achievements. Govinda was a Śaivite, for we are told that he bowed his head before no deity other than Śiva. Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar has identified him with Govinda, who had attacked Pulakeśin II from the north of the Bhīmā, but this view is untenable. Govinda the opponent of Pulakeśin II flourished from c. A.D. 610 to 630; Govinda the son of Pṛichchhakarāja ruled seventy years later.

Govinda I was succeeded by his son Karkkarāja, who ruled from c. A.D. 700 to 715. He was a Vaishṇava in his religious beliefs. Later court panegyrists tell us how the mere mention of his name would cause tears and bracelets to fall from the eyes and the wrists of the wives of his enemies; such general praise, however, does not enable us to reconstruct the history of his times. No incidents of his reign are in fact known to us in the records that we have at present.

Karkka had four sons, Indra, Dhruva,¹ Kṛishṇa, and Nannarāja, whose relative seniority was probably in the above order. Among these brothers Indra was the most ambitious. He ruled from c. A.D. 715 to 735. With the help of his brothers he extended his principality northwards, and it soon began to include the majority of the Marāṭhī-speaking districts of Madhya Pradesh. Of course he continued to be a feudatory of the contemporary Chālukya emperor Vijayāditya (A.D. 697–733), but we should remember that suzerains in ancient India did not usually object to the extension of the territory or the sphere of influence of their feudatories, if such extension was not dangerous to themselves and was done at the expense of third parties not under their own protection.

In order to understand properly the incidents in the career of Indra I it is necessary first to take a bird's-eye view of contemporary political conditions. The Chālukya empire lay to the south of the growing kingdom of Indra; its emperor Vijayāditya was his feudal lord. To the west lay the principality of the Gujarāt Chālukyas with its capital at Naosarī in the Surat District, and the kingdom of the Gurjaras with its capital at Nāndipurī or Nandod, about 28 miles north-east of Bhroach. Both these kingdoms were smaller in extent and resources than the growing kingdom of Indra. The Chālukya king Maṅgalarāja Vinayāditya was ruling at Naosarī from c. A.D. 700 to 732. The Gurjara king Jayabhaṭa III was on the Nāndipurī throne during almost exactly the same period (c. A.D. 700–35). Indra's contemporary at Valabhi was Śilāditya V (c. A.D. 710–40); the districts of Kaira and Panchmahal in Northern Gujarāt were under his control.

¹ That Dhruva was a son of Karkka is based upon the very probable assumption that Karkha II of the Antroli Chharoli plates issued in A.D. 757 was his great-grandson, as suggested by Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji.

Only one specific incident in the career of Indra I is known, and that is his wedding by the *Rākshasa* form of marriage with a Chālukya princess named Bhavanāgā at Kaira in Northern Gujarāt, after defeating her father. Unfortunately we do not know who the father of this Bhavanāgā was. Most probably he may have been the Chālukya feudatory Maṅgalarāja Vinayāditya or his younger brother Pulakeśin. The small Chālukya kingdom did not extend beyond the Tāptī, and between it and Kaira, where this incident took place, lay the Gurjara principality of Nāndīpurī. Why then the marriage of Bhavanāgā should have been arranged at Kaira, which lay in the Maitraka kingdom of Valabhi, we do not know. A possible reason may be that the bridegroom elect was a Valabhi prince. Some kind of formal *Svayamvara* had been settled to be celebrated at Kaira in a *pandāl* specially erected for the purpose. It seems that though not himself the bridegroom elect, Indra attended this *Svayamvara* and carried away the bride against the wishes of her father. This must have strained the relations between Maṅgalarāja, the Chālukya king of Gujarāt, and Indra, the audacious bridegroom. Hindu marriages are, however, indissoluble, and Maṅgalarāja may have soon become reconciled with his son-in-law. The occurrence of this marriage may be placed in c. A.D. 715.

This *Rākshasa* marriage of Indra would seem to show that by c. A.D. 715 he had already become powerful enough to challenge the power of the Chālukyas of Gujarāt and the Maitrakas of Valabhi. His success in this affair must have added to his prestige and reputation and implanted in his mind the seeds of greater ambition. How it enabled him to extend his kingdom northwards so as to include most of the Marāṭhi-speaking districts of Madhya Pradesh has already been shown above.

II THE RULERS OF THE DYNASTY

Dantidurga

(c. A.D. 735-55)

THE precise date of the accession of Dantidurga, the founder of the Rāshtrakūṭa empire, is not known, but since he had already distinguished himself considerably by A.D. 742, we may safely place the beginning of his reign in A.D. 735. He was a youth of barely twenty years at the time of his accession; his uncles Kṛishṇa, Dhruva, and Nanna were probably older than he was, but they did not oppose his succession to the throne.

To understand properly the career of Dantidurga, we must survey the political situation during the fourth decade of the eighth century A.D. In Gujarāt and Kathiāwār a new development took place at this time, which seriously crippled the powers of the small states which then occupied the country. Junaid, the Arab governor of Sindh, sent about this time a number of expeditions to Kachchha, Kathiāwār, and Gujarāt, the conflict with which seriously strained the resources of the kings of Valabhi, Nāndīpurī, and Naosarī. As the Maitraka kingdom lay right across the path of the Arab invasions, its ruler Śīlāditya V had to bear the brunt of the Arab attacks. He was, however, helped by the Gurjara king Jayabhāṭa III, who proudly states in one of his grants dated A.D. 734 that he had quenched the fire of distress caused at Valabhi by the Arab invasion.¹ The Gurjaras and the Maitrakas were, however, not able to stem the tide of the Arab incursions for very long, since the Arab army had defeated them both and penetrated to Naosarī by c. A.D. 736. A sanguinary battle was fought near this place and the Gujarāt Chālukya king Pulakeśin Janāśraya defeated the invading army with great loss, though it came with the prestige of victories won against the Saindhava, Maitraka, and Gurjara kings. This victory of Pulakeśin was a memorable one and his feudal lord Vikramāditya II recognized his signal services by honouring him with four new titles, the ornament of the Chālukya family (*Chālukyayakulāṅkāra*), the lord of the earth (*Prithivīvallabha*), the asylum of the people (*Avanijanaśraya*), and the repeller of the unrepelled.²

This successful repulsion of the Arab invasion by Pulakeśin took place sometime in A.D. 736 or 737. At this time Dantidurga had just ascended his ancestral throne. The Naosarī plates, being issued by Pulakeśin, naturally give the entire credit of the victory over the Arabs to the Chālukya ruler; but

¹ *EI*, xxiii, 154.

² *Bombay Gazetteer*, I, i, p. 109.

it is probable that Dantidurga, who was his eastern neighbour and co-feudatory, may have co-operated with him at the orders of his feudal lord Vikramāditya II. This is a mere conjecture at present,¹ but it receives some support from the new title *Prithivivallabha*, which Dantidurga is seen to arrogate to himself in his Ellora plates of A.D. 742. In this record his predecessors are given the usual feudatory titles *Samadhistapāñchamahāsabha* and *Sāmāntādhipati*, but Dantidurga himself takes the additional epithets of *Prithivivallabha* and *Khadgāvaloka*. It seems clear that some fresh exploits must have been performed by him to justify these new titles. We have already seen above how Pulakeśin, the Gujarāt Chālukya feudatory, had been given four new titles by his feudal lord to mark his appreciation of his achievement in repelling the Arab invasion. Is it not possible then that the new titles of Dantidurga, *Prithivivallabha* and *Khadgāvaloka*, may also have been conferred upon him by the same authority for meritorious services in this same connexion? Whatever may be the causes of the new titles which he then assumed, the Ellora plates of Dantidurga do now make it quite clear that he had distinguished himself on the battlefield before A.D. 742; this victory may also have resulted in some extension of the boundaries of his kingdom.

During the course of his career, Dantidurga is known to have defeated the rulers of Kāñchī, Kālīnga, Śrīśaila, Kośala, Mālwa, Lāta, and possibly Sindhā, besides overthrowing the power of the imperial Chālukyas. It is, however, not easy to arrange these achievements chronologically: according to the following reconstruction of his history is still tentative.

It seems that Dantidurga continued to be a loyal feudatory of the Chālukyas down to the death of Vikramāditya II in A.D. 747. The Chālukya crown prince Kīrtti-varman had undertaken an expedition to Kāñchī in c. A.D. 743, in the course of which it is claimed that he once more defeated the Pallava king. Dantidurga accompanied him during this expedition with his own battalions and shared the credit of the victory.¹ On his return he took part in the attack on the king of Śrīśaila then ruling in the Kurnool District.²

The varied and valuable military experience which Dantidurga had acquired in the course of his expeditions in the south and north and the

¹ If the reading *Sandubhūpādhipam* in the Ellora Daśavatāra inscription is to be corrected to *Sindhū*, this conjecture will receive additional support.

² The claim made in the Rāshtrakūta records that Dantidurga had defeated the kings of Kāñchī and Śrīśaila can be accepted as true only if we assume that he had participated in the wars of his feudal lord against these kings. Even after he had openly rebelled against the Chālukyas and annexed the whole of Mahārāshtra by c. A.D. 753 the entire Karnātak lay under the effective sway of Kīrtti-varman II, down to at least A.D. 757, when we find him encamped on the Bhīmā river. It does not seem that Dantidurga lived up to even A.D. 757. It was his successor Krishṇa who completed the overthrow of the Chālukyas and annexed the whole of the Karnātak. It was therefore impossible for Dantidurga to attack Kāñchī subsequent to his open revolt against Kīrtti-varman II, when his armies lay across the latter's path to Kāñchī. Hence the statement in the text that he must have accompanied the expeditionary force of Kīrtti-varman which marched against Kāñchī. There are numerous instances in ancient Indian history of feudatories claiming for themselves victories which they had actually won only in co-operation with their feudal lords.

victories which he had won in the course of these, either alone or in co-operation with others, naturally aroused imperial ambitions in his mind. His Chālukya descent through his mother must also have served as a contributory cause of such ambitions. Soon after his return from Kāñchī in c. A.D. 744 he decided to launch upon a career of conquest on his own account with an eventual view to winning imperial status for his family. The death of the Chālukya emperor in A.D. 747 helped his plans, since it removed an experienced ruler from the Bādāmi throne.

Dantidurga was as clever at diplomacy as he was successful on the battlefield; he therefore thought out a plan of expansion which would raise minimum opposition from his feudal lord. The Karnāṭak was the stronghold of the Chālukya power and the patrimony of Dantidurga lay in Berar and western Madhya Pradesh. He therefore decided to extend his kingdom towards the east and west so as to excite the least possible apprehension in the mind of the Chālukya emperor. The Gurjara kingdom of Nāndīpurī and the Chālukya principality of Naosarī had been exhausted by the Arab invasion. Dantidurga first attacked these, defeated their kings, and annexed their territories.¹ In this venture he received valuable help from his cousin Govinda (son of Dhruva), and he allotted Southern Gujarāt to him in recognition of his services. The kingdom of Nāndīpurī was incorporated in his dominions by Dantidurga; one of his charters describes how his elephants enjoyed a bath in the Mahī river of that region.

After annexing Central Gujarāt, Dantidurga turned eastwards and invaded Mālwa. This province was under the rule of the Gurjara Pratihāras and there was a feud going on at this time between Śiluka and Devarāja, who belonged respectively to its two branches. Taking advantage of this fact Dantidurga marched on Ujjain and brought it under his sway. He signalized his victory by celebrating the *Hiranyagarbhadāna* ritual at this place; on this occasion the Gurjara Pratihāra king, who had been recently defeated, appeared as his door-keeper. The invasion of Mālwa was of the nature of a raid. Dantidurga did not annex it but was content merely to bring it under his sphere of influence.

From Mālwa Dantidurga returned to Berar and thence he marched to the Mahākośala or Chhattisgarh division of Madhya Pradesh. His Samangad plates describe how his elephants enjoyed baths both in the Mahī and in the Mahānadī. Who was the king defeated or encountered by Dantidurga in Kośala we do not know. On his way back he seems to have defeated some local rulers in Kaliṅga.

By the military and diplomatic activities recounted above Dantidurga had succeeded in bringing the whole of Madhya Pradesh and the Central and Southern Gujarāt under his rule or sphere of influence. With the exception of

¹ No successors of the Chālukya king Pulakeśin and the Gurjara king Dadda III are known. Their last known dates are 738 and 734 respectively.

Southern Gujarāt most of the districts annexed had not belonged to the Chālukya emperor, the feudal lord of Dantidurga. When the power and resources of Dantidurga became so extensive, Kirttivarman II could, however, no longer neglect him; a conflict between the two had become inevitable.

The immediate cause of the war between Dantidurga and Kirttivarman II must have been an effort made by the latter to reinstate the Gujarāt family at Naosari. Grown confident through his numerous victories, Dantidurga refused to vacate Southern Gujarāt and declared a war against the Chālukya emperor. Where the armies of the two combatants met in conflict is not definitely known, but most probably it was somewhere in central Mahārāshtra. Dantidurga emerged as victor in the encounter; his success seems to have been due to a stratagem, for his court poet tells us that he overthrew the Karnāṭka army of Kirttivarman II by a mere frown of his brow, without any effort being made or without any weapons being raised or used.

This victory of Dantidurga no doubt did not entirely break the Chālukya power, but it made him the master of Mahārāshtra. We find him donating a village in the Satara District in A.D. 754. Kirttivarman, however, continued to rule the whole of the Karnāṭak, and in September A.D. 757 we find him encamped on the Bhīmā with his victorious army. After his initial victory Dantidurga was planning to break the Chālukya power completely by giving battle again to Kirttivarman, but it seems that death cut short his career and the project could not be carried out. The precise date of the death of Dantidurga is not yet known, but it may be tentatively placed in A.D. 756. He was then probably not more than thirty-seven or thirty-eight; for one record says expressly that he died young, 'probably owing to the pressing requests of the heavenly damsels'.

Unfortunately we have not yet got enough material to reconstruct the career of Dantidurga accurately in all its details; but such information as we possess seems to indicate that, like most of the founders of new dynasties, he was an able general, a clever diplomat, and a great administrator. He was quick to realize that the Chālukya power had been weakened by its incessant struggles with the Pallavas and by the recent invasions of the Arabs. He, however, continued to co-operate with his feudal lords as long as it was in his interest to do so. His participation in the campaign against the Pallavas and Arabs gave him valuable military experience and also made him acquainted in detail with the weak and strong points of the Chālukyas. When Vikramāditya II died, he at once began his career of conquest and expansion, but took care to see that the vested interests of the Chālukyas were not affected much at first. It was only when his resources were considerably increased by the annexation of Gujarāt and most of the districts in central and western Madhya Pradesh that he openly challenged the Chālukyas and managed to win a decisive victory over them without much loss to himself.

Unfortunately he did not live long enough to complete the overthrow of the Chālukyas, but there is no doubt that he had done the major part of the work. As his successors were his collateral relatives rather than his immediate descendants, his name is sometimes omitted in the dynastic genealogies of later times, which therefore naturally give the entire credit of the overthrow of the Chālukyas to his uncle Kṛishṇa I who succeeded him. But the official charters of the same Kṛishṇa describe in glowing terms the achievements of his predecessor Dantidurga and give him the entire credit for the annihilation of the Chālukya power, not claiming any of this credit for Kṛishṇa himself. There can therefore be no doubt that Dantidurga was the real founder of the Rāshtrakūṭa empire and that Kṛishṇa I only completed his work.

Dantidurga was a pious Hindu and we find him giving several villages to charitable foundations at the request of his mother. He believed also in the orthodox religious rituals and carried them out punctiliously. He loved his subjects and worked for their welfare.

It was only in the reign of Amoghavarsha I (A.D. 814-80) that Mānyakheta, the modern Malkhed in Hyderabad State, became the capital of the Rāshtrakūṭa empire. What then was the earlier capital? We cannot yet answer this question satisfactorily. Achalapura or Elichpur in Berar was most probably the capital in the days of Karkka and Indra. When the whole of Mahārāshtra was annexed by Dantidurga, the capital may have been shifted to a more central place somewhere near modern Ellora in Hyderabad State. The most detailed eulogy of Dantidurga is engraved on the rock-wall of Cave XV (*Daś-āvatāra*) at Ellora. His earliest copper-plate charter was issued when he was staying at this place; the grant was given after the king had taken a bath in the holy Guheśvara *tīrtha* of the locality. Kṛishṇa I also selected a rock at Ellora for the excavation of the most beautiful monument left behind them by the Rāshtrakūṭas. Is it not then likely that during the reigns of Dantidurga and Kṛishṇa I the Rāshtrakūṭa capital may have been shifted to a place in the vicinity of Ellora, which was undoubtedly more centrally situated with reference to the growing empire? Just above the Ellora plateau there are remains of a town and a tank at a place called Sooloobhunjan. I think that this may have been the Rāshtrakūṭa capital until as late as c. A.D. 790.

In the reign of Govinda III the capital seems to have been shifted to a new place named Mayūrakhiṇḍi from which five of his charters are seen to be issued. The identification of this place is, however, a matter of uncertainty. We are much tempted to make it the same as the modern fort of Morkhand in the Nāsik District; but at this time Nāsik was the seat of a provincial vice-royalty, where Dhruva, the younger brother of Govinda II, was ruling before he rebelled against his brother. Morkhand, which is close to Nāsik, is thus not likely to have been the imperial capital. It has been recently suggested that Markaṇḍi on the Waingangā, about 50 miles south-east of

Chanda, should be identified with Mayūrakhiṇḍi.¹ There is an obvious phonetic resemblance between the two names; there are also some medieval relics at Markaṇḍi. But the place is almost on the north-eastern border of the Rāshtrakūṭa empire and could not have proved a convenient situation for the capital. It is also possible that Laṭṭalūra, the original home of the Rāshtrakūṭa family, or Paiṭhan, the old Sātavāhana capital, may have been capitals at some time. As it is, we have to admit that we cannot at present satisfactorily solve the question of the site of the pre-Malkhed capital of the Rāshtrakūṭas; the matter will only be cleared up by further discoveries or field explorations.

Kṛishṇa I

(c. A.D. 756-72)

Kṛishṇa I probably succeeded his nephew Dantidurga in A.D. 756. The latter died relatively young without leaving any issue behind. Kṛishṇa I had probably co-operated with his ambitious nephew in founding the Rāshtrakūṭa power; Dantidurga therefore may have arranged that his uncle should succeed him. At the time of accession Kṛishṇa took the titles of *Śubhatuṅga* (conspicuous in good fortune) and *Akālavarsha* (rainer of desires and favours even when unexpected).

Soon after his accession Kṛishṇa had to deal with the conflicting ambitions of a relative in order to ensure the prosperity of his house. This relative was most probably his grand-nephew Karkka II, who was ruling in Southern Gujarāt and had begun to assume imperial titles as early as A.D. 757.² Kṛishṇa defeated him without any difficulty and appointed his own officers to administer Gujarāt under his direct supervision.

Kṛishṇa had a number of other brothers and cousins who co-operated loyally with him and were rewarded with suitably responsible posts. His younger brother Nanna Guṇāvaloka was put in charge of the Aurangābād District; when he died he was succeeded there by his son Śaṅkaragaṇa, who ruled as a feudatory of Kṛishṇa's son Dhruva. Mānāvaloka Ratnavarsha Vijayāditya, another cousin of his, was serving as a responsible officer in the imperial army during its campaigns against Veṅgi.

Soon after putting down the revolt of Karkka, Kṛishṇa proceeded to complete the overthrow of the Chālukya emperor Kīrttivarman II. Taking advantage of the death of Dantidurga and the revolt of Karkka, the Chālu-

¹ *EI*, xxiii, 12-13.

² *JBBRAS*, xvi, 106 ff. Probably Rāhappa was another name of Karkka. At one time it was believed that the vicious relative ousted by Kṛishṇa was Dantidurga himself. This view is utterly untenable; for copper-plate charters issued under Kṛishṇa's orders describe Dantidurga in the most exaggerated terms of glorification and pay the highest compliments to his achievements. *EI*, xiii, 275; xiv, 121.

kyan king had reorganized his forces and advanced northwards through the Sholapur District to meet the expected invasion by Kṛishṇa. We find him encamped with his 'victorious' army somewhere on the bank of the Bhīmā in September, A.D. 757.¹ Soon after this date Kṛishṇa succeeded in inflicting a crushing defeat on Kīrttivarman, who seems to have died together with his sons in this sanguinary battle. The Chālukya power was once for all completely overthrown. The statement in the Rāshtrakūṭa records that 'Kṛishṇa churned out and obtained the Goddess of Royal Glory from the ocean of the Chālukya army' is confirmed by the admission in the records of the later Chālukyas that the glory of the Chālukya family set with Kīrttivarman.² As a result of this decisive battle, the whole of the northern Karnāṭak passed under the sway of the Rāshtrakūṭas and their claim to the imperial dignity and status was universally recognized in the Deccan from c. A.D. 760.

After spending a few years in consolidating his gains, Kṛishṇa made his position in Mahārāshṭra and the Karnāṭak secure by conquering and annexing Koṅkaṇ. The province was entrusted for its administration to Saṇaphulla, who became the founder of the feudatory Śilāhāra family, which continued to be very loyal and devoted to the Rāshtrakūṭas down to and even after their downfall in A.D. 973.

Kṛishṇa was an ambitious ruler and the mastery of the old Chālukya kingdom did not satisfy him. He was in search of more territory to conquer and eventually decided to effect further expansion southwards by attacking Gaṅga-wādī (roughly equal to the modern Mysore), which was then under the sway of its old ruler Śrīpurusha. The Rāshtrakūṭa invasion met with stiff opposition, for the Gaṅgas fought hard and made heavy sacrifices to preserve their independence. Even scholars like Śrīrevaman exchanged their pens for swords and died fighting for their king and country. Prince Siyagall, one of the younger sons of Śrīpurusha, was in charge of the defences of the kingdom. He won a few preliminary victories, but was eventually overwhelmed by Kṛishṇa, who marched to and occupied the Gaṅga capital, Mānyapura, i.e. Manne in the Bangalore District. As a thanksgiving for his brilliant success, Kṛishṇa established a number of charitable foundations from the wealth of the enemy capital; a copper-plate set recording one of these grants has been discovered.

Kṛishṇa did not annex the entire Gaṅgawādī. He permitted Śrīpurusha to rule as a feudatory over a smaller kingdom and returned home in A.D. 769. Soon after this date he installed his eldest son Govinda as the heir-apparent.

The crown prince signaled the assumption of his office by launching an invasion of the kingdom of Veṅgi. A war between the Chālukyas of Veṅgi and the Rāshtrakūṭas had by this time become inevitable. The Veṅgi rulers were a branch of the Chālukyas of Badāmī, who had been supplanted by the Rāshtrakūṭas. They were therefore anxious to avenge the overthrow of the

¹ *IA*, viii, 26.

² *Ibid.* 12.

Badāmī house. Kṛishṇa also felt that his empire could not be regarded as firmly established until the Chālukyas of Veṅgi should be convinced that they could not defeat him. A war between the two powers broke out in c. A.D. 768. The Rāshtrakūṭa forces were led by the crown prince Govinda, who was a great cavalry leader. They were completely successful in overwhelming the Chālukya forces; 'the Great Boar (the emblem on the Chālukya banner) ran like a deer', says a Rāshtrakūṭa court poet. In June, A.D. 769, the Rāshtrakūṭa army was encamped at the confluence of the Kṛishṇā and the Musī about a hundred miles south-east of Hyderabad. Veṅgi, the Chālukya capital, was only a hundred miles away from this place, and the crown prince could have easily occupied it. But the Chālukya king Vishṇuvardhana IV capitulated and conciliated the victor by surrendering some territory and paying an indemnity. Later on this treaty was cemented by a marriage alliance when Śilabhaṭṭārikā, a daughter of Vishṇuvardhana, was married to Prince Dhruva, a younger brother of the Rāshtrakūṭa crown prince. As a result of this victory the whole of the modern Hyderabad State passed under the Rāshtrakūṭa sway with the exception of the small territory lying to the east of an imaginary line joining Chanda to the confluence of the Kṛishṇā and the Musī.

Kṛishṇa died in c. A.D. 773 after a reign of about fifteen years. He was an able ruler and a skilful general and more than doubled the kingdom he had inherited by annexing the major parts of the modern states of Mysore and Hyderabad. By inflicting signal defeats on the Gaṅgas and the Chālukyas, he secured for his house a dominating position over the whole of the Deccan, a position which no power to the south of the Vindhya could think of challenging. He thus paved the way for his successors to participate in the politics of Northern India also, and thus to secure a position of dominance for his house over the whole of the Indian sub-continent.

Kṛishṇa was great not only as a conqueror but also as a builder. He was a devout Hindu and spent money not only in charity to Brāhmins but also in building grand and beautiful temples. The magnificent rock-cut monolithic temple at Ellora, which has been justly described as a unique monument, was excavated by his orders at a lavish cost. When the construction of the temple was complete, he personally attended its consecration ceremony and gave costly ornaments for the image and extensive endowments to the temple establishment. Though now known as Kailāsa, originally it was named after its builder Kṛishṇa and known as Kṛishṇeśvara or Kaṇṇeśvara temple. The architectural and sculptural beauties and peculiarities of the temple are described in detail in Chapter XI, dealing with the Fine Arts; we may, however, include here some account of how the temple appeared to contemporaries. The architect of the temple, says a poet of the time, was struck with astonishment when he saw the beauty and grandeur of the completed monument and exclaimed, 'Oh, how was it that I built it?' The poet further had no doubt that the gods, seeing the temple from their celestial

planes, were under the impression that it was a self-evolved structure which had arisen spontaneously; how could man-made sculpture and architecture possess such superhuman beauty? Every visitor to Ellora confirms this compliment paid by a contemporary poet to the master architect of the temple. His humility and self-effacement, however, were so great that he has not left as much as his mere name inscribed anywhere on the temple walls.

Govinda II

(c. A.D. 773-80)

Krishṇa was succeeded by his eldest son Govinda in c. A.D. 773. At the time of his accession he assumed the titles of *Prabhūtavārsha* (profuse rainer of favours and blessings) and *Vikramāvaloka* or *Pratāpāvaloka* (one whose look inspires courage).

Govinda's achievements in the war against Veṅgi have already been described. During his short reign he once relieved Govardhana in the Nāsik District and later defeated a king named Pārijāta. But why Govardhana had to be relieved, and who King Pārijāta was and where he was ruling, are not yet known.

The greater part of the short reign of Govinda was spent in a struggle for the throne which soon arose between him and his younger brother Dhruva. The latter was ruling as a loyal governor in Nāsik and the Khāndesh at the beginning of his brother's reign. But very soon Govinda abandoned himself to a life of ease and pleasure, entrusting the whole administration to the charge of Dhruva. Dhruva was able and ambitious and was not content to be a mere *de facto* ruler. He aspired to become a *de jure* emperor also and began to issue charters in his own name and to win over the feudatories to his side. This procedure soon aroused the suspicions of Govinda; he threw off his lethargy, removed Dhruva from the headship of the administration, and took the reins of government into his own hands. For a time Dhruva submitted to the authority of his brother, but soon began to intrigue in an effort to oust him. Govinda tried to strengthen his position by entering into alliances with the rulers of Gaṅgawādī, Kāñchī, Veṅgi, and Mālwa, offering them monetary and territorial compensations in return for their promised help against Dhruva. This was a fatal mistake on his part; his alliance with the sworn enemies of his house alienated his ministers who went over to his younger brother and supplied the prince with a good excuse for open rebellion. Pleading that the Rāshtrakūṭa house was in danger of defeat by its traditional enemies, he engaged in conflict with his brother, not so much to gain the throne for himself as to retain it in the Rāshtrakūṭa family.

By his vicious life Govinda had already alienated the sympathies of his subjects and feudatories; and the promised help from Kāñchī and Veṅgi, Ujjayini (Ujjain) and Talkad, could not but take a long time to reach him.

Dhruva dealt Govinda a decisive blow before the armies of his allies could effect a junction with his own. Govinda seems to have died in the battle and Dhruva was then easily able to repel the forces of his brother's allies before they could enter his kingdom. Some of them also must have been lukewarm in their promised support.¹ Dhruva thus became the undisputed master of the Rāshtrakūṭa throne by c. A.D. 780.²

Dhruva Dhārāvarsha

(c. A.D. 780-93)

After overthrowing his elder brother Govinda, Dhruva ascended the throne in c. 780 and assumed the titles of *Dhārāvarsha* (profuse rainer of blessings and favours) and *Nirupama* (the Incomparable). Later on he also became known as *Kalivallabha*, the Favourite of Warriors, on account of his memorable victories. Śīlabhaṭṭarikā, a daughter of Viṣṇuvardhana IV of Veṅgi, was his crowned queen.

As a natural consequence of the war of succession, the feudatories of the empire had become lukewarm in their allegiance to the imperial power. Dhruva therefore had to spend a few months in compelling them to acknowledge his sovereignty. He then proceeded to punish kings of Gaṅgawādī and Mālwa who had espoused his brother's cause during the war of succession.

He dealt his first blow against Gaṅgawādī (Mysore), which was still being ruled by Śrīpurusha Muttarasa, who had been routed on the battlefield by his father about twelve years earlier. The Gaṅga king had, however, now grown very old and the administration was in the charge of the crown prince Śivamāra. This prince was more a scholar than a soldier; logic, grammar, and dramaturgy interested him more than battles and problems of strategy. He is said to have written a book on war-elephants, but its authorship did not avail him much when the elephant phalanx of the Rāshtrakūṭas invaded his kingdom. Probably he won some local victories at first, for Gaṅga records claim that he defeated the Vallabha forces, consisting of the Rāshtrakūṭas, the Chālukyas, and the Haihayas. He, however, was no match for Dhruva, who was a better general and commanded much greater resources. Śivamāra was soon not only defeated but also taken prisoner,³ and Dhruva annexed the

¹ This must have been the case with Viṣṇuvardhana, the ruler of Vengi; Dhruva, the opponent of Govinda, was his son-in-law, and he must have agreed to help Govinda simply because this prince was his feudal lord.

² If we assume that the Dhulia plates of Dhruva issued in 778 are spurious, we shall have to assume that Dhruva succeeded in ousting his brother as early as A.D. 775, the date of his Pimper grant. This is the view of Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar: see *LI*, xxiii, 102 ff. Why this view is untenable is shown by the present writer, *ibid.*, pp. 177-81.

³ The Gaṅga prince captured in c. 781 was released by Govinda III in c. 794. His name was undoubtedly Śivamāra. But since his father was ruling down to c. 788, we must assume that the Gaṅga prince described as taken prisoner was not the Gaṅga king but the Gaṅga crown prince.

whole of Gaṅgawādī and appointed his son Stambha Raṇāvaloka as its Viceroy.

The victorious Rāshtrakūṭa army then marched against the Pallava king Dantivarman, who also had offended Dhruva by espousing his brother's cause. 'Being hemmed in by the real ocean on one side and by the ocean of the Rāshtrakūṭa forces on the other', says a Rāshtrakūṭa poet, 'the Pallava king got frightened and surrendered a number of elephants.'¹ As the capture of Kāñchī is not claimed, it seems that Dhruva was content with the victories won on the frontiers of the Pallava kingdom and agreed to retire when an indemnity in the form of war-elephants was offered. The Rāshtrakūṭa armies returned to their base after this successful southern expedition in c. A.D. 782. They included a contingent from Veṅgi, sent by its king Vishṇuvardhana IV, who was Dhruva's father-in-law.

The victories related above made Dhruva the unchallenged Lord of the Deccan, but he was not satisfied with this achievement. He wanted to have a dominant voice in the politics of Northern India as well. It was no easy thing for a southern power to do so; since the days of the Sātavāhanas, no Deccan power had succeeded in annexing any portion of Northern India.

A general comprehension of the political condition in the north is necessary in order to understand the successive events in the northern campaigns of Dhruva. At this time the Gurjara-Pratihāra king Vatsarāja was ruling over Rajputana and Mālwā and had offended Dhruva by supporting his brother's cause. In Bengal Dharmapāla had succeeded in founding a strong state. Kanauj, however, still enjoyed the prestige of being the imperial capital of Northern India, though its ruler Indrāyudha was a weakling. In c. A.D. 784 Vatsarāja marched on Kanauj and defeated Indrāyudha, but permitted him to rule as a titular emperor.² This aroused the jealousy of Dharmapāla, who was Vatsarāja's rival and aimed at securing for himself the hegemony over Northern India. He decided to champion the cause of Chakrāyudha, probably a brother or other relative of Indrāyudha, and marched against him and his protector Vatsarāja. In the battle that ensued the Bengal army was defeated, and in the hurry of retreat Dharmapāla had to leave behind on the battlefield his two white imperial umbrellas. These fell into the hands of Vatsarāja, who carried them away as a trophy to be displayed at the head of his army. Dharmapāla, however, was not daunted by his defeat; he soon rallied his forces and decided to make a second bid for the hegemony of the north. At the moment when Dhruva decided to intervene in the politics of Northern India in c. 786, the army of Dharmapāla was heading towards the Doab and Vatsarāja was once more going out to meet it.

Dhruva planned his northern expedition carefully. He collected a strong

¹ Radhanpur plates, *EI*, vi, 243.

² The Marāṭhās and the English followed exactly the same policy a thousand years later, when they conquered the imperial Delhi and got possession of Shāh 'Ālam.

force on the Narmadā and put his energetic and youthful sons Govinda and Indra in charge of its different sections. As Vatsarāja was away in the Doab, he could cross the Narmadā and occupy Mālwa without much opposition. He then proceeded towards Kanauj to meet the main forces of Vatsarāja, and encountered them probably near Jhānsi. In the battle that ensued the Deccan army inflicted a crushing defeat on the Rajput forces of Vatsarāja, and the latter fled in great haste to take shelter in the deserts of Rajputana. The booty that fell in the hands of the conqueror included the two white imperial umbrellas of Dharmapāla, which Vatsarāja had captured from him on a previous occasion.

Flushed with this sensational victory, Dhruva proceeded to attack Dharmapāla, whose armies were already in the vicinity of the Doab. It was essential to defeat him also, for otherwise the overthrow of Vatsarāja would have only facilitated the imperial plans of Dharmapāla. And he was the sole important king remaining to be defeated by the Rāshtrakūṭa armies.¹

Dhruva therefore boldly marched against Dharmapāla and succeeded in inflicting a severe defeat on him, probably somewhere in or near the Doab, in c. A.D. 787. The Rāshtrakūṭa records claim that the Gauḍa ruler fled in confusion, once more leaving behind him on the battlefield his white imperial umbrellas. The victorious army must have been encamped on the banks of the holy Ganges and the Jumna for some time, and as a memento of this achievement the Ganges and the Jumna began to figure henceforward on the Rāshtrakūṭa imperial banner.

Dhruva did not press his victories further by marching on the imperial city of Kanauj with the view of capturing it or putting his own nominee on its throne. He was getting old and was far away from his base; so he decided to return home without caring to advance either farther east or north-west. As a result of this expedition, Dhruva obtained considerable booty, though the boundaries of his empire were not much extended. The military prestige of the Rāshtrakūṭas became very high; there was no power in the country which remained to be defeated. The Gaṅga crown prince was in a Rāshtrakūṭa prison; the Pallava king could save himself only by surrendering war-elephants; Vatsarāja had fled into the deserts of Rajputana, and Dharmapāla had to beat a precipitate retreat. The Arab power was on the decline in Sindh at this time, and no longer in a position to send any disturbing expeditions to the south. The king of Veṅgi was an ally and father-in-law of Dhruva. His position was thus unchallenged in the whole of India, and he could well afford to sheath his sword during the concluding four or five years of his reign.

¹ Dharmapāla's queen Raṇṇādevī was a Rāshtrakūṭa princess, and so it was at one time believed that Dhruva intervened in Northern India to help Dharmapāla against Vatsarāja. The Sanjan plates now show clearly that Dhruva fought both with Vatsarāja and Dharmapāla. The Rāshtrakūṭa king Parabala, the father of Raṇṇādevī, was not related to Dhruva.

His main concern in the evening of his life was to settle the problem of succession. He had four sons, Karkka, Stambha, Govinda, and Indra. Of these the first seems to have predeceased his father. Among the rest Stambha was the eldest and therefore the natural claimant for the throne. But the old emperor was better impressed by the skill, capacity, and generalship of Stambha's younger brother Govinda and nominated him as his successor, thinking no doubt that the fortunes of the Rāshtrakūṭa empire would be in abler hands if he should be selected in preference to his elder brother Stambha. The latter was offered as compensation for his supersession the viceroyalty of Gaṅgawāḍī with a practically independent status. The youngest son Indra, who was deeply attached to his brother Govinda, was marked out for the governorship of Gujarāt and Mālwa. After making these arrangements, the old king celebrated formally with great pomp, sometime in 791 or 792, the installation of Govinda as crown prince, no doubt hoping thus to avoid a war of succession after his death.¹ He died soon after this event, sometime in the latter half of A.D. 793.

Dhruva was undoubtedly one of the ablest rulers of India. During his short rule of thirteen years the Rāshtrakūṭas achieved a prestige and glory never attained by them previously. By defeating the Gaṅgas and the Pallavas he pushed the southern boundary of the empire to the Kāverī, and became a real overlord of the Deccan. Not content with this achievement he decided to dominate Northern India also. For the first time since the period of the Sātavāhanas, after a lapse of more than 800 years, a Deccan army marched under him into Northern India, penetrated to the heart of the Doab, and signally defeated each of the two rival aspirants for the overlordship of Northern India. At the time of his death in A.D. 793 there was no state in the whole of India which could challenge the Rāshtrakūṭa power. Dhruva's deposition of his elder brother Govinda is no doubt a blot on his career and character; but if the latter was really vicious and incapable, which seems to have been the case, there was more than ample political reason for the technically unjustifiable action reluctantly taken by him.

Govinda III

(c. A.D. 793-814)

Sometime in the first half of A.D. 793, Govinda ascended the throne and assumed the titles of *Prabhūtarsha* (profuse rainer of blessings and favours) and *Jaguttūṅga* (most pre-eminent in the world). Later on he was also known as *Janavallabha* (people's favourite), *Kīrttinārāyaṇa* (famous as the god Nārāyaṇa) and *Tribhuvanadhava* (most glorious in the three worlds). Gāmunda

¹ Some charters, e.g. the Surat plates of Karkka, suggest that the old emperor actually abdicated in favour of the crown prince, probably with a view to making still further unlikely any war of succession. Govinda's own charters, however, show that he dissuaded his father from doing so.

figures as his queen in A.D. 804; whether he had others also we do not know.

The accession of Govinda took place peacefully and for a year or two there was no trouble. But Govinda realized that a fight for the throne would not be improbable and followed a policy of conciliation, confirming the feudatories in their *jagīrs* and winning the goodwill and confidence of his ministers and high officers by his courtesy and consideration. The king, however, did not rely exclusively on the good wishes of his ministers and feudatories; he was a brave soldier and a skilful general and kept his army at the highest pitch of efficiency.

Stambha, the eldest brother of Govinda, was naturally smarting under the sting of his supersession. If he kept quiet for a year or two, it was not because he did not intend to make a bid for the throne, but because he wanted to wait till his preparations were complete. Single-handed he had no chance against Govinda; so he formed a confederacy with twelve neighbouring kings and feudatories to oust his brother. Dantiga of Kāñchī, who was smarting under the defeat inflicted upon him by Dhruva, was the most prominent of these allies. Charuponnera, King of Nolambavāḍī, Kattiyira, a chief in Banavāsi, and Mārāśarva, a feudatory in the Dhārwar District, were among the other members of the confederacy. A number of high officers of state also joined Stambha, probably under the honest impression that he, being the eldest son, had a natural right to the throne, which could not be taken away even by his father.

Govinda soon learnt through his secret service that Stambha was maturing a plan of revolt. The first step, which he immediately took, was to release Śivamāra, the Gaṅga prince, from his captivity, with a view to putting him on the Gaṅga throne rendered vacant by the death of his father in A.D. 788. This move was dictated by no humanitarian motives; Govinda wanted to create a rival for his brother in Gaṅgawāḍī who would be loyal to himself and keenly interested in opposing Stambha. His policy, however, miscarried in this respect; for on reaching Gaṅgawāḍī Śivamāra was won over by Stambha, who, being the actual ruler of the province, was in a better position to reinstate and maintain him on the throne. Stambha looked forward to becoming the Rāshtrakūṭa emperor and Śivamāra joined the confederacy formed to realize this project.

Govinda, however, was a born soldier and general. He was daunted neither by the defection of his officers nor by the number of his enemies. Leaving the government in charge of his younger brother Indra, who was deeply attached to him, he swiftly marched against Stambha and defeated him before the promised contingents of his allies could join his forces. Stambha fell a prisoner in the hands of Govinda, who won him over by his kindness and magnanimity. Stambha now realized the futility of the struggle and Govinda represented to him that it was his duty as a loyal son to accept the arrangement made by his father about succession. A complete harmony

and understanding was established between the two brothers,¹ thanks to the good offices of their younger brother Indra. Stambha relinquished his claim to the throne and Govinda showed his greatheartedness by reappointing him viceroy of Gaṅgawādī, thus confirming his father's arrangements in spite of the recent revolt.

This cordial understanding between the two brothers rendered the position of Śivamāra very precarious. He had deserted Govinda and joined the side of Stambha, hoping that the latter would be in a better position to reinstate him; he now found both the brothers joining hands and marching together to oust him. A mere frown on the face of Govinda, says the court poet, was sufficient to put the ungrateful Śivamāra back in his Rāshtrakūṭa prison. His defeat was therefore decisive. His younger brother Vijayāditya tried to continue the struggle but did not meet with any success. Stambha once more began to rule Gaṅgawādī as his younger brother's subordinate and viceroy and continued to do so down to c. 810. During the latter part of this term of viceroyalty, his son Śaṅkaragaṇa was associated with him in the government.

After effectively occupying Gaṅgawādī, the Rāshtrakūṭa army marched against king Charuonera of Nolambavādī.² Grown wiser after seeing the fate of Śivamāra, he conciliated the conqueror by unconditional surrender and was reinstated in his patrimony. The victorious army then marched against Dantiga of Kāñchī and defeated him also. At the end of this victorious southern expedition Govinda became in c. 796 the undisputed overlord of the Deccan. Only the Chālukyas remained to be defeated, but Viṣṇuvar-dhana, then on the Veṅgi throne, was either the direct or the step maternal grandfather of the Rāshtrakūṭa emperor and was therefore not inclined to dispute his supremacy.

With his power thus firmly established in the Deccan, and with the prestige of his arms immensely enhanced by his recent victories, Govinda turned his attention to the politics of Northern India. In c. 786 his father Dhruva had defeated both Vatsarāja, the Gurjara Pratihāra king, and Dharmapāla, the ruler of Bengal, both of whom were aspirants for the overlordship of Northern India. During the interval of ten years which had elapsed, a number of changes had taken place in the north. Before Vatsarāja could recover from the stunning blows inflicted upon him by Dhruva, Dharmapāla reorganized his forces, marched straight on Kanauj, captured the capital, deposed Indrāyudha, and put his own nominee Chakrāyudha on its throne. The military victories of Dharmapāla were decisive, for the Pāla court poets tell us that the nomination of Chakrāyudha to the throne of Kanauj was accepted

¹ How cordial the relations between the two brothers became may be judged from the fact that the charters of Govinda omit the mention of Stambha in connexion with this revolt; it is only the copper plates of his successors who give his name. Stambha on his part continued openly to recognize his subordination to his younger brother in the charters which he issued.

² Nolambavādī corresponds roughly to the Chataldurg and Anantpur districts.

by the local rulers of Madhya Pradesh and Mālwa.¹ This occurrence led to the complete eclipse of the power of the Pratihāras. Their king Vatsarāja did not long survive his disgrace; he died in c. A.D. 790 and was succeeded by his son Nāgabhaṭa II.

Nāgabhaṭa was young, energetic, and ambitious, and decided to make a supreme effort to retrieve the fortunes of his family. He won over a few of his neighbours to his side, launched an attack on Kanauj, and defeated Chakrāyudha, the nominee of Dharmapāla. Dharmapāla immediately accepted this challenge to his imperial position and marched out to Kanauj to help his nominee. Nāgabhaṭa, however, inflicted a decisive defeat upon him; the sun of the Pratihāra glory, says a contemporary poet, began once more to shine brilliantly when the clouds in the form of the Pāla army had been dispersed and destroyed.²

Nāgabhaṭa II was thus at the height of his glory when Govinda was contemplating an expedition into Northern India in c. A.D. 797. What were the immediate causes of this attack we do not know. Grown confident by his recent victories, Nāgabhaṭa was probably casting his covetous eyes on Gujarāt and Mālwa, which were under the Rāshtrakūṭa sphere of influence. Govinda also probably felt that Nāgabhaṭa should be crushed before he became too powerful. It is also not unlikely that Dharmapāla may have urged him to crush Nāgabhaṭa, their common enemy.³

Neither the exact date nor the details of this northern campaign of Govinda are known with certainty, but it seems to have lasted from c. A.D. 798 to 800.⁴ Curiously enough, such details about it as we possess are known to us from a charter of Govinda's son Amoghavarsha; his own charters, though about a dozen in number, content themselves by simply observing that just as the rainy clouds vanish at the advent of autumn, so the Gurjara emperor also disappeared one knew not where, as soon as Govinda made his appearance in Northern India. His terror, it is said, was so great that the mere thought of war even in dreams would unnerve him. Fortunately for the historian, the Sanjan charter of Amoghavarsha I supplies detailed information and we can reconstruct the various stages of the expedition with reasonable certainty.⁵

¹ *EI*, vi, 248.

² *ASLAR*, 1903-4, p. 280.

³ The Sanjan plates state that Chakrāyudha and Dharmapāla voluntarily surrendered to him; hence this possible inference.

⁴ The present writer once held that this expedition took place during A.D. 806-7; but this view is now rendered untenable by the discovery of fresh epigraphical data. Govinda's son and successor Amoghavarsha was born at the end of this campaign. Now a daughter of this Amoghavarsha was married and governing the district of Eḍatore in A.D. 837 (*Inscr. from Bom. Kar.*, No. 7). Her father Amoghavarsha therefore must have been born and the northern expedition completed some years before A.D. 807. Since this expedition is mentioned in the Manne plates of Stambha, issued in A.D. 802, we may conclude that it was over by c. A.D. 800. There is no doubt some irregularity about the date of these plates, but it may be due to carelessness; it does not necessarily prove the plates to be a forgery.

⁵ As the submission of Dharmapāla and the overthrow of Nāgabhaṭa are not mentioned in the

There is no doubt that the northern expedition was skilfully planned and boldly executed. Indra, the younger brother and loyal supporter of Govinda, was now the Governor of Gujarāt and Mālwa. He was entrusted with the task of holding Mālwa and keeping a watch over the Vindhya passes in order to prevent Nāgabhaṭa from breaking into the south, while Govinda was himself engaged in the north. A number of detachments were maintained in Central India to keep the local rulers in check and protect the lines of communication. After taking these precautions, Govinda marched into Northern India, most probably via Bhopal and Jhansi. His objective was of course Kanauj.

Nāgabhaṭa must have marched out from Kanauj to meet the invader. Where the two contending forces came into conflict is not known, but it must have been somewhere between Jhansi and Gwalior. Victory once more favoured the southern army and Nāgabhaṭa fled into Rajputana leaving the Doab entirely at the mercy of the invader. Chakrāyudha, the puppet emperor of Kanauj, was quick to realize the futility of further opposition. He hastened forward to offer unconditional surrender to the southern invader. Govinda was satisfied with this and did not deem it necessary to march on Kanauj. Dharmapāla of Bengal also offered his submission; whether after a defeat or in anticipation of it we do not know. This was of course merely a diplomatic move on his part. He knew that Govinda could not long remain in Northern India, and must therefore have felt grateful to him for having shattered the power of Nāgabhaṭa, who was his deadliest enemy. Nay, it is not impossible, as already suggested above, that he may have actually invited Govinda to undertake the northern expedition in order to get their common enemy removed.

The Rāshtrakūṭa court poets no doubt tell us that as a result of this victory the caverns of the Himalayas began to resound with the martial music of the Deccan drums.¹ This, however, is a mere poetic and pardonable exaggeration of the glorious achievements of their great patron. It does not seem probable that Govinda in fact penetrated farther into the Doab or reached the outskirts of the Himalayas. Since Chakrāyudha of Kanauj had offered his submission there was no reason or necessity to do so. It is noteworthy that even the

Radhanpur plates issued in A.D. 808 but are specifically described in the Sanjan plates issued in A.D. 867, it was once possible to argue that Govinda undertook two expeditions into Northern India, one before c. 805 and one after that date; during the former the Gurjara king was merely repulsed while during the latter his power was completely broken and Dharmapāla was also compelled to submit. But we have now got charters of Govinda issued as late as A.D. 812, which mention the northern expedition but do not specifically mention the defeat of Dharmapāla and Nāgabhaṭa. It is clear, therefore, that the non-mention of these specific events is due to the draftsmen of Govinda's charters being poets rather than historians. The poetic simile of the Gurjara king disappearing like the clouds at the advent of the autumn, they thought, did full justice to the achievements of their patron; the prosaic details of the names of his various opponents were in their opinion quite unnecessary.

¹ Sanjan plates, v, 23, *El*, xviii, 235.

Rāshtrakūṭa records do not claim the conquest of Kānauj on this occasion. It is, however, quite probable that, being a devoted Hindu, Govinda may have undertaken a victorious march in the Doab along the banks of the Ganges, Allahabad, Benares, and Gaya being his objectives. His horses and elephants, bathing in the waters of the Ganges and the Jumna, could with literal truth be described, in the words of his son's court poet, as plunging into streams rising from the Himalayas.¹

After defeating Nāgabhaṭa, securing the submission of Chakrāyudha and Dharmapāla, and most probably visiting the holy places of Allahabad, Benares, and Gaya, Govinda returned to the Deccan, probably by the Allahabad, Chitrakūṭa, and Saugar route. He first repaired to Mālwa, where his brother Indra had not only successfully held that province but also defeated single-handed the attacks of the generals of the Pratihāra emperor. Other generals of Govinda had in the meanwhile defeated some of the refractory kings in Central India and the Chhattisgarh division, among whom Chandragupta, probably belonging to the Pāṇḍava dynasty, was important.

Govinda's expedition into Northern India was of the nature of a *digvijaya*, undertaken more for glory than with the object of territorial gains. It is extremely doubtful whether he ever contemplated any extensions of his empire in the Doab or other portions of Northern India. He wanted to establish his imperial position in the whole of India and succeeded in doing so by shattering the power of Nāgabhaṭa and securing the submission of Chakrāyudha and Dharmapāla. Content with these achievements he returned to Mālwa without effecting any annexations.

It was at the end of the summer of either A.D. 799 or 800 that the Rāshtrakūṭa forces withdrew from Northern India. Govinda spent the ensuing rainy season at Śrībhavana, the modern Saṛbhon in the Bharoach district, as the guest of Śarva, a Vindhya chief, who welcomed him with the offer of his choicest heirlooms as presents. It was during his sojourn at this place that Amoghavarsha, the son and successor of the emperor, was born. Govinda was already elderly at this time and so the advent of an heir to the throne was celebrated with all the more pomp and enthusiasm.

The long absence of Govinda in Northern India was utilized by the Dravidian kings in forming a confederacy to break his hegemony in the south. The Pallava, Pāṇḍya, Kerala, and Gaṅga kings all joined in the common cause, pooled their resources, and attacked the Rāshtrakūṭa dominions.² When Govinda heard of this development, he hurried to the Tuṅghabhadra by a forced march and defeated the coalition forces in 802 or 803. In May, A.D. 804 we find him encamped at Ramesvaram, a holy place on the Tuṅga-

¹ Sanjan plates, v, 23, 111, xviii, p. 235.

² The Gaṅga 'king' was probably a relative of Śivamāra who was ambitious to win the throne for himself during the absence of its legitimate claimant now imprisoned in a Rāshtrakūṭa jail.

bhadrā, after completing his victorious operations against Dantiga and his allies. The defeat of the allied forces was decisive; the Pallava banner with its bull ensign, the Pāṇḍya banner with its fish ensign, the Chola banner with its tiger ensign, the Kerala banner with its bow ensign, and the Gaṅga banner with its elephant ensign, were all captured from the defeated coalition forces. No quarter was shown to the defeated Gaṅga troops; their leaders were put to the sword. At the head of his victorious army Govinda now marched to Kāñchī, which he stormed and occupied. From that place as his headquarters he completed the subjugation of the Pāṇḍya and Kerala countries.¹

Govinda had by this time defeated every power of note in the whole of India, and his presence at Kāñchī and Tanjore at the head of a victorious army created serious apprehensions in the mind of the king of Ceylon. He thought it prudent to humour the conqueror by the present of two statues, one of himself and another of his premier. Govinda installed them in one of the Śiva temples at Malkhed where they served the purpose of Columns of Victory, the sight of which would impress his subjects with the widespread power of their mighty ruler.¹

We may now briefly survey Govinda's relations with the Chālukyas of Veṅgi. As long as his maternal grandfather, Viṣṇuvardhana, was on the throne of Veṅgi, the relations between the two powers continued to be cordial. With the accession of Vijayāditya II in A.D. 799 these peaceful conditions came to an end. The new king did not like to be a humble feudatory of Govinda and rebelled openly against him. His younger brother Bhīma Salukki, however, began a war of succession, sought the help of Govinda, and thus facilitated his intervention at Veṅgi. Govinda inflicted a severe defeat on Vijayāditya in c. A.D. 802 and put his protégé Bhīma upon the throne in his place. The latter naturally became a very humble and submissive feudatory of Govinda; even before the message containing an order of his feudal lord was fully delivered, says a contemporary poet, he would hasten to give effect to the command contained in it. It seems that he took an active part in constructing the ramparts of the new Rāshtrakūṭa capital which was then being constructed at Mānyakhēṭa.³

During the concluding five or six years of his reign Govinda had to undertake no expeditions, for there remained no power in the whole country which could challenge his imperial position. Being born in c. A.D. 800, his only son Amoghavarsha was still very young and the old king spent the evening of his life in training him for his heavy duties and in devising plans for his undisputed succession. Govinda's elder brother Stambha had died in c. A.D. 810; Govinda did not allow his son Śaṅkaragaṇa to succeed Stambha in the Gaṅga viceroyalty but appointed Dantivarman, the eldest son of his younger brother Indra, to that post. This young prince seems to have died

¹ *LJ*, xviii, 246.

² *Ibid.*, verse 34.

³ *LJ*, vi, 242.

prematurely and Govinda eventually decided to reinstate Śivamāra, the imprisoned Gaṅga prince, on his ancestral throne. Probably he felt that Śivamāra would be more likely to be loyal to his son than would any royal relative of his own. Indra, his younger and devoted brother, who was his viceroy in Gujarāt and Mālwa, also died at about this time, and Govinda allowed his eldest surviving son Karkka to succeed him. After a while, however, when he began to apprehend that his end was rapidly approaching, he appointed Karkka's younger brother to the Gujarāt viceroyalty and recalled Karkka to Malkhed to become the guardian of the young crown prince and to be at the head of the imperial administration during the difficult period of the opening years of the new reign. As Amoghavarsha was then just entering his teens, it was absolutely necessary that a trusted and able guardian should be on the spot to meet an eventuality that might arise after the death of the old emperor. This event took place early in A.D. 814.¹

Govinda was undoubtedly the ablest Rāshtrakūṭa monarch. The victorious march of the Rāshtrakūṭa armies under his leadership literally covered the whole territory between Kanauj and Cape Comorin and Benares and Bhroach. Nāgabhaṭa and Dharmapāla, who were both aspirants for the imperial position in the north, were humbled by him. The puppet king of imperial Kanauj offered him his submission. Veṅgi was being governed by a nominee of his, who was completely subservient to his will. The kings of the Draviḍa country, to quote the words of his son's court poet, could get no sleep on account of their unending apprehensions about his future plans and projects.² Even the king of Ceylon was terrified into submission. The boundaries of the empire were extended by the annexation of Gaṅgawāḍī in the south and Mālwa in the north, and its treasury was enriched by the magnificent tributes offered by the host of conquered kings.

Never again did the prestige of the Rāshtrakūṭa power rise to so high a level. Indra III no doubt was destined to conquer Kanauj in c. A.D. 915, but in the south he could not penetrate beyond the north Pennar river. Kṛishṇa III was of course to succeed in effectively occupying the whole of the peninsula for some time; but he was unable to enter the Gangetic Doab or to defeat any imperial power there. The statements in Govinda's charters that with his accession the Rāshtrakūṭa power became invincible is no mere boast of a court poet but a plain statement of facts. The title Kīrtinārāyaṇa, 'as famous as the god Nārāyaṇa', which was given to him was no doubt well deserved. One court poet observes that in his case, as in the case of Fate, his will alone was the sole law; for he would uproot famous royal dynasties or raise ordinary commoners to the throne as pleased his fancy or suited his policy.³ This is no fanciful exaggeration.

¹ Altekar, *Rāshtrakūṭas and their Times*, p. 71, n. 1.

² Sanjan plates, *EL*, xviii, 235.

³ Baroda plates, *LA*, xii, 160.

The success of Govinda was due to his bravery, generalship, statesmanship, and powers of organization. Like Alexander the Great, he never paused to inquire whether his opponents were few or many or in what manner they were accoutred. He used to plunge straight into the battle affray without being daunted by the odds against him. The comparison of him to Arjuna made in the Rāshtrakūṭa records is fully justified by his glorious achievements. He was a man of active habits and used to spend the short intervals between his various campaigns in hunting boar, tigers, and lions. His successful expeditions into Southern and Northern India, far away from his base at Malkhed, attest to his skilful generalship and marvellous organizing ability. To defeat countless enemies from Kanauj to Cape Comorin on a hundred different battlefields was no easy matter. The skilful way in which he won over Stambha to his side speaks volumes for his diplomacy. His annexation of Mālwa and its conversion into an imperial viceroyalty shows that he knew full well what a southern power ought to do both to protect itself against an attack from the north and in launching an expedition against that region. Govinda therefore may justly be described as one of the ablest emperors and generals who have arisen in India.

Śarva Amoghavarsha I

(c. A.D. 814-80)

Govinda III was succeeded by his son Śarva sometime during the first half of A.D. 814. The new emperor assumed the title of *Amoghavarsha* (unfailing rainer of blessings and favours) at the time of his accession. As he is best known by this title, we shall here refer to him by it in preference to his personal name of Śarva. *Nṛpatuṅga* (prominent among kings), *Raṭṭamārtaṇḍa* (the sun of the Raṭṭas), *Viranārāyaṇa* (brave like the god Nārāyaṇa), and *Atiśayadhavala* (most radiant with fame) are other titles often given to him. The common Rāshtrakūṭa title Vallabha or Prithivīvallabha was also borne by him. No queen of his is so far known by name.

At the time of his accession, A.D. 814, Amoghavarsha was a young boy of thirteen or fourteen. As arranged by his father, the administration was at first carried on under the regency of his cousin Karkka, who had been specially recalled from Gujārāt for the purpose. For a couple of years everything went smoothly, but very soon dark and dismal clouds began to appear on the political horizon, clouds which were destined for a while to eclipse the glory of the Rāshtrakūṭa power. In c. A.D. 817 a very serious rebellion broke out against the boy emperor. The names of the rebels are not anywhere specifically mentioned, nor do we know whence they hailed. Contemporary records tell us that deceitful Kalī (Satan) distracted the feudatories, ministers, and relatives, who rose in open rebellion and killed the officers loyal to the young ruler. A reign of terror ensued in which both the lives of men and the

honour of women were everywhere in hazard. For a time the rebels carried everything before them; the boy emperor had to flee the country and the Rāshtrakūṭa power came temporarily to an end. This happened sometime during A.D. 818–19. But Karkka Pātālamalla, the cousin regent of Amoghavarsha, soon brought the situation under control, defeated the rebels, and reinstated his ward upon the throne sometime before the month of May in A.D. 821.

The causes and the course of this rebellion can only be inferred at present. Amoghavarsha had of course no brother to dispute his title to the throne. But he had other cousins besides Karkka, who seem to have initiated the trouble: for contemporary records expressly describe the rebels as Rāshtrakūṭas. It is probable that at the outset, Śaṅkaragaṇa, the son of Stambha, who had not been allowed to succeed to the Gaṅga viceroyalty of his father, took a prominent part in the revolt. Some of the Rāshtrakūṭa officers and ministers may have regarded him both as a more suitable and more legitimate claimant to the throne, as he was much older than Amoghavarsha and was a scion of the senior branch represented by Stambha. There may also have been a Mānyakheṭa party at the court which did not like the appointment of Karkka from Gujarāt to the regentship of the boy emperor and may have therefore joined the side of Śaṅkaragaṇa. Very soon disgruntled feudatories came forward to swell the ranks of the rebels, and among them Vijayāditya II of Veṅgi was the most important and powerful. A few years earlier Govinda had dethroned him and put his younger brother Bhīma on the Veṅgi throne. He now made a bid for the Chālukya throne and succeeded in deposing his brother, who was mainly relying upon Rāshtrakūṭa support. When this support failed with the accession of Amoghavarsha I, it became easy for Vijayāditya II to achieve his object. After making his position secure, Vijayāditya attacked the Rāshtrakūṭas, who were the main agents of his misfortunes. The Chālukya records claim that Vijayāditya waged a twelve years' war with the Raṭṭas, i.e. the Rāshtrakūṭas, defeated them in one hundred and eight battles, and overran their dominions.¹ The Rāshtrakūṭa records admit that Amoghavarsha had to raise afresh the glory of his house, which had sunken deep into the Chālukya ocean. It is therefore clear that during its later phases the rebellion against Amoghavarsha was led by Vijayāditya of Veṅgi, and that when it met with remarkable success, others of his relatives and officers joined it. The emperor had to take refuge in flight.

The revolt, however, was a short-lived one; for by May, A.D. 821, Karkka Pātālamalla had retrieved the situation and put Amoghavarsha back on the throne. A few more years must have been required to reconquer the eastern and southern districts of the empire. Eventually the Rāshtrakūṭas got the upper hand over the Chālukyas, for later records claim that Amoghavarsha

¹ *SII*, i, 39.

offered a royal feast to the god of Death on the battlefield of Viṅgavallī, where he inflicted a signal defeat on the Chālukyas. The fire of his wrath, we are told, was not extinguished even when the Chālukyas were completely burnt to ashes. No names of the Chālukya opponents of Amoghavarsha are, however, mentioned, nor are the dates of these victories given. As the reign of Amoghavarsha extended over more than sixty-four years, during which period four Chālukya kings successively ruled at Veṅgi, it is not easy to identify the Chālukya king signally defeated at Viṅgavallī. It is, however, most probable that it was Vijayāditya II himself, who was later in his reign defeated by Amoghavarsha I somewhere about A.D. 830. For we learn from Chālukya records that Guṇaga Vijayāditya, a grandson of Vijayāditya II, recovered Veṅgi soon after his accession in A.D. 844.¹ This recapture of Veṅgi must obviously have been from the Rāshtrakūṭas, who perhaps took it after the battle of Viṅgavallī.

Amoghavarsha therefore was unable to hold Veṅgi for more than ten or fifteen years. It was wrested from his hands by Pāṇḍuraṅga, a capable and successful general of Vijayāditya III, in c. A.D. 845 or 846. At this time Amoghavarsha was engaged in a sanguinary war with his Gujarāt cousins, and so could not send sufficient reinforcements to Veṅgi to defend it against Pāṇḍuraṅga. Neither this general nor his master thought it prudent to carry the war into the enemy's territory as had been done by Vijayāditya II. They were content with the reconquest of the capital and decided to devote their energies to the expansion of their kingdom southwards. No further conflict seems to have arisen between the Chālukyas and the Rāshtrakūṭas during the reign of Amoghavarsha.

Let us now review the relations between the Gaṅgas and the Rāshtrakūṭas. The former dynasty had suffered most grievously from the expansionist ambitions of the latter and naturally took advantage of the weakening of the imperial government at Mānyakheta. Śivamāra, who had been reinstated by Govinda on the Gaṅga throne, continued to be loyal to Amoghavarsha for a year or so, but eventually rebelled against the young emperor in c. A.D. 816. As usual he was unfortunate, for he was defeated by the local Rāshtrakūṭa officers and lost his life while fighting at Kagimogeeyur in the Tumkur District. He was succeeded by his nephew Rājamalla, who was more fortunate on the battlefield. Gaṅga records describe how he rescued his country from the Rāshtrakūṭas who had held it too long, as Vishṇu in the form of the boar rescued the earth from the infernal regions. Rājamalla, however, could not recover the whole of Gaṅgawāḍī, for its northern portion continued to be effectively held for Amoghavarsha by his able and favourite general Baṅkeya. Later on Baṅkeya launched an offensive against Rājamalla and even drove

¹ *SIER*, 1922-3, Nos. 838-40. Vishnuvardhana V, the son and successor of Vijayāditya II, was married to Śilamahādevī, who is described as a Rāshtrakūṭa princess. She does not seem to have been related to the Mānyakheta house.

him beyond the Kāveri for a considerable period.¹ Amoghavarsha, however, had to recall Bañkeya from the south to quell a serious rebellion in the north. Rājamalla took advantage of this opportunity and again recovered most of his patrimony. These events cannot be precisely dated, but most probably they took place in *c.* A.D. 830–5. Amoghavarsha made no further efforts to conquer Gaṅgawāḍī. Later on, in *c.* A.D. 860, he married his daughter Chandrobbalabbā to Būtuga, a grandson of Rājamalla I. This put an end to the long-standing enmity between the two houses. Henceforward we find these two dynasties co-operating with each other in their mutual undertakings.

About A.D. 830 Amoghavarsha became free from his entanglements with the Chālukyas and the Gaṅgas. But he was not destined to enjoy peace for long. Fresh troubles arose from a quite unexpected quarter, namely his cousins who were viceroys in Gujarāt, and he became involved in a long-drawn war with them which lasted for about twenty-five years. Before, however, we proceed to discuss the events in this struggle, it is necessary to cast a glance at the history of the Gujarāt Rāshtrakūṭa branch.

Indra, the founder of this house, was a younger brother of Govinda III. He was appointed to the responsible post of Viceroy of Gujarāt and Mālwa and charged with the duty of protecting the Vindhya passes against the Pratihāras. He was loyal throughout to Govinda and, as already shown, co-operated with him during his northern campaign. Indra died probably in *c.* A.D. 805 and was succeeded by his son Karkka. This prince was faithfully carrying out the duties of his office when he was recalled to Mānyakheta by Govinda III in *c.* 812 to act as regent for his young son during the early period of the new reign. Karkka had no grown-up son to carry on the Gujarāt administration in his absence, and so his younger brother Govinda was appointed to act as his deputy in that province. We find the latter installed in his post towards the end of the reign of Govinda III and administering the province as a loyal feudatory of his brother and cousin in A.D. 813.²

The important part played by Karkka in restoring his ward, the boy emperor Amoghavarsha I, to the throne, when a serious rebellion broke out during *c.* A.D. 817–20, has been already described above. How long Karkka remained at Mānyakheta is not definitely known. About A.D. 822 the rebellion was over and Amoghavarsha had attained the age of 22; Karkka seems then to have returned to Gujarāt, the seat of his original viceroyalty. We find him administering the province in A.D. 824. Yet it seems that Amoghavarsha continued to require his assistance from time to time, and this necessitated

¹ *FI*, vi, 30 ff.

² The view that Govinda had rebelled against his brother during his absence at Mānyakheta is untenable. His Kavi plates issued in A.D. 827 pay glowing compliments to the character and administration of his elder brother Karkka. If Govinda had in fact risen against him, surely he would not have allowed his court poet to eulogize that prince.

frequent absences from Gujarāt. During these intervals his younger brother continued to carry on the administration as before; for we find him issuing a charter in A.D. 827.¹

Karkka was succeeded by his son Dhruva in c. A.D. 830 and he continued to rule peacefully as a trusted feudatory of Amoghavarsha down to c. A.D. 835. Soon after this date, however, we find the Gujarāt Rāshtrakūṭa viceroys engaged in a long-drawn war with a king named Vallabha, which lasted for more than two generations. Dhruva I lost his life on the battlefield while fighting the forces of this enemy, which were strengthened by deserters from his own side. His son Akālavarsha lost the throne and only regained it after a strenuous effort. His victory, however, was not decisive, for his son Dhruva II had to carry on the conflict. Matters grew even more desperate for him, for on one occasion he had to face a powerful Gurjara army on one side and his old enemy king Vallabha on the other. One of his brothers went over to the enemy. Another brother, however, remained faithful to him and helped him to tide over the crisis. By A.D. 867 the period of storm and stress was over and Dhruva was once more firmly established on his paternal throne.

Unfortunately the personal name of king Vallabha, the enemy of the Gujarāt branch, is not given in our records, but there can be no reasonable doubt that he was Amoghavarsha I. *Prithivīvallabha* was a standing epithet of all the Rāshtrakūṭa kings at Mānyakhēṭa and it was usually contracted into simple Vallabha. King Vallabha, the enemy of the Gujarāt Rāshtrakūṭa branch, was therefore Amoghavarsha himself.² His Konnur inscription, dated A.D. 860, refers to internal troubles in the north caused by the envy and jealousy of his feudatories, which could not be successfully dealt with until General Baṅkeya hastened from the south to assume charge of the operations. It is clear that the internal enemies burning with jealousy and envy against Amoghavarsha were no others than his Gujarāt cousins.

It would appear that soon after c. A.D. 835 the friendly and cordial relations which had long existed between Amoghavarsha and his Gujarāt cousin viceroys came to an end. Either Amoghavarsha was ungrateful or Dhruva I, made arrogant by his consciousness that it was his father Karkka who had restored Amoghavarsha to the throne, became too overbearing. Dhruva seems to have repudiated his allegiance and declared war against his suzerain. He,

¹ It is possible but not very probable that Karkka may have died soon after A.D. 824 and that his son Dhruva may have been a minor at that time, and therefore Govinda may have been acting as a regent for him in A.D. 827, when he issued his Kavi charter. Govinda, however, never ruled as a *de jure* king and therefore his name is omitted in the genealogies of the Gujarāt branch.

² Vallabha, the enemy of the Gujarāt branch, was a contemporary of three rulers of that house; so was Amoghavarsha I. No other contemporary ruler can be considered in this connexion. King Bhoja was no doubt extending his sphere of influence towards Gujarāt and Kathiawār at this time, but he was never known as Vallabha, and so could not have been the enemy of the Gujarāt Rāshtrakūṭas. Besides, we know that Dhruva II had to fight with him in addition to king Vallabha. At Pathari in Mālwa there was, it is true, another Rāshtrakūṭa family, but it does not seem probable that it had anything to do with the troubles of the Gujarāt branch. See Altekar, *Rāshtrakūṭas*, pp. 82-3.

however, had not the military skill of his father Karkka; he was defeated by Amoghavarsha in a sanguinary battle in which he lost his life. This event may be placed in c. A.D. 845. Akālarsha, the son and successor of Dhruva, continued the struggle and regained the throne in c. A.D. 850. Amoghavarsha then summoned his trusted and able General Bañkeya from Gaṅgawādī, and he succeeded in turning the tables against Dhruva II who had in the meanwhile ascended the Gujarāt throne. It appears that ultimately in c. A.D. 860 peace was concluded between the two royal families, probably because both of them were threatened by a third party, viz. king Bhoja of Kanauj. The Gurjara Pratihāra emperor had grown fairly powerful by this time and naturally felt that he should avenge the signal defeat inflicted upon his grandfather Nāgabhaṭa II by Govinda III, the father of Amoghavarsha. He was therefore probably planning an invasion of the Rāshtrakūṭa empire, whose military prestige was at its lowest ebb at this time. Dhruva II of Gujarāt was too weak to meet such an invasion successfully by himself, and Amoghavarsha on his side could never hope to repel it if he was denied the co-operation of the Gujarāt Rāshtrakūṭa branch. Amoghavarsha I and Dhruva II therefore eventually ended their long-drawn-out struggle in c. A.D. 860 in order to present a united front to the northern invader. Bhoja, however, does not seem to have planned a serious invasion; Dhruva II indeed claims to have repelled it single-handed sometime before A.D. 867. We shall, however, most probably not be wrong in assuming that there is some pardonable exaggeration in this claim made on his behalf; he must have obviously received substantial help from Amoghavarsha, who was the real enemy of Bhoja. Bhoja, however, remained content with the annexation of Northern Gujarāt and Kathiawār and did not seriously pursue the war against the Rāshtrakūṭas. The Rāshtrakūṭas and the Pratihāras do not appear to have come into conflict again during the reign of Amoghavarsha I.

The relations of Amoghavarsha with other powers may be now briefly reviewed. His father and grandfather had defeated the Pālas of Bengal and some of his records also state that he was paid homage by the kings of Aṅga, Vaṅga, and Magadha. We need not, however, conclude from this statement that the Rāshtrakūṭa armies had marched under Amoghavarsha into Bengal or Bihar. Throughout his reign his hands were fully occupied in quelling internal revolts in the Deccan and at its frontiers. He had neither the time nor the ability to undertake any serious invasion into distant Bihar or Bengal. It would appear that some minor frontier skirmishes occasionally occurred between the Pālas and the Rāshtrakūṭas either in Kośala or in Orissa, in which the victory lay sometimes on one side and sometimes on the other. Each side could thus claim to have defeated the other. This is what is actually done both in the Pāla and the Rāshtrakūṭa records. Just as Amoghavarsha claims in his records that the kings of Aṅga and Vaṅga humbled themselves before him, so Nārāyaṇapāla, his Pāla contemporary, also maintains that he had defeated a

Draviḍa king, who could have been none other than Amoghavarsha I himself.

To conclude, Amoghavarsha's reign was not brilliant from the military point of view like that of his father or grandfather. He was unable to retain Gaṅgawāḍī, which had been annexed by his father. He also lost Mālṡā. The Chāḷukyas of Veṅgi had in fact at one period nearly extinguished the Rāshṭrakūṭa empire and it was with great difficulty that Amoghavarsha could oust them from his dominions. Even the little kingdom of the Gujarāt Rāshṭrakūṭas kept him at bay for twenty years. Amoghavarsha had therefore neither the time nor the ability to undertake any expeditions into Northern or Eastern India.

The truth seems to be that he was not a born military leader like his father nor a lover of war like his great-grandfather. In the latter half of his long life he developed definite leanings towards Jainism, a tendency which must have been fatal to any military ardour he may ever have possessed. Peace, religion, and literature became his chief attractions in the evening of his life. He was either the author or at least the inspirer of the *Kavirājamārga*, the earliest work in Canarese on poetics. It is then no wonder that he should have been a liberal patron of men of letters; his own records claim that he was more generous than the famous Sāhasāṅka (Chandragupta II) of the Gupta dynasty, and this claim is confirmed by later Canarese tradition as recorded by authors like Nāgavarman II, Keśirāja, and Bhaṭṭakalaṅka.

Amoghavarsha was a keen and serious student of Jaina religion and philosophy, and Jināsena, the author of the *Āḍipurāṇa*, claims to have been his preceptor. Mahāvīrācārya, a Jain mathematician, also describes him as a follower of Jainism in his work called *Gaṇitasārasaṅgraha*. There can therefore be no doubt that Amoghavarsha was immensely impressed by the gospel of Mahāvīra. But we need not conclude from this that his faith in the traditional Hindu pantheon had weakened. For his devotion to Mahālakṣmī was intense and on one occasion he even offered her one of the fingers of his left hand, when he was assured that this sacrifice would ward off a public calamity. That this incident, described in the Sanjan plates composed by his own court poet, is no mere traditional fable, is proved by its unexpected confirmation by Bhaṭṭakalaṅka, who in his *Karnāṭakaśabdānuśāsanam* compares Amoghavarsha to Śibi and Dadhichi who had sacrificed body and limbs respectively for the sake of others. Monarchs usually make others bleed for themselves; rulers like Amoghavarsha, who voluntarily bleed for others, are rare indeed in the annals of human history.

Amoghavarsha not only listened to the precepts of religion but also put them into practice. Hinduism lays down as a precept that in the evening of one's life one should retire from the world in order to lead a life of religious contemplation. The *Purāṇas* refer to several kings who, according to tradition, are said to have followed this practice. Amoghavarsha is one of the few historical kings who really followed this advice, and was accustomed,

periodically, to retire from the active duties of his office as ruler. It appears that after c. A.D. 860, when he had attained the age of sixty, and when the affairs of the empire had settled down to comparative peace, he used to withdraw from administration for fairly long periods in order to devote himself to spiritual exercises. During these periods the government was carried on by the crown prince Kṛishṇa,¹ while his aged father was engaged in religious observances or philosophical discussions. After the period of retirement was over the king would again assume the charge of affairs.

In spite of his indifferent military achievements, Amoghavarsha must rank very high among Indian rulers. He may not have spectacular conquests to his credit; but he at least maintained peace and order in his kingdom and protected his subjects from foreign invasions. He loved and encouraged science and literature and treated all creeds with equal impartiality. In his own life he tried to effect a synthesis of Hinduism and Jainism, which were the two main religious faiths practised in his kingdom. He lived up to his convictions, and overcoming the temptations of power he would every now and then retire into a life of pure devotion in order to follow a fixed course of religious discipline. He had a high regard for the public weal and had even sacrificed one of his fingers to Mahālakshmi in order to avert a public calamity.

March, A.D. 878, is the last known date of Amoghavarsha I and 883 is the earliest date of his son and successor Kṛishṇa II. As Amoghavarsha was about seventy-eight years old in A.D. 878, we may safely assume that his own death and his son Kṛishṇa's accession took place in or about A.D. 880.

Kṛishṇa II, the successor of Amoghavarsha, is his only known son. Two of his daughters are also known to us by name. One of them was Revakanimmaḍī, who was probably his eldest child. She was married to a Gaṅga prince and was supervising the administration of the Raichur Doab in A.D. 837.² The other daughter, Chandrobālabbā, who was probably the youngest of his children, was married to another Gaṅga prince named Guṇaduttaraṅga Būtuga, probably in c. A.D. 860.

Kṛishṇa II

(c. A.D. 880–914)

As made clear above, the accession of Kṛishṇa II took place in c. A.D. 880. At the time of his coronation he assumed the titles of *Śubhatunga* (pre-

¹ The overlapping between the dates of Amoghavarsha and his son Kṛishṇa II, which we often find in various records, is due to the occasional temporary abdications of Amoghavarsha during which his son used to carry on the administration. It is but natural that there should be some confusion as to the name of the ruling king to be mentioned in charters issued during these periods of retirement. Thus the Saundatti record of Prithivīrāma, from which we learn that Kṛishṇa II was ruling in A.D. 875, belongs to one of these retirement periods and the writer mentions the *de facto* ruler and not the *de jure* one. The Kanheri record of A.D. 877, which mentions Amoghavarsha as the ruling king, was issued when Amoghavarsha had emerged from his retirement and reassumed the duties of government.

² *Insc. from Bom. Kar.*, No. 7.

eminent among the auspicious) and *Akālavarsha*¹ (rainer of blessings and favours even when unexpected); these *birudas* or titles were usually assumed by all Rāshtrakūṭa emperors who had the personal name of Kṛishṇa. Pṛithivīvallabha or Vallabha was also his title, as it was that of all other Rāshtrakūṭa rulers.

As his father had died almost an octogenarian after a long reign of at least sixty-four years, it might seem probable that Kṛishṇa may have been more than fifty at the time of his accession. This is not impossible, for he also like his father may have lived to be eighty. In view, however, of his several energetic military campaigns, it is perhaps more likely that he was in fact a younger child of Amoghavarsha and so not more than about forty at the time of his accession.

The name of the crowned queen of Kṛishṇa is not known. She was a Chedi princess, a daughter of king Kokkala and a sister of prince Śaṅkaragaṇa. The Rāshtrakūṭa and the Chedi families were brought close together as a result of this matrimonial alliance, and friendly relations were carried still farther when a number of Chedi princesses were married to Rāshtrakūṭa princes during the reign of Kṛishṇa II. Kṛishṇa married his heir-apparent Jagattuṅga to princess Lakshmī, a daughter of his brother-in-law Śaṅkaragaṇa, sometime at the beginning of his reign. This was a marriage with a maternal uncle's daughter, which, though not recommended by the sacred texts, is approved by custom in the Deccan. Later on when Jagattuṅga was staying with his father-in-law in the course of an expedition in the north, he married Govindambā, a sister of his wife Lakshmī, sometime in c. A.D. 890. About ten years later, Jagattuṅga married his eldest son Indra, born of his queen Lakshmī, to the Chedi princess Vijambā, who was a granddaughter of Arjuna, a brother of Śaṅkaragaṇa. Amoghavarsha, a younger stepbrother of Indra, was also wedded to a Chedi princess named Kuṇḍakadevī, a granddaughter of Mugdhatuṅga, another brother of Śaṅkaragaṇa. This marriage took place in c. A.D. 910. These numerous marriages between the princes and the princesses of the two families made them staunch allies, and thenceforward we find them helping each other in times of stress and difficulty.

The Rāshtrakūṭas of Malkhed and the Chālukyas of Veṅgi had by this time become natural and inveterate enemies, and their conflicts continued during the reign of Kṛishṇa II. At the time of the accession of Kṛishṇa, Vijayāditya III (A.D. 844-88) was on the throne of Veṅgi. We have already seen how he had managed to wrest most of his kingdom from Amoghavarsha I in c. A.D. 850. Later on he devoted his time and energy to waging

¹ An inscription at Venkatpur in the Gadag *tāluk* of the Dhārwar District, dated A.D. 907, gives the epithet of Amoghavarsha to the reigning monarch, who can have been none other than Kṛishṇa II. This epithet is probably wrongly assigned to Kṛishṇa II. Otherwise we shall have to suppose that just as Indra III and his son Govinda IV had the same epithet *Śuvarnavarsha*, so also Amoghavarsha and his son Kṛishṇa may have assumed the same title Amoghavarsha. The latter alternative does not, however, appear to be probable. *Insc. from Bom. Kar.*, No. 7.

wars with his southern neighbours the Pallavas and the Chōlas. These were relatively weaker powers at this time, and Vijayāditya secured several victories over them which increased his resources and reputation.

Emboldened by these successes the Chālukya king attacked the Nolamabas and the Gaṅgas towards the beginning of the reign of Kṛishṇa. These were the allies and feudatories of the Rāshtrakūṭa emperor; his sister also was married to Būtuga Guṇaduttaraṅga, the younger brother of the reigning Gaṅga king Rājamalla II. Kṛishṇa therefore naturally regarded the invasion of Nolambavāḍī and Gaṅgavāḍī as a challenge to his sovereignty and proceeded to meet it.

At the outset Vijayāditya was successful. The Nolamba army was defeated and its general Maṅgi was killed in battle. Vijayāditya then marched into Gaṅgavāḍī and defeated Rājamalla and Būtuga in the battles of Remiya and Gungur.¹ A considerable part of Gaṅgavāḍī was occupied by the invading army and the Gaṅga ruler had to take refuge in his forts, where his armies were besieged.

Simultaneously with this attack in the south, Vijayāditya launched an offensive also in the north. He invaded the north-eastern part of the Rāshtrakūṭa empire, occupied the state of Bastar, burnt the fort of Chakrakūṭa, modern Chakrakottya, situated in that state, and then advanced to Kiranapura, situated about 150 miles to the north of that stronghold. Kṛishṇa and his brother-in-law Śaṅkaragaṇa (also called Sankila) were encamped in this city. A sanguinary battle was fought near this place in which the Rāshtrakūṭa and Chedi forces were routed. Kiranapura was then captured and burnt and Vijayāditya penetrated to Achalapura or Elichpur in Berar and captured and burnt it also. This bold invasion was planned by Pāṇḍuraṅga, the able and experienced general of Vijayāditya, and met with complete success for a time. The burning of captured cities was rather an unusual feature in ancient Indian warfare and must have caused dismay in the territories of the Chedis and the Rāshtrakūṭas. The Chālukya records therefore are not exaggerating the victory when they declare that the Gaṅgas were locked up in their hill forts and that the Rāshtrakūṭa emperor Kṛishṇa and his ally Śaṅkaragaṇa were shorn of their glory. Such was the state of affairs in c. A.D. 888, at the time of the death of Vijayāditya III.²

Kṛishṇa learnt a lesson from these disasters and thereafter reorganized and reinforced his armies. The battalions of his feudatories in Gujarāt and Karnāṭak were summoned to strengthen the imperial forces. A part of the army was commanded by Kṛishṇa, the Gujarāt viceroy, and another by Baḍḍega, a Chālukya feudatory ruling in the northern Karnāṭak. The Veṅgi forces were decisively beaten and all opposition came to an end. It seems that Bhīma, the new Chālukya king, himself became a prisoner in the hands

¹ *MAR*, 1919, pp. 63, 68.

² *EI*, iv, 239.

of Baḍḍega, if we are to believe the statements in a grant made by one of his successors.¹ Kṛishṇa, the Rāshtrakūṭa emperor, marched into the Veṅgi kingdom, occupied several of its districts, and appointed his own officers to administer them. The power of Bhīma was completely broken, for the Chālukya records admit that after the setting of the Sun of Victory (King Vijayāditya) the Veṅgi kingdom was enveloped in darkness in the form of the victorious Rāshtrakūṭa forces.² When the Chālukya power was thus totally destroyed and their kingdom occupied, the pressure on the Gaṅgas and the Nolambas automatically disappeared and they regained the districts conquered by the Chālukyas during the reign of Vijayāditya. The Chālukya king Bhīma was subsequently released and allowed to rule as a feudatory.

How long Kṛishṇa II remained in effective possession of the Veṅgi kingdom we do not know. Probably it was not for more than ten years. During this time Bhīma reorganized his forces; in this task he received considerable assistance from Mahākāla, one of his generals, who was the son of a daughter of his foster-mother Nāgipoli.³ The reorganized army attacked the Rāshtrakūṭa garrison. A sanguinary battle was fought at Niravdyapura, modern Nidadavolu in Eastern Godavari district, in which the Chālukya crown prince, who was only sixteen years old, was mortally wounded while killing the Rāshtrakūṭa general Daṇḍesa Guṇḍaya from the back of his own elephant. The Chālukya records claim victory for their side, but if so it was undoubtedly dearly bought.⁴ More probably the battle was in reality indecisive. On seeing the new vigour of the Chālukya army Kṛishṇa may have decided not to undertake the difficult task of reoccupying the Veṅgi districts. It was out of question for Bhīma to think of invading the Rāshtrakūṭa dominions. Once more the two neighbouring states reconciled themselves to their traditional boundaries and a period of truce followed, which was not disturbed during the lifetime of the two opposing kings.

Let us now survey the relations of Kṛishṇa II with his northern neighbours and feudatories. The related Rāshtrakūṭa family of his cousins was ruling in Gujarāt in a feudatory capacity. We have already seen that its long-drawn war with the imperial family had come to an end by c. A.D. 865. The relations between the two families continued to be friendly throughout the remaining period of the reign of Amoghavarsha I. Dhruva II survived his suzerain by about four or five years and was succeeded in c. 885 by Kṛishṇa, who was most probably his son. Curiously enough, during the next decade or so kings of the same name were ruling both in the main and in the branch Rāshtrakūṭa family. The Kṛishṇa of the Gujarāt branch continued to be loyal to Malkhed and co-operated with his namesake and feudal lord in his wars against the Chālukyas of Veṅgi.

¹ *JAIRS*, vi, 181.

² *SII*, i, 40.

⁴ *IMP*, ii, 878.

³ *EI*, xix, 275.

Beyond the Narmadā lay the mighty empire of the Gurjara Pratihāras, still being ruled by the great Bhoja. This emperor had tried to pay off old scores in the reign of Amoghavarsha I, but had not succeeded in penetrating to the south of the Vindhya. He once also attempted to measure his strength with the Rāshtrakūṭas, soon after the accession of Kṛishṇa II. In the initial stages of this war the Rāshtrakūṭa forces were defeated and had to retire,¹ but Kṛishṇa II soon turned the tables against his opponent. The Rāshtrakūṭa armies pushed back the Pratihāra forces, marched into Mālhwā, and captured Ujjayinī : a record of Kṛishṇa of the Gujarāt branch relates how in the presence of his feudal lord he defeated his enemy at Ujjayinī and attained renown.² Kṛishṇa himself also displayed considerable personal bravery in this war; a record of his successor, dated A.D. 915, tells us how old men of that time used to afford delight to their audiences by giving graphic descriptions of the late emperor's movements on the battlefield.³ Kṛishṇa, however, did not, and probably was unable to, pursue the enemy farther into the north. He was content to defend his empire and was not anxious to emulate the achievements of his celebrated grandfather.

The career of the Gujarāt Rāshtrakūṭa branch came to an end sometime during the reign of Kṛishṇa II. But when precisely this event happened and what were its causes we do not know. The last known king of this branch, Kṛishṇa II, ascended the throne in c. A.D. 885, and co-operated loyally with Malkhed, as we have shown above, in its wars with the Chālukyas and the Pratihāras. We, however, hear no more of the Gujarāt Rāshtrakūṭas after the year A.D. 888. No grant either of Kṛishṇa II of that branch or of any of his successors has so far been found. On the other hand we know that Northern Gujarāt was being ruled by a new feudatory named Prachanḍa, belonging to the Brahmāvaloka family, in A.D. 910. Four years later at the beginning of the reign of Indra III, the successor of Kṛishṇa II, we find Gujarāt being governed directly from the imperial capital; for in A.D. 915 the new emperor was confirming the grant of a village in Gujarāt, which had been earlier granted to the beneficiary's ancestor by Dhruva I and Dhruva II of the Gujarāt Rāshtrakūṭa branch. If the original donee's descendant had petitioned for a confirmation of this grant, the reason must obviously have been that the original grantor's family was no longer in power. It had been supplanted by the imperial Rāshtrakūṭa family, whose representative is seen confirming his predecessors' benefaction.

We may therefore conclude that the Gujarāt Rāshtrakūṭa branch came to an end in c. A.D. 900. It may be that Kṛishṇa II, the last ruler of that family, died at about that time, leaving no issue behind. Or it may be that there was a fresh war between the parent and the branch line at the end of which the emperor Kṛishṇa II annexed the kingdom of his refractory cousins. It is

¹ *EI*, xix, 174.

² *IA*, xiii, 67.

³ *EI*, i, 52.

difficult to decide with our present information which of the above alternatives is the more probable.

We know very little that is authentic about the relations of the Rāshṭrakūṭas with their neighbours and contemporaries in Eastern India during the reign of Kṛishṇa II. Some records of Kṛishṇa III, issued about fifty years later, do state no doubt that he taught humility to the Gauḍa king and that his courtyard was crowded with the kings of Aṅga, Kaliṅga, and Magadha who had come to pay him their homage. But this seems to be a pure exaggeration, due partly to the poets' ignorance of the historical facts and partly to a love of alliteration, which led them to group together in a jingling sequence the Aṅga, Vaṅga, Veṅgi, Kaliṅga, and Magadha kings. Guṇachandra, a Jain court poet of Kṛishṇa II, also states that the elephants of his army had drunk the refreshing waters of the Ganges and enjoyed the cool shade of the forests near Cape Comorin. There can, however, be little doubt that Kṛishṇa never led his armies either to the Gangetic plain or to the extremity of the peninsula. He had not the military skill or dash either of Govinda III or of Dhruva. He was but just able to maintain intact the empire that he had inherited from his father and to frustrate the attempts of his enemies to invade its territories. He was, as we have said above, able to annex part of the Veṅgi kingdom for a short time, but he soon had to relinquish even these conquests.

Like his father, Amoghavarsha, Kṛishṇa had a leaning towards Jainism. His education was conducted under the supervision of Guṇachandra, the famous author of the last five chapters of the *Ādipurāṇa*. He was, however, quite tolerant to Hinduism. His regard for the gospel of Mahāvīra does not seem to have very much affected his foreign policy; we find him almost continuously engaged in wars. As a matter of fact many of the most famous and successful Gaṅga, Chālukya and Rāshṭrakūṭa generals of the tenth century were Jains. It was probably believed that the gospel of Ahimsā in its extreme form was not intended for laymen, but only for monks and nuns. Jain laymen could follow the military profession without any stigma being attached to them on that account.

Kṛishṇa II died towards the end of A.D. 914 after a fairly long reign of thirty-four years. His reign and that of his father exactly covered the abnormally long period of one full century, Kṛishṇa was undoubtedly in his seventies, if not in his eighties, at the time of his death. He had the misfortune of seeing his eldest son Jagattuṅga predecease him, probably in the last decade of his reign. Jagattuṅga had left two sons behind him; of these the elder one Indra had been born of the Chedi princess Lakshmī and the younger one Amoghavarsha of her sister and co-wife Govindambā. The former succeeded his grandfather when the throne fell vacant at his death towards the end of A.D. 914. The latter also was destined to wear the imperial crown, but nearly a quarter of a century later. A daughter of his had been married to the Chōla king Āditya I, who had a son named Ādityan

Kannaradeva. This prince did not succeed to the Choḷa throne, as he was superseded by Parāntaka.¹

Indra III

(c. A.D. 914-28)

Indra succeeded his grandfather Kṛishṇa at the end of A.D. 914. His official coronation took place in February, A.D. 915, at a sacred place called Kurundaka, which seems to be Kurundwad in the Southern Marāṭhā country. On this occasion he weighed himself against gold, regranted 400 villages to Brāhmins and temples, and distributed 20 lakhs of *drammas*² in charity. He assumed the coronation title of *Nityavarsha* (perpetual rainer of blessings). He was extremely handsome and so was also known as *Raṭṭa-kandarpa* (Cupid among the Rāshtrakūṭas). One of his court poets has told us in his verses that Cupid, the moon, and the lotus were all fashioned by the Creator out of the surplus material left after producing his beautiful body.³

Indra was not more than thirty at the time of his accession. He was thus in the full bloom of youthful vigour and had clearly inherited the military dash and daring of Govinda III. He was on the look-out for a field for military activity at the time of his accession and an opportunity soon presented itself.

The Gurjara Pratihāra emperor Mahendrapāla died in c. A.D. 910, leaving behind him two sons, Bhoja II and Mahipāla, who were half-brothers. Of these two sons Bhoja succeeded his father, but his claim was contested by Mahipāla, whose cause was espoused by the Chandella king Harsha. Mahipāla succeeded in ousting Bhoja in c. A.D. 912. This development was not favoured by the Chedis, since Kokalla had espoused the cause and supported the accession of Bhoja II. The political interests and policies of the Chedis and the Rāshtrakūṭas had at this time become identical owing to the series of intermarriages mentioned above. Indra III, therefore, who was eager to win laurels on the battlefield, regarded the deposition of Bhoja II by Mahipāla as a sufficient cause for declaring war against Kanauj. A more direct provocation had also been given just before or soon after the accession of Indra III. The Paramāra chief Upendrarāja, who was ruling in Mālwa as a feudatory of the Pratihāras, had made a raid into Nāsik District and besieged Govardhana, probably at the instigation of his feudal lord. The first military exploit of Indra was to relieve Govardhana, inflict a severe defeat on Upendrarāja, and compel him to transfer his allegiance to himself. Ujjayinī was once more occupied and was used as an advanced military base for the contemplated military expedition into Northern India.

¹ *El*, xxvi, 233.

² The *dramma* was a silver coin equal to about $\frac{1}{4}$ of a rupee. Its purchasing power was equal to that of 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ rupees in 1940.

³ *El*, ix, 31-32.

The Rāshtrakūṭa forces that had assembled at this city began their march into Northern India in the autumn of A.D. 916. The definite route of the army is not known, but it is probable that it advanced by the usual Bhopal-Jhansi-Kalpi route. The Jumnā was then crossed at the last mentioned place and the army thereafter marched straight upon Kanauj, which had been the imperial capital of Northern India for more than three centuries. The city was occupied by the Rāshtrakūṭa army, which obtained a huge indemnity from the inhabitants.

The capture of Kanauj was a sensational victory, for it was then the premier city of Northern India, occupying the position held by Delhi in medieval and modern times. This success therefore added immensely to the prestige of the Rāshtrakūṭa arms. Among the ancestors of Indra III, Dhruva and Govinda III had both defeated their contemporary Pratihāra emperors, but they were neither of them able to plant the Rāshtrakūṭa flag on the battlements of the imperial city of Northern India. The achievement was thus quite unique in the annals of the history of the Deccan; for the occasions when a Deccan power has succeeded in capturing the capital of Northern India are few indeed.

It seems that Mahīpāla had already deserted Kanauj and escaped towards Mahoba when he realized that he could not hold his capital. Mahoba was the capital of the Chandella chief Harsha, who was supporting his cause. After occupying Kanauj, Indra therefore sent his Chālukya feudatory Nārasimha in pursuit of Mahīpāla. To quote the words of Pampa, a protégé of Nārasimha's son Arikesarin, 'Nārasimha plucked from the Gurjara king's arms the goddess of victory, whom though desirous of keeping, he held too loosely. Mahīpāla fled, as if struck by a thunderbolt, staying neither to eat nor to rest, nor to gather his forces together, while Nārasimha pursuing bathed his horses at the junction of the Ganges and established his fame.'¹ The junction of the Ganges referred to in this passage must be its confluence with the Jumnā, and not its meeting with the sea, for the Pratihāra empire did not extend beyond Bihar.

Indra's expedition into Northern India was of the nature of a raid. He did not long occupy Kanauj, but left it in a few weeks' time. He most probably followed his general Nārasimha to Allahabad and Benares and thereafter returned to the Deccan by the beginning of the summer of A.D. 916. Mahīpāla seems to have marched towards Oudh when the invading forces moved in the direction of Allahabad and Benares. On the retirement to the south of the Rāshtrakūṭa army, he reoccupied Kanauj where his authority had once more become firmly established as early as A.D. 917.

This victory of Indra was more sensational than that of Dhruva or Govinda III. But we must also note that his opponent Mahīpāla had not the courage or the capacity either of Vatsarāja or of Nāgabhaṭa II, nor had he

¹ *Karnāṭakabhaṭṭaśāhāṇa*, Intr., p. xiv.

to contend against two powerful kingdoms in the north, as his illustrious ancestors had had to do.

We have seen already that the Rāshtrakūṭa forces had to retire from Veṅgi towards the end of the reign of Kṛishṇa II. Indra was anxious to re-establish his supremacy at Veṅgi and he undertook this task soon after his victorious return from the north. Times were propitious for this venture; for the Chālukya king Bhīma, who had ousted the Rāshtrakūṭa forces, had died and had been succeeded by his son Vijayāditya IV. Indra marched against the new king and the two armies met at Virjapurī. The Chālukya records claim that in the sanguinary battle that was fought at this place, Vijayāditya was indeed successful but lost his own life. The victory was thus a Pyrrhic one and cannot have been any real obstacle to a further Rāshtrakūṭa advance. Probably a portion of the Veṅgi kingdom was occupied, but we have no Rāshtrakūṭa records to enlighten us on this point. It is, however, clear that Indra did not fully exploit the situation created by the death of the Chālukya king on the battlefield. Vijayāditya could thus be succeeded by Amma I, and he was able to rule more or less without any interference from the Rāshtrakūṭas down to A.D. 925.

When Amma I was succeeded by his infant son Vijayāditya V, Indra III decided to exploit the situation by supporting the claims of Tāḍapa I, a son of Yudhāmalla I. His protégé, however, was ousted and killed within a month by Vikramāditya II, a son of Bhīma I. This ruler in turn was overcome within a year by Bhīma III, a son of Amma I. Indra III now decided to champion the cause of Yudhāmalla II, a son of his first nominee Tāḍapa, and succeeded in putting him on the throne in A.D. 928. Yudhāmalla continued to rule with the help of the Rāshtrakūṭas down to A.D. 934. Śrīvijaya, one of Indra's Jain generals, seems to have given him much assistance in these wars.¹

Indra III ruled for about fourteen years. At one time it was believed that his reign had been a very short one, of three years only, but epigraphs subsequently discovered show that he was ruling down to December, A.D. 927. His death may be placed about the middle of A.D. 928.²

Indra III was undoubtedly an able ruler and general. His capture of Kanauj was a sensational victory. He eventually managed to bring the Chālukyas of

¹ *ARASR*, 1905-6, pp. 121-2.

² Kamalapuram inscription, dated the 23rd of December 925, definitely refers to Nityavarsha Indra-narendra as the reigning king; the Haliritti inscription inscribed in December 927 mentions Nityavarsha as the ruling monarch. As Nityavarsha was a title both of Indra and of Govinda IV, it is difficult to state with certainty whether Indra or Govinda was ruling in December, A.D. 927. We, however, know that Indra's successor Amoghavarsha II had a short reign of one year and Govinda is known to have performed a *pattabandha* festival in May 930. If this ceremony was his coronation ceremony, as seems to be very likely, the accession of Govinda will have to be placed early in A.D. 930. The short reign of Amoghavarsha may have covered some months of 928 and some of 929. It therefore seems very probable that Indra had died by the middle of A.D. 928. See *EI*, xxvi, 162.

Veṅgi under complete control by maintaining his own nominee on the Veṅgi throne.

Amoghavarsha II

(c. A.D. 928-9)

Indra III had two sons, Amoghavarsha and Govinda, who were between 20 and 25 at the time of their father's death. Of these the former, whose personal name is not known, ascended the throne as Amoghavarsha II. As his name is omitted in the Sangli plates of Govinda IV, Fleet had held that he did not rule at all. But this view is untenable. The omission in the above plates of the name of this ruler is due to the fact that they were issued by his enemy and rival who had ousted him from the throne. Most of the later Rāshtrakūṭa plates mention him among the Rāshtrakūṭa princes who had ascended the throne, and a charter of the Śilāhāra feudatory Aparājita avers that he ruled for one year.¹ We may therefore regard it as certain that Amoghavarsha II did ascend the throne and rule for the short period of about one year.

The new king was a youth of about thirty at the time of his death in c. A.D. 929, and his early death cannot have been entirely due to his intense affection for his dead father which prompted him to follow the latter to heaven as soon as possible, as stated in some records.² There were ugly rumours current and Govinda, his younger brother who succeeded him, goes out of his way to deny their truth in the charters issued by him. In these he protests that he has neither treated his brother cruelly nor committed incest with his wives even though he had the power to do so.³ It is clear that there was a widespread belief that Govinda had hastened the death of his elder brother and this suspicion seems to have been well founded.

How exactly Amoghavarsha's death took place or was brought about we do not know. He certainly died towards the end of A.D. 929 or at the beginning of A.D. 930, within a year of his accession, and his younger brother Govinda then ascended the empty throne. Whether Amoghavarsha II left any young son behind him, and if so what happened to him, we do not know.⁴

¹ *EI*, iii, 271.

² Karhad plates, *EI*, iv, 282.

³ *EI*, vii, 26.

⁴ When it was believed that Indra III died in c. A.D. 918 and that Govinda IV succeeded to the throne in c. A.D. 919 after the short reign of his elder brother Amoghavarsha II, it was permissible to conjecture that Indaparāja II, the grandson of Indaparāja I, the lord of Mānyakheta, who figures as a beneficiary in the grant of Amma I, may have been an infant son of Amoghavarsha, living as a refugee in the Chālukya court. We, however, now know for certain that Indra was living down to A.D. 927 and it is therefore impossible to believe that a grandson of his could have fled to the Chālukya court and lived there as a Chālukya pensioner during the lifetime of his illustrious grandfather. For there is no evidence to show that the relations between Indra III and Amoghavarsha were strained during the former's lifetime.

Govinda IV

(c. A.D. 930-6)

At the time of his accession in c. A.D. 930 Govinda was about twenty-six years of age. Like his predecessors bearing the name of Govinda, he assumed the coronation title of *Prabhūtavarsha*, but he was also known as *Suvarṇavarsha* on account of his profuse distribution of gold in charity. His court poets have given him several other epithets as well; among these we may mention here *Nṛipatunga* (pre-eminent among kings), *Nṛipatitṛineta* (Śiva among kings), *Viranarāyāna* (brave as Nārāyaṇa), *Sāhasāṅka* (famous for daring), and *Raṭṭakandarpa* (Cupid among the Raṭṭas). The last epithet would seem to show that, like his father, Govinda was famous for his handsome appearance and personal good looks.

Yudhāmalla II, the Rāshtrakūṭa nominee to the Veṅgi throne, continued to hold his own down to A.D. 934. His reign, however, was marked by great confusion and anarchy; a number of claimants were fighting for the throne and cruelly oppressing the common people. Eventually Chālukya Bhīma succeeded in ousting Yudhāmalla and gaining the throne for himself in A.D. 934.

Govinda IV did not take any steps to reassert Rāshtrakūṭa influence at Veṅgi. He was a pleasure-loving youth and probably did not deem it worth his while to trouble himself with a war with the Chālukyas. His own position was getting more and more insecure, as his subjects, ministers, and feudatories were becoming disgusted with his excesses and inefficiency.

Unable to show his prowess abroad, Govinda decided to pick a quarrel with his Chālukya feudatory Arikeśarin II, who was ruling at Vemulwad in the southern Karnātak. This feudatory had given shelter to Vijayāditya V, one of the innumerable claimants to the Veṅgi throne. Govinda demanded his surrender and Arikeśarin refused to comply.

It was no doubt very hazardous for a petty feudatory like Arikeśarin II to challenge the mighty power of the Rāshtrakūṭa emperor; but the situation was fast developing in such a way as to render the dethronement of Govinda a very practical and desirable proposition. Govinda was extremely handsome and in the prime of youth and soon became absorbed in a life of vice and pleasure. To quote a contemporary record, 'his intellect became ensnared in the eyes of young women, his mind became hemmed in by the flashes of the eyes of beautiful damsels, his limbs became enfeebled as his body began to be undermined by a number of maladies; his vicious conduct alienated the sympathies of all men, the constituents of the body politic became non-coherent, neutralizing his strength and power, and he met with a natural destruction'.¹

The above account of the end of Govinda proceeds no doubt from the pen

¹ Karhad plates, v, 20, *FI*, iv, 282.

of a court poet patronized by his successful rival, but it seems to be substantially true. It is clear that the vicious life of Govinda had alienated the sympathies of his subjects and ministers, who had begun to feel that his removal from the throne would be a blessing to the empire. They were already making secret overtures to Amoghavarsha III, an uncle of Govinda and a stepbrother of Indra III, who had a high reputation for character, integrity, and learning. Amoghavarsha had married a Chedi princess and was leading a life of retirement at Tripuri, mostly devoted to religious pursuits. He did not himself feel enthusiastic about the suggestion of the confederates; but he had a very ambitious son named Kṛishṇa who eventually induced him to accept the offer of the crown made by the party formed to get rid of the vicious king Govinda.

At the time when Arikesarin II refused to deliver Vijayāditya to Govinda the plan to dethrone him had neared its completion, and a number of ministers and feudatories had openly deserted the reigning monarch. Arikesarin therefore could meet the imperial forces with confidence. The decisive battle that eventually put Amoghavarsha III on the throne was fought in the south between Govinda and Arikesarin II; Pampa, a court poet of the latter, describes how his patron declined to surrender Vijayāditya, drove out and defeated the army of Govinda, brought ruin to him and offered the crown to Baḍḍega (Amoghavarsha III), who relied on him completely.¹

Pampa probably exaggerates the part played by his patron in the revolution which placed Amoghavarsha III upon the Rāshṭrakūṭa throne. But it seems quite clear that the decisive battle in which Govinda was defeated and killed was fought between Arikesarin and Govinda somewhere in the southern Karnāṭak. In the meantime, according to the plans already matured and agreed upon among the ministers and feudatories, Amoghavarsha was heading towards Mānyakhēṭa from Tripuri, most probably at the head of a Chedi contingent. He met with some opposition from local military officers loyal to Govinda, but it was easily overcome and he soon reached the capital. Here he was welcomed by the ministers and feudatories who had assembled for the occasion, and was offered the imperial crown. The precise date of this event is not known; Govinda was firmly on the throne in A.D. 934 and Amoghavarsha III was ruling in A.D. 937. It would thus appear that the confederacy against Govinda was formed in 935 and that his overthrow took place in 936.²

¹ *Vikramārjanavijaya*, chap. ix, 52 ff.

² Whether Govinda survived his defeat or was killed in the war we do not know. The Takkolam inscription dated in the 31st year of Parāntaka (A.D. 938) records a gift by a daughter of that king, who was the crowned queen of Govindavallabharāyar. It is not impossible that this Govindavallabharāyar may be none other than Govinda IV, and the record may show that after his overthrow Govinda lived as a protégé of his father-in-law somewhere near the southern frontier of his old empire, biding his time for an opportunity to invade it. It is possible that the reference to the help given by Būṭuga to his brother-in-law Kṛishṇa to get the throne, which we find on the Sudi plates, may refer to an abortive rising of Govinda on the death of Amoghavarsha III. But it has to be

Amoghavarsha III

(c. A.D. 936-9)

Amoghavarsha III ascended the throne in c. A.D. 936. His personal name was Baḍḍega, but as he is best known by the above title, we shall refer to him by it. He had at least two wives; one of these was Kuṇḍakadevī, a daughter of the Chedi king Yuvarāja I. He was about fifty at the time of his accession and had several grown-up sons. Of these the eldest was Kṛishṇa, who had taken a prominent part in securing the throne for his father. Others were Jagattuṅga, Nirupama, and Khoṭṭiga. Relations between these brothers continued to be cordial throughout. Amoghavarsha had also a daughter named Revakanimmaḍi; she had been married to Būtuga, the younger brother of Rājamalla III, who was ruling Gaṅgavāḍi at this time.

Amoghavarsha III ruled for a short period of three years only. He was more interested in the problems of the next world than in the affairs of the present one; his time therefore was occupied rather in spiritual than in administrative affairs. He gave several grants to Brāhmaṇas and temples and constructed several shrines in honour of Śiva, of whom he was a great devotee. His contemporaries believed that the new king was under the special protection of that god. His reputation as a pious, upright, and spiritual person must have been very great; for alone among the Rāshtrakūṭa kings, his death is described as the merging of a pious soul into the lustre of God. Such language was used in connexion with the death of no other Rāshtrakūṭa emperor.

Amoghavarsha was thus only a nominal ruler; during his rule the whole administration was carried on by the crown prince Kṛishṇa with the able assistance of his younger brother Jagattuṅga. Unlike his aged father, Kṛishṇa was both ambitious and unscrupulous, and he began to take well-planned steps to ensure his accession against the descendants of Govinda IV, who had been driven from the throne. We have already seen that Kṛishṇa's brother-in-law Būtuga was the younger brother of the reigning Gaṅga prince Rājamalla III. Kṛishṇa now decided to dethrone Rājamalla and to place his brother-in-law at the head of the Gaṅga state, so that he might have an ally in the south on whom he could place implicit confidence even in times of stress and difficulty. He therefore led an expedition to the south, killed the Nolamba princes Dantiga and Bappuva, who were the allies of Rājamalla, and then attacked Gaṅgavāḍi. Rājamalla was killed on the battlefield and Kṛishṇa put his brother-in-law Būtuga on the vacant throne in c. A.D. 937.

admitted that Govindarāyar may equally well have been a feudatory of Parāntaka; the Sudi plates also do not expressly mention Govinda as the enemy who stood in the way of Kṛishṇa III: they in fact refer to one Lalliya in this connexion. If, however, we assume Govinda to have been the son-in-law of Parāntaka, we can understand why Kṛishṇa III waged so bitter a war against this ruler.

Būtuga turned out to be not only a faithful but also an able ally, and afforded material assistance to Kṛishṇa during his wars in the south.

We have seen already that there was a very cordial feeling between the Chedis and the Rāshtrakūṭas owing to the marriages of a number of Rāshtrakūṭa princes with Chedi princesses. Both Amoghavarsha III and Kṛishṇa were wedded to Chedi princesses and there was no reason why this *entente* should not have continued in the new reign. Very probably Amoghavarsha III had also received material sympathy and assistance from the Chedis at the time of his accession. And yet we find the crown prince Kṛishṇa marching against the Chedis in c. A.D. 938 and defeating them. How the two houses came to fall out is still a mystery. This rupture between the two families was most ill-starred and eventually led to the transfer of the Chedi sympathies to the Chālukya feudatory Tailapa, who was destined to supplant the Rāshtrakūṭas.

After defeating the Chedi armies, Kṛishṇa marched into Bundelkhaṇḍ and stormed the forts of Kalinjar and Chitrakūṭa. It is quite possible that these forts may have been garrisoned by the Rāshtrakūṭa forces when Indra III had retired to the south, and that they had been subsequently reconquered by the Pratīhāras. Kṛishṇa's expedition to the north, undertaken during the reign of his father, may have been primarily for the purpose of reconquering them. The Chedis perhaps opposed this step, but in spite of their opposition Indra carried out his plan and occupied the forts. Kṛishṇa, it seems, must have left effective garrisons behind him in these forts when he returned to the south; we are told that the Gurjara king could no longer hope to win them back.

Kṛishṇa had thus established the reputation of his arms while yet only crown prince.¹ He had brought the whole of Gaṅgavādī under his sphere of influence by putting his brother-in-law upon its throne and his name had become a terror to the Gurjara Pratīhāras. His father therefore could have had no misgivings about his son's capacity when he himself died sometime in the summer of A.D. 939.

Kṛishṇa III

(c. A.D. 939-67)

The accession of Kṛishṇa III took place sometime after the summer of A.D. 939.² Like other Rāshtrakūṭa kings having the personal name of Kṛishṇa, he assumed the coronation title of *Akālavarsha* (rainer of blessings even on unexpected occasions). He is also referred to as *Vallabhanarendra* and *Prithivīvallabha*. After his conquest of Kāñchī and Tanjore he took the Canarese

¹ The charters of Kṛishṇa III describe his father's accession, then mention the overthrow of Rājamalla III and the capture of Chitrakūṭa and Kalinjar by Kṛishṇa and thereafter refer to his father's death and his own accession. It is therefore clear that it was as crown prince that Kṛishṇa led the expeditions to Gaṅgavādī and Bundelkhaṇḍ and not as emperor.

² To be quite precise his accession took place sometime between February and December of A.D. 939. *El*, xxi, 261-2.

epithet of *Kanchiyun Tanjaiyum-Koṇḍa* (the conqueror of Kāñchī and Tanjore) which is used very frequently in his Canarese and Tamil inscriptions.

Kṛishṇa's accession took place peacefully.¹ He spent a couple of years in watching the situation and strengthening the administration and then once more embarked upon the policy of expansion. He now turned his attention to the south. Būtuga II was at this time in effective possession of Gaṅgawāḍi and the two brothers-in-law, who both were by nature ambitious, matured plans for a grand offensive against the Chola king Parāntaka.² They led a lightning expedition to the south, probably in A.D. 943, and captured the important cities of Kāñchī and Tanjore. The invading army could not occupy the whole of the Chola kingdom for a long time, but the Rāshtrakūṭas continued to be in effective possession of Toṇḍai-maṇḍala (consisting of the Arcot, Chingleput, and Vellore Districts) throughout the long reign of Kṛishṇa III. A very large number of inscriptions have been found in these districts belonging to the reign of Kṛishṇa III and dated from the 5th to the 26th year of his reign.

In a few years' time Parāntaka rallied his forces and sent out a strong body of troops to expel the invader. The Chola army was under the command of the crown prince Rājāditya. The two forces met in A.D. 949 at Takkolam in the North Arcot District, where a sanguinary battle was fought. The Cholas fought bravely; the Rāshtrakūṭa records admit that for a time they carried everything before them and that none dared to counter-attack. But eventually the general Maṇalera and the Gaṅga king Būtuga succeeded in rallying their men. The latter dashed straight against the Chola crown prince, killed his elephant, got into his *handah* and killed him then and there. The death of the crown prince naturally disheartened the Chola army, which soon fled in disorder, leaving the victory in the hands of the Rāshtrakūṭas. In recognition of this signal achievement by his brother-in-law, Kṛishṇa bestowed upon him the governorship of the Banavāsi 12,000, the Belvol 300, the Purigere 300, the Kisukad 70, and the Bagenad 70, which together roughly constituted the whole of the Bombay Karnāṭak.

After this signal defeat of the Chola army there was nothing to prevent the onward march of the conqueror. Kṛishṇa therefore pressed his victory to its maximum by marching farther south and defeating both the Kerala and the Pāṇḍya kings. He occupied Ramesvaram also for a time and 'planted there the creeper of his fame'. Even the king of Ceylon was terrified and came to offer him his respectful submission. Kṛishṇa built a number of temples in the conquered territories. Two of them named after himself—Kṛishṇeśvara and

¹ The spurious Sudi plates do indeed state that Būtuga II secured the throne for his brother-in-law; but this seems to be doubtful. Kṛishṇa's brothers were all very loyal to him and his prestige had become so great as a result of his victories that none would have dared to dispute his claim. Possibly Govinda IV or his son may have made a feeble attempt to get the throne; see above, p. 45, n. 2.

² For a possible cause of this war, see above, p. 45, n. 2.

Gaṇḍamārtanḍāditya—were built at Ramesvaram, 'which shone there as resplendent hills of his fame'.¹ A temple of Kālapriya was built at Kāñchī. Being temples, these monuments could not be pulled down by the local kings, and so they served the purpose of towers of victory to proclaim for ages the conquests of the builder.

Krishṇa could not remain for long in effective occupation of the Chola and Pāṇḍya countries. Eventually he returned northwards, deciding to annex Tōṇḍai-maṇḍala only. In A.D. 959 we find him encamped at Melpadi in the North Arcot District 'for the purpose of creating livings for his dependants out of the possessions of the lords of provinces of the southern region'.² The country to the north of the Pennar river continued to be under direct Rāshtrakūṭa administration down to the death of Kṛishṇa III.

Kṛishṇa's campaigns and commitments in the south affected his position in the north. The Chandellas rose to power in Bundelkhaṇḍ and drove the Rāshtrakūṭas from their outposts in the strategic forts of Chitrakūṭa and Kalinjar sometime in c. A.D. 950 when Kṛishṇa was engaged in a deadly combat with the Cholas. The Chedis, whose sympathies had been alienated from Kṛishṇa after his attack on them in c. A.D. 938, remained passive spectators of the expulsion of the Rāshtrakūṭa garrison.

Kṛishṇa was free from his commitments in the south by c. A.D. 960 and returned to the capital soon thereafter. He now began to plan an expedition to the north in order to re-establish there the prestige of the Rāshtrakūṭa arms. While these plans were being matured, Būtuga II, his principal ally and supporter, died, and Kṛishṇa travelled to the Gaṅga capital to preside over the coronation of his son and successor Mārasimha. The new king was not the son of Kṛishṇa's sister, though he was the son of Būtuga. He, however, continued to be very loyal to Kṛishṇa and took part enthusiastically in the northern expedition which was being planned by Kṛishṇa. Soon after his coronation he attached himself to the Rāshtrakūṭa expeditionary force which Kṛishṇa was then mobilizing at Malkhed.

The second northern expedition of Kṛishṇa took place probably in A.D. 963. Its details are, however, not yet known. The unexpected discovery of a Canarese inscription at Jura in Bundelkhaṇḍ, about 12 miles from the G.I.P.R. station of Maihar, which eulogizes Kṛishṇa and describes him as the conqueror of Kāñchī and Tanjore, makes it quite clear that his armies marched once more through Bundelkhaṇḍ after his accession, as they had once done before that event.³ It is probable that Kṛishṇa may have aimed at the recapture of the forts of Kalinjar and Chitrakūṭa, which had been recaptured by the Chandellas. Whether he succeeded in his object we do not know. Very soon, however, Kṛishṇa had to march with his armies into

¹ Kolhapur pl., *JBBRAS*, x, 28.

² Karhad pl., *EI*, iv, 282.

³ *EI*, v, 176; *EC*, x, *Holkari*, Nos. 23 and 33.

Mālwā. The Gaṅga king Mārasimha, who participated in this expedition, took the title of king of the Gurjaras, and two of his captains, Śūdrakayya and Goggiyamma, were known as Ujjenibhujāṅgas or conquerors of Ujjayinī.¹ It is therefore clear that Kṛishṇa had to attack in the course of this campaign, not only the Gurjara Pratihāras, but also the Paramāras of Mālwā. Siyaka, the Paramāra king, was loyal to Kṛishṇa until about A.D. 949 and was even permitted to administer northern Gujarāt on behalf of his feudal lord. But it seems that later on he rebelled and a punitive expedition against him was necessary. A great part of Mālwā was brought under effective occupation by the imperial forces. This expeditionary force returned to the south sometime in A.D. 964.

The relations of Kṛishṇa III with the Chālukyas of Veṅgi now remain to be surveyed. We have already shown how Bhīma II expelled Yuddhāmalla II, the nominee of Govinda IV, in A.D. 934 and obtained the throne for himself. Apparently Kṛishṇa took no interest in the deposed monarch, since he was originally a nominee of his enemy Govinda IV. Subsequently he became engrossed in his North Indian and South Indian campaigns and was too occupied with these affairs to intervene at Veṅgi. The reign of Bhīma (A.D. 934-45) therefore passed off peacefully. His successor Amma II was a boy of twelve at the time of his succession. He could have been easily ousted by Kṛishṇa at the time of his accession, but that king was then in the thick of his struggle against the Cholas. When in the course of time his hands became relatively free, he decided to champion the cause of Bādapa, a son of the previous Rāshtrakūṭa nominee Yuddhāmalla II. He sent an expeditionary force to put his protégé on the throne of Veṅgi, and it achieved this object in A.D. 956. King Amma II, who was then ruling at Veṅgi, retired into Kālīṅga, and Bādapa ruled as a Rāshtrakūṭa feudatory down to c. A.D. 970.

Kṛishṇa III was one of the ablest monarchs of the Rāshtrakūṭa dynasty. Perhaps he was not as successful in his northern campaigns as Dhruva, Govinda III, or Indra III. But there is no doubt that, unlike any of his predecessors, he became lord of the whole Deccan (*sakala-dakshina-digadhipati*) in the full sense of the term. Govinda III could conquer Kāñchī, but could not penetrate to Ramesvaram and effectively break the power of the Draviḍa kings. Veṅgi was a source of trouble to Govinda III; but during the latter half of Kṛishṇa's rule it was being ruled by a prince who was his loyal vassal. Kṛishṇa III was in effective possession of a large part of the Chola kingdom and his temples of Kṛishṇesvara and Gaṇḍamārtaṇḍāditya at Ramesvaram proclaimed his conquest of the extreme south of the peninsula. No other king in ancient India was ever overlord of the entire Deccan in so complete a sense of the term as was Kṛishṇa in c. A.D. 965.

Apparently all the sons of Kṛishṇa predeceased him. One of them had left behind a son named Indra, but he seems to have been too young to assume

the reins of government of a huge empire. Among his brothers, Jagattuṅga, who figures as a dear brother of Kṛishṇa in one of his grants issued as early as A.D. 940, also seems to have died before 967. There were two other brothers left, Khoṭṭiga and Nirupama, and of these Khoṭṭiga, who was the elder, ascended the throne when Kṛishṇa III died in A.D. 967. Indra, the grandson of Kṛishṇa, as well as his maternal uncle the Gaṅga king Mārasimha, seem to have acquiesced in the arrangement.

Khoṭṭiga

(c. A.D. 967–72)

Khoṭṭiga ascended the throne in A.D. 967 and assumed the title of *Nityavarsha* (incessant rainer of blessings).

For a few years after his accession everything went well with the Rāshtrakūṭa empire. But soon it received a rude blow, which completely shattered its prestige. We have already seen how Kṛishṇa III had defeated the Paramāra king Siyaka in A.D. 964 and had also occupied Ujjayinī. This defeat was rankling in the mind of the Paramāra ruler and he was burning to avenge it. He spent a few years in making the necessary preparations. In the meanwhile Kṛishṇa III died and Khoṭṭiga ascended the throne. Siyaka felt that he could now successfully measure his strength with the new emperor and boldly invaded his territory. He attempted to cross the Narmadā at the ford of Khalighaṭṭa. The crossing was fiercely opposed by the Rāshtrakūṭa forces and the Paramāras had to retire with the loss of a general.¹

This repulse, however, only temporarily checked the plans of Siyaka. He brought up fresh troops to force the passage of the river and eventually succeeded in crossing it. Alarmed at this development, Khoṭṭiga summoned the Gaṅga king Mārasimha to assist him. But before he could reach the scene of battle, Siyaka had reached Malkhed, the Rāshtrakūṭa capital, by a bold advance and stormed it. This was in A.D. 972. The Rāshtrakūṭa treasury was sacked and plundered and the raiders carried away even the office copies of copperplate charters lodged in the record office.²

The Gaṅga king Mārasimha soon reached the scene and rescued the capital. It had never in fact been the object of Siyaka to occupy Malkhed permanently; it is therefore difficult to say whether Mārasimha drove out Siyaka from the capital by force and pursued him to the Tapti and the Vindhyas, or whether he merely harried the victorious army during its normal return homewards carried out according to previous plan.

The sack of Malkhed took place in the spring of A.D. 972. Khoṭṭiga was then already an old man and he did not long survive this disgrace and died in

¹ *EI*, xxi, 47.

² One of these was a charter of Govinda IV, the blank side of one of whose plates was used by the Paramāra king Muṅja to record a grant of his own. *EI*, xxiii, 101.

the following August or September. He also apparently left no sons to follow him and was succeeded by his nephew Karkka, the son of his younger brother Nirupama.

Karkka II

(September, A.D. 972–December, A.D. 973)

Karkka II ascended the throne probably in September, A.D. 972, assuming the title of Amoghavarsha.

The only charter of this monarch which has so far come to light gives him a number of glorious titles like *Nṛipatuṅga* (pre-eminent among kings), *Vīranārāyaṇa* (brave as Nārāyaṇa), *Rājātrinetra* (Śaṅkara among the kings). It also describes in vivid language how he was a terror to the Hūṇas and Gurjaras and how humbled the pride of the Pāṇdyas and the Cholas. All this eulogy, however, is purely conventional; Karkka had been on the throne hardly a month when the charter giving this glorious account of his victories and achievements was issued; these glorious achievements therefore existed only in the fancy of the grateful poet and must therefore be discounted by the sober historian.¹

The enemy occupation of Malkhed had seriously injured the prestige of the Rāshtrakūṭa arms at the time when Karkka ascended the throne in September, A.D. 972. Sīyaka was no doubt eventually driven back, but the incident showed that the successor of Kṛishṇa III was too weak to hold together the mighty empire which his great predecessor had transmitted to him. This impression of his weakness naturally aroused imperial ambitions in the minds of the feudatories, and one of these eventually deprived Karkka of his sovereignty over the Deccan within about eighteen months of his accession.

This feudatory was Taila II of the Chālukya family. He was no doubt an obedient subordinate of Kṛishṇa III, ruling at that time over a small fief at Bagewadi in the Bijāpur District of the Bombay presidency; we find him figuring as an ordinary Mahāsāmantādhipati down to A.D. 965.² Though the ruler of a small principality, he was nursing ideas of greater power in his mind. He believed that he was a direct descendant of the imperial Chālukya family of Bādāmī and his consciousness of ability and military capacity urged him to make an effort to regain the imperial status of his family, of which it had been deprived by the Rāshtrakūṭas a couple of centuries earlier. His mother was a daughter of the Chedi king Lakshmaṇa, and the Chedis were now unfriendly with the Rāshtrakūṭas owing to the unprovoked attacks suffered by them in the reign of Kṛishṇa III. It is very likely that Lakshmaṇa may have supported his grandson in the realization of his imperial dream. Taila himself had married a Rāshtrakūṭa princess named Lakshmi and believed that both

¹ *IA*, xii, 182.

² *Insc. from Bom. Kar.* No. 40.

by virtue of his own descent and by that of his wife he was entitled to be the emperor of the Deccan.

Circumstances were favourable for the realization of this ambition. Karkka seems to have been a weak and vicious ruler; at any rate his two principal councillors were of this character, if we are to believe the account of the opposing party.¹ He had overridden the claims of Indra, the grandson of Kṛishṇa III, and so had naturally alienated the sympathies of the Gaṅga ruler Mārasimha, who was the maternal uncle of that prince. When therefore at the end of A.D. 973 Taila openly flouted his authority and proceeded to attack him, he had to rely entirely on his own resources. Even in his own capital he could not have received full support, since there must have been a party there favouring the claims of Indra. There was also considerable dissatisfaction among his subjects owing to the haughty and vicious conduct of his two favourite ministers. Taila on the other hand was supported by the Chālukya ruler Baḍḍega II of Lakshmeshver in the Dhārwar District and the Yādava feudatory Bhillama II of Khandesh. Above all he himself was a brave soldier and an astute general. We do not know where the two forces met in the fateful combat which was to decide the fate of the Rāshtrakūṭa empire. The scene of the battle was most probably somewhere in the northern Karnāṭak. The struggle was bitter and severe, for Taila's own records admit that it was only after a fierce and sanguinary conflict that he obtained the sovereignty of the 'world'.² Karkka's two wicked advisers, who are compared to the two moving feet of Kali, were killed in battle. Karkka himself escaped from the battlefield and managed to carve out a small principality for himself in the Sorab Tālūk of the Mysore State, where he continued to rule down to A.D. 991, having the presumption still to continue to use full imperial titles such as Mahārājādhirāja, Parameśvara, Parambhaṭṭāraka, &c. After the flight of Karkka, Taila marched straight on to the Rāshtrakūṭa capital and occupied it. Malkhed continued to be his headquarters down to the end of the tenth century A.D.

The main task of Taila was accomplished with the defeat of Karkka and the capture of Malkhed; he had, however, to overthrow a number of other opponents who came forward successively to dispute his claim to the sovereignty. The most important of these was Indra IV, a grandson of Kṛishṇa III. His cause was espoused by the powerful Gaṅga chief, Mārasimha, who was his maternal uncle. Indra's epitaph, it is true, describes him as the bravest of the brave and a marvel among those who overcome by force the prowess of their enemies. Neither he nor his maternal uncle, however, could hold their own against Taila. Both of them were signally defeated; eventually they became Jaina monks and died by the vow of starvation (*sallekhanā*), the uncle in August, A.D. 975, and the nephew in March, A.D. 982. When Mārasimha's effort failed in A.D. 975, his successor Pañchāladeva

¹ *El*, xii, 150.

² *El*, v, 20.

tried to assume the role of the emperor of the Deccan. He sent a challenge to Taila and marched against him with a powerful force. He was, however, defeated and killed in a terrible battle, and Taila remained undisputed master of the Rāshtrakūṭa dominions. What part of these extensive territories came under his direct sway and how the different Rāshtrakūṭa feudatories were gradually compelled to transfer their allegiance to the new emperor will be narrated in the next chapter.

The fall of the Rāshtrakūṭa empire was dramatic in its suddenness. In the winter of A.D. 967 Kṛishṇa III was the undisputed master of the whole of the Deccan; by the winter of A.D. 973 his empire had crumbled like a pack of cards. The causes of this collapse are not difficult to discover. In the first place we must remember that most of the empires in ancient India lacked the strength of unitary states. They were usually feudal-federal organizations. The emperor had a number of vassals under him and depended for the stability of his empire as much upon their goodwill and co-operation as upon his own strength and resources. Once this balance was disturbed, such empires quickly came to an end. The aggressive policy of Kṛishṇa had seriously depleted his resources, and the cession of large portions of the imperial territories in the northern Karnāṭak to the Gaṅga king had further reduced the revenues of the empire. His war with the Chedis was a great tactical blunder; it resulted in their sympathies and assistance being eventually transferred to Taila II, who was descended from a Chedi princess. Irreparable damage had been done to the imperial prestige by the sack of Malkhed by Sīyaka in A.D. 972. Karkka, who ascended the throne just after this event, not only lacked military skill and initiative but was also in the hands of vicious and incapable advisers, who were hated by the people. As he had usurped the throne of Indra IV, he could not expect any real help from the Gaṅga king, who was the maternal uncle of the latter. When therefore Taila made his bold bid for the Rāshtrakūṭa empire, its head was left without allies and had to rely on his own resources. No vassal states came forward to help him. Both he and his councillors were hated by his subjects. Taila on the other hand was himself a capable general and had the sympathy and support of the Chālukyas of Lakshmeshvar, the Yādavas of Khandesh, and the Chedis of eastern Madhya Pradesh. It was not therefore difficult for him to overthrow Karkka and realize his dream of once more acquiring the sovereignty of the Deccan for the Chālukyas, who had formerly been its overlords.

III

THE ADMINISTRATIVE SYSTEM

THE Rāshtrakūṭa records often afford us glimpses of the civil administration and we can give with their help a fairly detailed account of the government machinery and its working. At its head stood the king. His office was hereditary and the crown usually passed to the eldest son, who was formally announced as the *yūvarāja* or the heir-apparent, when he became sufficiently old and experienced to discharge the duties of the office. The *yūvarāja* usually stayed at the capital and helped his father in carrying on the administration. He also used to accompany him on important military expeditions; sometimes he was himself entrusted with their conduct. Younger princes were usually appointed to the posts of provincial governors. Under the Rāshtrakūṭa administration, princesses are but rarely seen occupying administrative posts, as they sometimes did under the Chālukyas.¹ During a minority the government was usually in the hands not of dowager queens, but of male relations. In one case indeed we do find a crowned queen, Śilabhaṭṭarikā, making a grant of land without any express mention of her husband, Dhruva, as permitting the transaction.² Whether this was merely an accidental omission or whether crowned queens of reigning kings regularly made grants of land on their own responsibility, we do not know. Probably the king's name was left out by an oversight or by mere carelessness or in order to shorten the wording of the charter.

The royal court and the machinery of the central administration were permanently established at the capital. The emperor used to attend the court regularly when he was not absent on some expedition. Pomp and grandeur befitting a mighty empire characterized the appointments at the reception hall. In the courtyard outside, military captains were on duty with their select platoons of infantry, cavalry, and the elephant corps; very often elephants and horses captured from the defeated enemies were exhibited there as a visible proof of the imperial might.³ Visitors were admitted only by express permission of the royal chamberlain; feudatories and ambassadors had to wait in the ante-room until they were ushered in by the court officials. The visitor found the emperor seated on an imposing throne, wearing a number of costly jewels and ornaments. He was attended by courtesans and dancing-girls, and by servants who acted as his bodyguards. Prominent among those present in the court were vassal chiefs, foreign ambassadors,

¹ The only known instance is that of Chandrobalabbā, a daughter of Amoghavarsha I, who was administering the Raichur Doab in A.D. 837.

² *EI*, xxii, 98.

³ Sanjam plates, *EI*, xviii, 235.

high military and civil officers, poets, doctors, astrologers, merchant-princes, and guild representatives.

The emperor carried on the administration with the help of a group of ministers. Our records do not supply the names of the portfolios of the various ministers, but to judge from the contemporary evidence it is clear that the ministry must have consisted of a prime minister, a foreign minister, a revenue minister, a treasurer, the chief justice, the commander-in-chief, and the *purohita* or principal priest. In a modern administration a minister is a member of government, quite distinct from the official who is the head of the department; in ancient times the two posts were often held by the same person. Our records are silent about the qualifications of ministers and the manner in which they were selected, but we can safely conclude that they must have been chosen for their general competence and proficiency in political and military matters. Most of the ministers were usually also military officers. Some of them, like Dalla, the foreign minister of Dhruva,¹ enjoyed feudatory status, and were also assigned *jāgīrs*. There was as a rule complete confidence between the emperor and his ministers; the latter are often described as the right hand of the former.²

There is no information available about the manner in which the central government exercised supervision over the outlying districts and provinces. But we shall probably not be wrong in assuming that there were officers of the central government under the Rāshtrakūṭas, as there certainly were under the Vākātakas, who used to go on tours of inspection in the territories. Feudatories and district officers were often called to the capital to give explanations of their conduct. Secret service agents were stationed all over the empire to keep the central government informed of the intentions and actions of such provincial and territorial administrators.

The Rāshtrakūṭa empire consisted partly of vassal states and partly of directly administered areas. Important feudatories like the rulers of Southern Gujarāt enjoyed almost complete autonomy; they could even alienate villages without the imperial sanction. They had also their own sub-feudatories. The latter had very little independent power and often were called *rājās* by the merest courtesy. They had to secure higher sanction before they could alienate revenues or grant villages.³ Feudatories had to obey the orders of the sovereign and to attend his court at periodical intervals to offer assurances of personal loyalty and to give such explanations as might be required by the imperial secretariat. They were bound to pay regular tribute and also to supply an agreed quota of fighting troops. Very often they had also to take part with their forces in the military campaigns of their feudal lords. They were obliged to entertain an imperial resident at their courts and used to keep their own representatives at the imperial capital to watch the

¹ *EI*, x, 89.

² *EI*, iv, 60.

³ *IA*, xii, 15; *EI*, ix, 195.

trend of events.¹ If they rebelled, they were subjected to a number of indignities even after defeat. They had to surrender their treasures, elephants, and horses, and sometimes had to engage themselves in menial work at the arbitrary dictation of the emperor.

Directly administered areas were divided into *rāshṭras* and *vishayas*, roughly corresponding to modern divisions and districts. The number of villages comprised in a *vishaya* varied from 1,000 (as in the case of Puṇaka, modern Poona) to 4,000 (as in the case of Karhātaka, modern Karad). The *vishayas* were subdivided into *bhuktis* consisting of 50 to 70 villages, and named after the headquarters towns.² The *bhuktis* were further subdivided into smaller groups of 10 to 20 villages each.³ The village itself was the smallest administrative unit.⁴

The Rāshṭrapati was at the head of the administration of the *rāshṭra*, which was usually equal to four or five modern districts. He was in charge of both the military and the civil administration. He had to maintain peace and order and keep a watchful eye on lesser feudatories and officers. If the former became refractory, they were to be immediately dealt with by a punitive expedition.⁵ Naturally the Rāshṭrapati had a sufficient military force under his command and was usually himself a military officer. Very often he used to enjoy the status and titles of a vassal.

Like the modern commissioners of divisions, the Rāshṭrapatis were in charge of the fiscal administration and were responsible for the prompt collection of the land revenue. They had to keep careful records of local rights and privileges and to note the villages whose revenue had been granted to temples and Brāhmins. They could not themselves alienate any revenues without royal permission. Nor had they the power of appointing district and sub-divisional officers.⁶

Vishayapatis or district officers and Bhogapatis or Tahsil officers exercised the same functions as Rāshṭrapatis within their smaller jurisdictions. Some of them also held titles as less important feudatory rulers.

Appointments to the above posts were usually made either in recognition of administrative ability or as a reward for military services. The posts became hereditary in those cases where the original officers had had sons who had proved their worth on the battlefield or in the secretariat.

Vishayapatis and Bhogapatis carried on the revenue administration in co-operation with hereditary revenue officers called Nālgāvūṇḍas or Deśagrāmākūṭas, who seem to have discharged functions similar to those of the Deshmukhs and Deshpandes under the Muslim and Marāṭha administrations. These officers were remunerated by the grant of rent-free lands.⁷

¹ *EL*, vi, 33.

² *IA*, xi, 111.

³ A. S. Altekar, *Rāshṭrakūṭas*, p. 138.

⁴ For detailed information regarding these divisions see Part I on the Geography of the Deccan, by Professor H. Raychaudhuri, *ante*, pp. 44-51.

⁵ A. S. Altekar, *Rāshṭrakūṭas*, p. 179.

⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 175-6.

⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 178-9.

The village administration was carried on by the village headman and the village accountant, whose posts were usually hereditary. The headman was responsible for preserving law and order in the village and used to have a local militia at his disposal to assist him in carrying out his duties. The peace of the villages was disturbed not so much by thieves and dacoits as by the rebellions of feudatories and the rivalries of adjacent villages. Headmen had to discharge the duties of military captains on such occasions and had often to lay down their lives while defending the hearths and homes of fellow villagers. They were also responsible for the collection of the village revenues and their payment into the royal treasury and granaries. They were remunerated by rent-free lands and the assignment of some petty taxes paid in kind. The village accountants worked as their assistants.¹

How far the popular voice influenced the administration is a question naturally uppermost in the mind of the modern reader. As far as the administration of the villages and towns was concerned, the popular element was fairly effective. Each village in Karnāṭaka and Mahārāshṭra had a popular council on which every adult householder was represented. There were no formal elections held as in the Tamil country, but the elders of the villages (Grāma-mahājanas or Grāma-mahattaras) used informally to appoint sub-committees to manage local schools, tanks, temples, and roads. They would also receive trust properties and administer them according to the conditions laid down by the donor. These sub-committees worked in close co-operation with the village headman and received a fair percentage of the village revenue for financing the various public welfare schemes. Civil suits were also decided by the village council and its decisions were enforced by the government. Towns had similar popular councils discharging same functions.²

Rāshṭrakūṭa records refer on rare occasions to Vishaya-mahattaras (elders of the district) and Rāshṭra-mahattaras (elders of the province), suggesting the existence of popular bodies at the district and provincial headquarters, discharging functions probably similar to those of the councils of village elders (Grāma-mahattaras) in Indian villages today. We have, however, no direct evidence to show that the elders of the district or the province had actually a council of their own, regularly meeting at intervals and discharging important administrative functions. A popular assembly or parliament at the Rāshṭrakūṭa capital is nowhere referred to, and probably no such body existed. In former days, when communications were difficult, the regular meeting of a popular assembly at a distant capital was not easy to arrange. In the Rāshṭrakūṭa administration, the popular voice could not make itself effectively felt in the central but only in the village administration. We must, however, remember in this connexion that the village councils of this period discharged many of the functions of the provincial and central governments

¹ A. S. Altekar, *Rāshṭrakūṭas*, pp. 168-94.

² Ibid., pp. 200-11.

of modern times; the popular element could effectively control the administration by having a decisive voice in these local bodies.

A few words are necessary about the military forces of the Rāshtrakūtas. The emperors cherished constant ambitions to extend their territories and were always trying to translate these into action; thus the Rāshtrakūta military machine was both powerful and efficient. The administration always maintained a large army, a considerable portion of which was concentrated at the capital. But there used to be also an army of the south, usually under the Banavasi viceroy, and an army of the north, probably commanded by a prince of the blood royal. These standing armies were kept up for the protection of the empire from external enemies; they used also to carry out aggressive expeditions when these had been decided upon by the central government. The army was famous for its infantry divisions, though cavalry played an important part. Some battalions consisted of men from military castes, the soldiers of which followed their profession as a matter of heredity; these usually enjoyed the reputation of crack divisions. Some battalions were supplied by feudatories and provincial governors. These used to be summoned when any important military venture had to be undertaken. Troops of the military castes received professional training in their villages before they joined the colours; others were trained and led by adventurous mercenaries or *condottieri*, who were paid directly by the government for their work in this connexion. The commissariat was organized with the help and co-operation of wealthy merchants. The army consisted of persons from all castes; even Brāhmaṇas and Jains were represented in it. It is rather surprising to find that many of the famous Rāshtrakūta generals like Baṅkeya, Śrīvijaya, Nārasimha, &c., were Jains by religious persuasion. They probably felt that the doctrine of *Ahimsā* in its extreme form was intended in practice for recluses and not for ordinary laymen.

Let us now inquire what were the main sources of revenue in the Rāshtrakūta empire. The financial resources were made up of tributes from feudatories, income from government properties, and the proceeds of taxation. Of these the first has already been referred to. Under the second category came the income from mines, forests, and waste lands, the ownership of which was claimed by the state. The ownership of arable lands, however, was vested in private individuals and families. The state could confiscate them only if the revenue demand had not been complied with.

Taxation was of course the main source of revenue. Land tax, called *bhāga-kara* or *udraṅga*, was the most important impost. It was usually paid in kind and in two or three instalments. Its incidence was fairly high, for the state claimed about 25 per cent. of the yield. In the case of lands given to temples and Brāhmans, the incidence of taxation was usually half of this; in some cases, however, complete freedom from all taxes was sanctioned.

IV RELIGION

HINDUISM, Jainism, and Buddhism were the three main religious systems followed in the Rāshtrakūṭa empire. Of these Buddhism was the least popular. It had already begun to decline even at Ellora and Ajanta, which had once been its most famous centres. In the seventh century there were about 200 monasteries in the Deccan; but their numbers declined considerably during the rule of the Rāshtrakūṭas. In fact we come across only three monasteries in the inscriptions of the period: one at Kanheri near Bombay, the second at Kampil in the Sholapur District, and the third at Dambal in the Dhārwar District. Of these, the establishment at Kanheri was the best known; it could still attract benefactors even from distant Bengal and had a library of its own, probably to meet the needs of a local college. The Buddhists in the Deccan seem to have belonged mostly to the Mahāyāna faith.

Owing to the patronage of the ruling classes and the literary and religious activities of a number of famous monastic scholars, Jainism continued to be a strong rival of Hinduism during our period. Among the Rāshtrakūṭa emperors Amoghavarsha I was a great patron of Jainism. He appointed Guṇabhadra, a famous Jain monk and scholar, as tutor to his heir-apparent Kṛishṇa, extended patronage to a number of other Jain scholars, and gave grants to several Jain monasteries. His son Kṛishṇa II and the latter's successor Indra III also continued to make liberal grants to the various Jain establishments. Baṅkeya and his son Lokāditya, who were the viceroys of Banavasi, were staunch followers of Jainism. Many of the contemporary Gaṅga rulers were also Jains, as were a number of Rāshtrakūṭa generals. To judge from the extent of the royal patronage and the output of Jain literature at this time, we may not be far wrong in assuming that about one-third of the population of the Karnāṭak professed Jainism during our period. There were a number of Jain monasteries, which played an important part in popularizing the gospel of the Jina.

It is pleasing to note that there was not much jealousy among the followers of the rival religions. We occasionally hear of debates held between rival enthusiasts in their efforts to prove the superiority of their respective faiths, but they relied only on argument and never appealed to the *lāthi*. This was but natural, for the rulers and officers of the period generally showed impartial favour to all beliefs alike. Thus Amoghavarsha I, who was a staunch follower of Jainism, also worshipped the Hindu goddess Lakshmī with equally genuine devotion.¹ King Dantivarman of the Gujarāt Rāshtrakūṭa branch

¹ *EI*, xviii, 235.

was himself a Hindu and yet gave a field to a Buddhist establishment.¹ Even Brāhmaṇas, who might be expected to be keen in furthering the cause of Hinduism, are sometimes seen making grants to Jain foundations.² We often come across records describing certain pious individuals as the followers of the precepts laid down in all the three religious faiths. Sometimes composite temples were built as shrines for both Hindu and Jain deities.³

Toleration was shown not only to the members of the different sects of Hinduism, to Buddhists, and to Jains, but also to the followers of Islām, some of whom had settled as traders in a few ports of Western India. Muslim historians have themselves admitted that Arab immigrants were allowed to build mosques and to practise their religion openly without let or hindrance. Not only this, but Muslim magistrates were appointed to administer the civil code of Islām to their co-religionists.⁴

Let us now turn our attention to the condition of Hinduism during our period. In the eighth century, Kumārila made a determined effort to forward the cause of Vedic sacrifice, but it appears that his advocacy proved of no avail. No kings of our period cared to perform any Vedic sacrifices; among the numerous Brāhmaṇ grantees, only two are described as having performed some of the Vedic rites.⁵ In spite of Kumārila's championing, *Smārta* religion continued to gain greater and greater popularity during our period. The average religious Hindu was rarely attracted by Vedic sacrifices, though he was accustomed to perform with devout sincerity the rituals prescribed in the Smṛitis and Purāṇas. Compared to the Vedic sacrifices these rituals were simpler, they also did not involve any slaughter of animals, which had become extremely unpopular owing to the propaganda set on foot by Jainism and Buddhism.

The principal deities worshipped by Hindus were Viṣṇu, Śiva, Lakshmī, and the Sun. Pandharpur had already become a centre of Pāṇḍuraṅga worship. In the lower strata of society deities going back to animistic times were worshipped, as also those who were supposed to be responsible for diseases and epidemics. To appease these last, animal sacrifices were indeed frequently performed.

Hindu temples of this period had become centres of the diffusion of Hindu culture.⁶ People flocked to them not only to worship, but also to listen to religious sermons, which instructed them regarding the principles of Hindu religion, ethics, and philosophy. During our period Hindu temples had also begun to maintain schools for higher education and many of them were provided with free feeding houses where poor students, destitute persons,

¹ Ibid., vi, 292.

² A. S. Altekar, *Rāshtrakūṭas*, pp. 272-3.

³ Ibid., p. 187.

⁴ *EL*, xviii, 235.

⁵ It is interesting to note that in non-Vaiṣṇava temples the actual worship was carried out not by Brāhmaṇs but by Guravas, who were non-Brāhmaṇs.

⁶ *JBBRAS*, x, 193.

and *sannyasins* could obtain food without payment. The temple cult also helped art and architecture by employing a large number of artists and artisans to build their noble fanes and to carve their beautiful sculptures. Dancing and music also received their share of temple patronage, for dancing-girls were often employed to give musical performances at the times of worship. Temples were able to undertake these various activities because they were richly endowed both by the state and by private persons. Govinda IV is known to have given altogether 400 villages and 32 lakhs of coins to a number of temples on the occasion of his coronation.

The theory that religious charity (*dānam*) is the best way to earn divine favour was at this time in the ascendancy; this belief was of great assistance to a number of religious and socio-religious causes, for under its influence many rich persons used to come forward to build temples, finance schools, excavate wells and tanks, and endow free feeding-houses. It is interesting to note that a great number of the donations specially intended for the above purposes were given on occasions recommended as auspicious by the *Purāṇas*.¹ The cult of pilgrimage was also becoming popular and the cow was universally revered as a sacred animal.²

Śaṅkarāchārya flourished in our period and advocated the gospel of Sanyāsa. It is, however, doubtful whether his championship had any tangible results. He also founded his *maṭhas* in various parts of the country, but it does not appear that their preceptors had yet begun to guide or control society in religious or social affairs. The State did what was necessary in such matters through one of its ministers.

¹ A. S. Altekar, *Rāshtrakūṭas*, pp. 301-2.

² *Ibid.*, p. 298.

V

THE SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC CONDITION

CONTEMPORARY Smṛitis and Arab writers give us a glimpse into the caste system of the period. Besides the usual four castes, there existed a number of other social groups. Royalty formed a subcaste among the Kshatriyas called the *Satkshatriyas* (the *Sabkufrias* of the Arab writers),¹ who were held in even higher regard than the Brāhmaṇas. Ordinary Kshatriyas were on a slightly lower level; they still used to perform many of the rituals laid down for the twice-borns, but Vedic studies were less and less practised among them. The Vaishyas had degenerated to the status of Śūdras and such studies were no longer undertaken by any of them. In the Vākātaka-Gupta period intercaste *anuloma* marriages occasionally took place; they, however, almost disappeared during this period. Intercaste dinners were disapproved by the contemporary Smṛitis and were given up by the Hindu society of this time. A section of the Brāhmaṇ community followed its traditional duties and devoted itself to the performance of religious rituals, the exposition of philosophic doctrines, and the teaching of the sacred texts. The recipients of many of the grants recorded on the copper-plates used to perform these duties and were rewarded by the state for doing so. Other Brāhmans used to devote themselves to the study of law, poetry, astronomy, &c., and were employed in state services on the civil side. Some of them conducted schools and colleges and received liberal help from the government and private benevolence. Contemporary Smṛitis permit Brāhmaṇas to follow trade and agriculture, and we may assume that some of them at least availed themselves of this concession. Poor and learned Brāhmans were exempted from taxation, but those who enjoyed grants of land had to pay state dues, though usually at a lower rate than the ordinary cultivators.

The position of the Śūdras improved considerably. They were doubtless debarred from studying the Vedas, but they became eligible for the *Smṛta* rituals. They were frequently enlisted in the army and many of them rose to be military leaders and petty rulers.

Shoemakers, bamboo-workers, fishermen, and washermen were held in low esteem and regarded as semi-untouchables. Sweepers and Chāṇḍālas were also considered as untouchables and had to live outside the cities and villages.

The *suttee* custom was not popular in the Deccan and we hardly come across any instance of either a queen or a commoner immolating herself on the funeral pyre of her husband. Child marriages had become fairly common

¹ Elliot and Dowson, *History*, i, 16.

in society; girls were usually married before twelve years of age and marriages were arranged by the parents. Widow marriages had gone out of vogue in the higher levels of society, but the widow's right to inherit the property of her husband was being gradually recognized. The *purdah* system had not yet come into existence.

The wealth of the Deccan in our period was derived from its agricultural and mineral products and its commerce. Among the agricultural products, cotton was grown in Gujarāt and Berar, *jowar* and *ba'ra* in Mahārāshṭra and Karnāṭak, and rice, coconuts, and betelnuts in Koṅkan. Mysore, portions of which were at various times included in the Rāshṭrakūṭa empire, yielded large quantities of sandal, teak, and ebony woods, which had been exported to western Asia from very early times.

There is some evidence to show that copper mines were worked in the districts of Cudappah, Bellary, Bijāpur, Dhārwar, Chanda, and Buldana, but their yield was probably very poor. Far more valuable was the yield of the mines of precious stones in the Golkonda and Ceded Districts. Malkhed, which was so near these mines, must have been a celebrated mart for jewellery.

The manufacture of cloth was the principal industry of the Rāshṭrakūṭa empire. Gujarāt, Berar, and Telangāna were its principal centres. Large quantities were exported to foreign countries.

The roads in the Deccan were hilly and therefore pack-bullocks and pack-ponies were the principal means of transport used for articles of commerce. It is rather strange that the Rāshṭrakūṭas should have issued no state currency of their own. Commercial transactions were carried on either by barter or by the exchange of gold and silver bullion. Some of our records refer to gold coins or *drammas*, given in charity by the reigning emperors. But no Rāshṭrakūṭa coins in this metal have so far been found.

The different trades and industries were organized into their respective guilds; we, however, get no detailed information about the constitution or functions of these from any records of our period. But as the records of both the earlier and later periods specifically refer to them, we may well presume that they continued to flourish in the times of which we are speaking. These guilds used to receive permanent deposits and allow interest on them at about 12 per cent. to be spent for such purposes as may have been specified by the original donors.

The records of the contemporary Chōla rulers show that 1 rupee would then buy about 32 seers of rice, 25 seers of pulse, 24 seers of curds, 3 seers of ghee, or 75 seers of salt. A cow could be purchased for about a rupee and a buffalo for about twice that amount.

Most of the transactions in our period were carried on by barter. Government revenue was usually received in kind and the village officers were paid in grain. A village accountant used to receive about 80 maunds of rice as his

annual salary. The carpenter got only about 60 maunds, and the manual labourer about 24 maunds. The latter wage works out at about 3 seers of rice per day. It is therefore clear that the poorer classes could live much more comfortably in the Rāshtrakūṭa period than they can do now.¹

¹ A. S. Altekar, *Rāshtrakūṭas*, chap. xv.

VI

EDUCATION AND LITERATURE

THE higher Sanskrit education was usually imparted during our period in the colonies of learned Brāhmins which were settled in what were known as *Agrahāra* villages. One of our records describes how the Brāhmins of Kalas (in Karnātak), which was an *Agrahāra* village, were giving instruction in the different branches of higher Sanskrit studies. Govinda IV alone is known to have created (or continued) 400 *Agrahāra* villages at the time of his accession; we may then fairly presume that considerable facilities for higher education existed in society. No fees were charged, and in many places students were also offered free boarding and lodging.

Temples also developed into centres of higher education during our period; the Trayīpurusha temple at Salotgi in Karnātak conducted a college, where students used to flock from distant places for higher education. Twenty-seven boarding-houses were necessary for their accommodation.¹ It is probable that many other temples had developed into similar centres of higher education, though we have no definite evidence on this point. Jain and Buddhist monasteries also used to impart religious and literary education to the followers of their own faiths. Capital cities and *tīrthas* (holy places) were usually centres of higher learning in ancient India and we may justifiably suppose that Malkhed, which was the imperial capital, and Paithan, Nāsik, and Karhad, which were celebrated places of pilgrimage, were also centres of higher education. We have, however, no definite evidence about this.

The numerous centres of higher studies that existed in the empire naturally led to the spread of Sanskrit learning. The plates issued by the Rāshtrakūṭas show that they had many scholars in their court who could successfully imitate the style of such authors as Subandhu and Bāṇa.² As the precise home of many contemporary men of letters is not known, it is difficult to say which of them belonged to the Rāshtrakūṭa empire. This is the case not only with literary men like Kumārila, Vāchaspati and Lalla, but also with the later Smṛiti writers like Kātyāyana, Angiras, and Yama, who flourished in our period. Rājaśekhara (c. A.D. 900) originally belonged to Mahārāshtra, but most of his life was spent in Northern India. Trivikrama, the author of the *Nalachampu*, flourished early in the tenth century and has been identified as the composer of the Begumra plates.³ Halāyudha wrote his *Kavirahasya* in the court of Kṛishṇa III; this poem is really a *dhātupāṭha* explaining the conjuga-

¹ *El*, iv, 60.

² *Ibid.*, ix, 28.

³ *Ibid.*, vi, 242.

tional peculiarities of roots having the same form, but its verses also contain a eulogy of the poet's patron.

We have already seen that Jainism had notable patrons in the Rāshtrakūṭa court. It is therefore but natural that Jain literature should have made significant progress in our period. *Ashṭaśatī* and *Ashṭasāhasrī*, two commentaries on the *Āptamīmāṃsā*, were written at the time by Akalaṅka and Vidyānanda. In the realm of logic Māṇikyanandin wrote the *Parikshā-mukhaśāstra* in the latter half of the eighth century, a treatise which was commented on by Prabhāchandra fifty years later. The latter scholar also wrote an independent work called *Nyāyakaumudichandrodaya*. Mallavādin was another contemporary Jain author; it is interesting that he should have written a commentary called *Nyāyabinduṭīkā* upon a work on logic written by a Buddhist.

A galaxy of Jain authors adorned the court of Amoghavarsha I. Harisheṇa, his spiritual preceptor, had composed the *Harivamśa* in A.D. 783, but his *Ādipurāṇa*, which he left unfinished, was begun in the ninth century; it was completed by his disciple Guṇachandra in A.D. 897. This work relates the life stories of various Jain saints. Jinasena's *Pārśvabhīyudaya* is an interesting work; it is a biography of Pārshva told in verses, the concluding lines of which are all taken from consecutive verses of the *Meghadūta*. The poet shows great ingenuity in accomplishing this difficult task. The *Amoghavṛtti* of Śakatāyana, a work on grammar, and the *Gaṇitasārasaṃgraha* of Vīrāchārya, a treatise on mathematics, were also composed in the reign of Amoghavarsha I. This emperor is himself the reputed author of the *Kavirājamārga*, the first work in Canarese on poetics.

During the next century Somadeva composed the *Yaśastilaka*, which is a *champū* of considerable merit. His other book *Nītivākyāmṛita* is a work on politics, mostly following the views of Kauṭilya.

The beginning of extant Canarese literature goes back to the Rāshtrakūṭa period. We have already mentioned that Amoghavarsha I was the reputed author of the *Kavirājamārga*, the earliest work on poetics in Canarese. The poet Śrīvijaya, referred to by Amoghavarsha, probably flourished in the first half of the ninth century. His work now exists only in scattered quotations, as is also the case with that of the poet Guṇavarman I, who was a younger contemporary of Amoghavarsha I. A number of Canarese works were written at the court of the Chālukyas of Vemulwad, who were feudatories of the Rāshtrakūṭas. Pampa I, the earliest and greatest of the Canarese poets, flourished here during the first half of the tenth century. The *Ādipurāṇa* and the *Vikramārjunaviṇaya* are well-known works of his. In the latter he glorifies his patron Arikesarin II as Arjuna and supplies some very valuable information about the northern campaign of Indra III, in which this prince had taken part. Ponna is another famous poet of this period who flourished in the third quarter of the tenth century: Kṛishṇa III gave him the title of *Ubhayakavichakravartin* on account of his proficiency as a poet both in Sanskrit

and Canarese. The *Śāntipurāṇa* is his principal work. Ponna refers to two other Canarese poets, Asaṅga and Jinachandra, but their works have not been preserved. Chāmuṇḍarāja, the Jain general and minister of Mārasirṃha II of Gaṅgavādi, composed the *Chāmuṇḍarāyapurāṇa* in the third quarter of the tenth century; it is a good specimen of prose composition. Raṇṇa, the author of the *Ajitapurāṇa* and the *Gadāyuddha*, was his younger contemporary. Most of the above Canarese writers were Jains; they were loyal to the precept of the founder of their faith that the vernacular should be used for preaching to the masses.

The Marāṭhi language was just coming into existence towards the end of our period,¹ but it seems that no works were yet being written in it. Marāṭhi was not the mother tongue of the Rāshtrakūṭas, and Jainism, which had given an impetus to vernacular literature in Karnāṭak, was not strong in Mahārāshṭra. It is therefore not strange that Marāṭhi should have produced no literature in our period.

¹ There is a small Marāṭhi sentence in one of the Śrāvaṇa Belgola inscriptions, dated A.D. 982.

PART VI

THE CHĀLUKYAS OF KALYĀNI

by PROFESSOR K. A. NILAKANTA SASTRI

- I. Introductory—sources, inscriptional and literary, descent.
- II. The rulers—Taila I, Taila II, Satyāśraya, Vikramāditya V, Ayyana, Jayasimha II, Somēśvara I, Somēśvara II, Vikramāditya VI, Somēśvara III, Jagadekamalla II, Taila III, Somēśvara IV.
- III. Administration—royal traditions and emblems, monarchy, coronation, Yuvarāja, imperial titles, relations with vassals, training of princes, the emperor, local and social autonomy, law and justice, priests of the king, palace officials, revenue terms, military offices, plurality of offices held, courts procedure, honours, nature of the State, role of high officials, administrative divisions, village headmen and elders, *nāḍarasa*, *nāḷgāvunḍa*, towns and villages, village economy, religious corporations, growth of towns, co-operation in local affairs, voluntary levies, changes in tenure, taxation, inscriptions, land tenure, *śala-vṛtti* (free land), tax rates, nature of Chālukya rule, army, sport.
- IV. Social and economic conditions—social ideals, memorial monuments, self-immolation, role of women, fine arts, the temple, architecture and sculpture, jeweller's craft, education, agriculture, commercial crops, industries, trade, guilds, urban life, interest rates and currency, measures; religion, Śaivism, Vaiṣṇavism, Jainism, and Buddhism; literature—Kannāḍa, Sanskrit.

GENEALOGY

BIBLIOGRAPHY

I

INTRODUCTORY

Sources

THE nature of the sources for the history of the Chālukyas of Kalyāṇī is generally the same as that of those for the earlier Bādāmi period; only the inscriptions, both of the Chālukyas themselves and of the contemporary dynasties with whom they came into friendly or hostile contact, are more numerous and better preserved; stone inscriptions, and with them the Kannaḍa language, gain greater importance in the records of the period, copper-plates becoming rarer. Among literary works Bilhaṇa's Sanskrit Kāvya, *Vikramāṅkadevacharita*, deserves special attention as a quasi-historical treatment of the life of the most celebrated Chālukya emperor, which, in the midst of much exaggeration and poetic embellishment, sometimes gives valuable clues to the history of the long reign of Vikramāditya VI. Ranna's *Gadāyuddha*, a Kannaḍa poem of shorter compass, written in the reign of Iṣivabedanga Satyāśraya, is not so valuable for history, though its importance for any reconstruction of the social life of the time is necessarily much higher than that of Bilhaṇa's *Mahākāvya*. Other authorities will be mentioned as occasion arises in the course of the narrative.

Descent

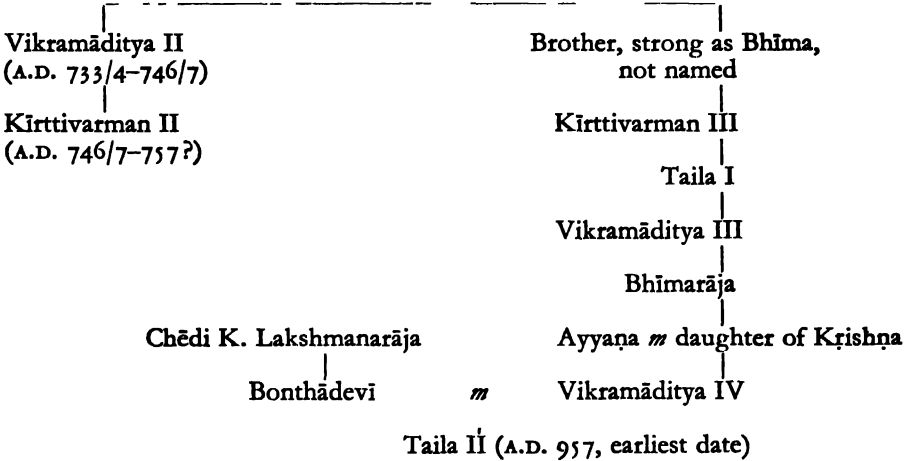
The later Chālukyas who ruled from Kalyāṇī claim descent¹ from the main line of Chālukyas of Bādāmi by a brother of Vikramāditya II about whom, however, we have no information from the inscriptions of the earlier period. The table overleaf shows the line of descent.

The family legends regarding the *gotra* of the line, their devotion to Kārttikeya and other deities, and the manner of their obtaining their crest and other royal insignia, continue to be the same as those of the Chālukyas of Bādāmi, allowing for minor variations; and though the average duration of a generation appears to be rather long, it is not such as, by itself, could lead one to reject the authenticity of this genealogical account. Yet there are grounds for supposing that the connexion with the Bādāmi line was invented after the fortunes of the family had been re-established by Taila II. The poet Ranna knows of this connexion, but his genealogy differs materially from that of the inscriptions which come a little later. On the other hand Taila II, and perhaps also some of his ancestors, are seen ruling in the Bijapur District and the neighbourhood in the proximity of the original capital of the dynasty,

¹ Kautilia (IA, xvi, 15-24), Yeūr (IA, viii, 11 ff.), and Devānagere inscriptions (EC, xi, Dg. 1).

and princes from this line are chosen as husbands for princesses of important ruling dynasties like the Rāshtrakūṭas themselves and the Haihayas of Chedi—indications that after all the genealogy may not be altogether without foundation, though it is of course possible that some links in it may have been lost.

Vijayāditya (A.D. 696–733/4)



II

RULERS OF THE DYNASTY

Taila I—recovery

A FRAGMENTARY inscription from Paṭṭadakal states that Śrī Perggade Mahārājan was another name of Taila-Mahādhirājadeva, and this may well be a reference to Taila.¹ Ayyaṇa's marriage with the daughter of Kṛishṇa is said to have transferred a great deal of the śrī (prosperity) of her father's line to that of her husband, which leaves no room for any doubt that Kṛishṇa was the Rāshṭrakūṭa ruler Kṛishṇa II who, in retrospect, appeared by that marriage to have raised the feudatory line of the Chālukyas into prominence, and thus to have paved the way for their further advancement. The issue of this marriage was Vikramāditya IV, whom we may identify with the ruler of that name mentioned with imperial Chālukya titles in an inscription of Akālavarsha, doubtless Kṛishṇa III, from Devihosūr in the Dhārwar District.² He married Bonthādevī, daughter of the Chedi ruler Lakshmaṇa of Tripurī. Kṛishṇa III and Lakshmaṇa were indeed friends, but this alliance of Lakshmaṇa's daughter with Vikramāditya must be held to mark a further step in the recovery of the Chālukyas and the decline of the Rāshṭrakūṭas. This marriage must have taken place when Kṛishṇa was absent on his long-drawn-out southern expedition into the Chōla country; the aggressive wars of Kṛishṇa III had no mean part in weakening his kingdom, multiplying its enemies, and giving the Chālukyas their long-wished-for opportunity.

Taila II

Taila II, the son of Vikramāditya IV and Bonthādevī, we find ruling in the Bijapur District as a feudatory of Kṛishṇa III in A.D. 957 and again in A.D. 965. While the earlier inscription mentions Tailapayya simply as a subordinate of Kannaradeva in charge of a *nāḍu*, the later record calls him Mahāsāmantādhipati Āhavamalla Tailaparasa, describes him as Chālukya-Rāma, and mentions a subordinate chief of the Khachara-kula ruling under him; Taila had obtained from Kṛishṇa III the district of Tardavāḍi 1000 as *aṇuga-jīvita* (fief of an *aṇuga*, guard). In the seven or eight years intervening

¹ BK, 176 of 1928-9.

² BK, 38 of 1932-3. I would not accept the identity of Vikramāditya IV with the Chālukya chief in EC, XICd, 25, Con. *IHQ*, xiii, 253; the name of the chief is by no means clear in the Cd. inscription. The date seems too late also. Cf. *IA*, 1918, p. 286, n. 3.

between the two inscriptions,¹ Taila seems to have gained considerably in status and power, primarily no doubt as a result of the weakness of the successors of Kṛishṇa III. An inscription from Gadag, of the reign of Vikramāditya VI, declares that after restoring the regal dignity of the Chālukyas, Taila gave peace to the earth for twenty-four years from the year Śrīmukha, Ś.896 (A.D. 973-4)² and this statement is borne out by all our other sources. This date marks the definite overthrow of Rāshtrakūṭa sovereignty by Taila and the final carrying out of the plan that he had been preparing for several years during which the course of events had favoured the success of his enterprise. The growing weakness of the Rāshtrakūṭa power which roused Taila's ambitions also attracted the cupidity of foreign powers, and the kingdom was invaded and even its capital, Mānyakheta (Mālkhed), plundered by the Paramāras of Mālwa under the leadership of Siyaka Harṣha and possibly also his successor Muṇja, in the reign of Khoṭṭiga, the younger brother and successor of Kṛishṇa III. Khoṭṭiga's weak and ill-starred nephew Kakka II, who succeeded him about A.D. 972, fell in a fight with Taila about a year after his accession; he was assisted by an allied ruler, also a Rāshtrakūṭa, Raṇakambha, but both the king and his ally were killed in the battle,³ and Chālukya sovereignty was re-established. Either the Rāshtrakūṭas were a divided house at the time, and there were princes of that dynasty ready to take sides with Taila, or else the victorious Chālukya strengthened his position by a dynastic alliance with the family which had then held sway in Karnāṭaka for two centuries; Taila's queen was a Rāshtrakūṭa princess, Jākavve by name,⁴ the daughter of a certain Bhammaha Raṭṭa.

The collapse of the Rāshtrakūṭa power was complete; the feeble attempt of the Gaṅga chief Mārasimha to bolster up a nephew of Kakka II who called himself Indra IV came to naught with the death of Mārasimha before A.D. 974, after his futile war with the Chālukya Rājāditya which centred round the fortress of Uchchangi.⁵ The feudatories of the Rāshtrakūṭas now began to transfer their allegiance to the newly risen power of the Chālukyas. Thus we find Śāntivarma of the Brahma-Kshatriya Mātūr-vamśa ruling first in the Sorab *taluk* of the Shimoga District as a vassal of Kakkala-deva, and some years later as a subordinate of Āhavamalla.⁶ Another chieftain of Gaṅga origin, Pāñchāladeva, offered resistance to Taila, calling himself 'Lion of the Chālukya' in one of his inscriptions dated in A.D. 975, and claimed to be then reigning over the entire triangular territory bound by the river Kṛishṇā on the north and the ocean on the other two sides—a transparent exaggeration;⁷ but we find Taila in camp about the same time in Sirivūr in the Shimoga

¹ BK, 178 of 1933-4 and 113 of 1929-30 (SII, xi (i), 40).

² IA, xxi, 167-8; EI, xv, 350.

³ Sogal inscr. EI, xvi, 10; also *ibid.* vi add. and corr. to v.

⁴ Sewell describes her as the daughter of Kakka II but cites no authority, *HISI*, pp. 53 and 384.

⁵ EC, ii, 59 (38) *MAR*, 1911, para. 77.

⁶ EC, viii, Sb. 479 and 477. The former is not dated.

⁷ EI, vi, 257.

District,¹ and the cutting off of the head of Pāñchāladeva on the battlefield is mentioned in several inscriptions as an important step in the establishment of Taila's power; thus there is little doubt that Pāñchāladeva met his fate very soon after the date of his boastful inscription from Mulgund cited above. From the Bellary District we have inscriptions giving Taila full regal titles about A.D. 976, and indicating the complete subordination of the Nolamba-Pallavas to the emperor, who is seen confirming some gifts of the Nolamba queen Revaladevi in A.D. 981.² In the region of Banavāsi, Kannapa was among the earliest to recognize Taila's suzerainty, and his policy was followed by his younger brother and successor Sobhanarasa, who was one of the most loyal lieutenants of Taila, who, pleased with his courage in battle, conferred on him many titles like *gīridurgamalla* (wrestler with hill forts), and *sāmanta-chūdāmani* (the crest-jewel of feudatories).³ The Raṭṭas of Saundatti in the Belgaum District, who owed their rise to the favour of the Rāshtrakūṭa Kṛishṇa III, hastened to acknowledge the power of Taila, and there are two Kannada inscriptions, both dated about A.D. 980, the Sogal inscription of Kārttavīrya I and the Saundatti record of the less-known *mahāsāmanta* Śāntivarma, in which they are seen to acknowledge their subordinate position in the newly born empire of the Chālukya Taila II.⁴ Nearer home in the Bijapur District itself, the Sindas under Pulikāla and his successors of the Bāgādage branch of that dynasty also saluted the new power.⁵ In the north, the Śilāhāras of the Northern Konkan and the Yādavas of Seunadeśa seem to have willingly acknowledged Taila as their overlord. The Bhadana grant of Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara Aparājita of the Śilāhāra family, dated June A.D. 997, makes pointed though regretful reference to the overthrow of Kakka II and gives clear proof of the transfer of allegiance at this time to the Chālukya conqueror.⁶ Of the Yādava ruler of the time, Bhīllama II, we shall presently have occasion to speak at some length. The territory of Lāṭa was conquered for Taila by his commander Bārāpa, also called a Chālukya; the somewhat confused literary traditions of his conflict with Mūlarāja of Anhilwada do not concern us and may be left on one side. Taila thus became master of the whole of what had been the Rāshtrakūṭa kingdom, with the sole exception of their Gujarat provinces.

Ranna in his *Gadāyuddha* mentions the wars against the Śilāhāras of Konkan and the Gurjaras farther north, and the part played by the crown prince Satyāśraya (Iṣivabeḍanga) in these conflicts. By order of Taila, the Yuvarāja chased the Konkaṇeśvara to the sea, conquered the Gurjara, and made the earth happy.⁷ The war against Aparājita Śilāhāra is described with more picturesque detail elsewhere.⁸ Meanwhile this evidence confirms the indications of the Bhadana grant cited just above.

¹ *EC*, viii, Sb. 445.

² *EC*, xvi, 1; *JBBRAS*, x, 204.

³ *EC*, iii, 272, v. 13.

⁴ *SII*, ix (i), nos. 73, 74.

⁵ *DKD*, 576-7 Bhairanmatti inscr. *EC*, iii, 230-6.

⁶ *EC*, ii, 47.

⁷ *EC*, iv, 206.

⁸ *EC*, i, 22-6.

Taila's son and successor Iṛivibedānga Satyāśraya is said to have ruled over Raṭṭapāḍi,¹ and the Chālukya kingdom is often described in contemporary Chōla inscriptions as Raṭṭapāḍi, the seven-and-a-half-lakh (country). Taila's capital was Mānyakheṭa;² Bilhaṇa seems to imply that Kalyāṇi became the centre of the empire only under Somēśvara I.

Heir to the Rāshtrakūṭa kingdom, Taila II found himself to be the inheritor also of their hatreds and friendships in the sphere of foreign policy. The Paramāras of Mālwa and the Chōlas had been the chief foes of the Rāshtrakūṭas, and it is probable that Taila, while still a feudatory of the Rāshtrakūṭas, had had occasion to come into conflict with these powers in the wars waged by his suzerains, for we find him described as early as A.D. 980, while still engaged in consolidating his position at home, as Indra's thunderbolt against the strong Chōla mountain and as the lion opposed to the Lāṭa elephant, the latter title being possibly an allusion to Bārapa's conquest of Lāṭa on his behalf. Of Taila's wars against the Paramāras of Mālwa we hear a great deal in the inscriptions as well as in the literature. The Kauthem plates (A.D. 1003) record that Taila imprisoned Utpala (another name of Muṇja), who had shown his prowess in wars against the Hūṇas, the Māravas (the people of Mārwar), and the Chedis.³ A much later record, the Gadag inscription of Vikramāditya, says that Taila slew the valiant Muṇja.⁴ The Samgamner grant of Yādava Bhillama II, dated Ś. 922 (A.D. 1000), shortly after the close of Taila's reign, contains a whole verse stating that by giving Lakshmi a sound thrashing on the field of battle as a punishment for her association with the great king Muṇja, Bhillama forced her to take to the life of an obedient housewife in the palace of king Raṇarangabhīma; as has been pointed out by Kielhorn, *raṇa-ranga-bhīma* is a synonym of Āhavamalla, and stands for Taila II.⁵ Thus the Yādavas, who were formerly the feudatories of the Rāshtrakūṭas, not only transferred their allegiance to Taila after his rise to power, but also gave him active assistance in guarding the northern frontier against the aggressions of the Paramāras. Literary tradition on the subject is preserved in the pages of the *Prabandhachintāmaṇi* of Merutunga, a work dating from the fourteenth century A.D.⁶ According to this account, Tailapa harassed Muṇja's country by constant raids; when Muṇja planned to retaliate, his prime minister Rudrāditya warned him not to advance beyond the river Godāvari; Muṇja disregarded the warning since he had been victorious against Taila on six occasions previously (sixteen according to some manuscripts), and when the minister learnt of this decision, he foresaw defeat and committed suicide by throwing himself into a fire; then Tailapa by force and fraud cut Muṇja's army to pieces, took him prisoner, and bound him with a rope of grass (muṇja). Waited on in prison by Taila's sister Mṛṇālavatī,

¹ *El*, iii, 297. Kharepatan grant.

² *IA*, xvi, 23, 41-3.

³ *El*, ii, 215.

⁴ *BK*, 170 of 1933-4 (A.D. 993).

⁵ *Ibid.*, xxi, 167/8 = *El*, xv, 350, ll. 2-4.

⁶ Tr. by Tawney (1901), pp. 33-6.

Muñja had a liaison with this middle-aged widow and was betrayed by her when he confided to her his plan of escape by way of an underground tunnel. He was thereupon subjected to harsh and humiliating treatment, compelled to beg from house to house, and finally beheaded.

We may be inclined not to treat the romantic tale of Merutunga as history in all its details; but the substance of it is true in the main, and there is little reason to doubt that Muñja lost his life in his Deccan wars; the date of his death may be put somewhere about A.D. 995, the mean date between Amita-gati's dedication of a work to Muñja (A.D. 993-4) and the death of Taila II himself (A.D. 997-8).¹

The hostility between the Tamil Chōla kingdom of the South and the rulers of Karnāṭaka had been accentuated by the aggressive wars of Kṛishṇa III in the south in which many of his feudatories took part, and, as already noted, Tailapa may well have been among these. The political revolutions of the Eastern Chālukya kingdom of Veṅgi contributed their share further to complicate the tangled skein. The Chōlas under Rājārāja the Great were rapidly recovering from the confusion caused by the invasion of Kṛishṇa III, and their renovated empire was expanding everywhere with great strides. Rājārāja's inscriptions mention his conquest of Gaṅgavāḍi and Nōlambavāḍi from A.D. 993 onwards, and there is an inscription of Rājārāja dated A.D. 991 in Mysore, while a Gaṅga official from Kolar is found making an endowment in South Arcot about the same time or a little later. These campaigns of Rājārāja must have brought him into contact with Taila II who naturally claimed this territory as falling within the sphere of his influence. There is an inscription of Āhavamalladeva (Taila) dated towards the close of A.D. 992 from Kogaḷi² in the Bellary District in which he is said to be ruling from the camp at Rodda in the Anantapur District after defeating the Chōla king and seizing 150 war elephants from him; naturally little is heard of this from the side of the Chōlas.

Taila had two sons by Jākavve; the elder was Satyāśraya who succeeded him on the throne in A.D. 997 or soon after. The younger is usually called Daśavarman, sometimes also Yaśovarman, and his wife was Bhāgyavati, the mother of Vikramāditya V who succeeded Satyāśraya. A daughter of a Chālukya Perumāṇaḍideva, Pampādēvi by name, is mentioned in a record bearing the date A.D. 997 as ruling in the Mysore District,³ and one wonders whether she was in fact a daughter of Taila.

Satyāśraya

The reign of Satyāśraya, Iṛivabeḍanga (a wonder among those who pierce in attack), was marked by a continuation of the policy of aggrandizement initiated by his father. The Chōlas were the chief enemy; under the illustrious Rājārāja I they were gradually bringing under their sway the whole of

¹ *EI*, i, 228.

² *SII*, ix (i), 77.

³ *EC*, iv, Hs. 50.

Southern India including Ceylon and the Maldives. By the time of Satyāśraya's accession they had already penetrated far into Gaṅgavāḍi and Nalambavāḍi, and they fought against Taila and lost some elephants to him at Rodda during their first encounter with him. They were preparing to extend their power into the Andhra country by assisting the exiled sons of Dānārṇava to regain their ancestral throne of the Veṅgi kingdom, a task which they completed by about A.D. 999–1000, the date of the beginning of Śaktivarman's reign in Veṅgi. This expansion of the Tamil power, which threatened to hem in the Kārṇāṭaka kingdom on its southern and eastern frontiers, was by no means to the liking of Satyāśraya, since he now had to face the prospect of a fight on two fronts in order to escape being overwhelmed by the enemy. Satyāśraya appears to have adopted the plan of a drive towards the Veṅgi kingdom, where Śaktivarman had just been installed as king and had not yet had time to consolidate his position, as the best form his offensive could take. Two inscriptions throw light on the probable course of events. One of them, dated in January A.D. 1005,¹ says that Satyāśraya was encamped at Śrīparvata at the time—obviously stationing himself in a central position between the two war fronts. The second record, dated shortly after in Ś.928 (A.D. 1006), is a Telugu inscription from Chebrolu² in the Guṇṭūr District; it states that a prominent Brahmin general of Satyāśraya called Bayala Nambi was in camp at that place after he had set fire to the two fortresses of Dannaḍa (Dhānyakāṭaka) and Yenmadala. The Chōḷa ruler counteracted this Chālukya invasion of Veṅgi by sending a powerful force under the crown prince Rājendra to ravage the home territory of the Chālukya monarch. In the picturesque language of the Hoṭṭūr inscription (A.D. 1007–8),³ 'Rājendra Vidyādhara, the constant joy of Rājarāja, the ornament of the Chōḷa family, the hundred-fold Chōḷa, crossed the frontier with an army 900,000 strong, encamped at Donavur, plundered the entire country, slaughtered women, children, and Brāhmins, and caught hold of the women of the country and ruined their caste'. Much of this is of course mere propagandist exaggeration or invention, not after all so new an art as we are apt to imagine. But Donavur is doubtless the modern Donur in the Bijapur District, and the admission in a Chālukya inscription that a large Chōḷa army had penetrated to the heart of the Chālukya kingdom and begun to ravage the country and harry its inhabitants is clear indication that Satyāśraya had no easy time of it. The invasion of Veṅgi had invited a terrible reprisal. The same Hoṭṭūr inscription records also that Satyāśraya succeeded in turning back the Chōḷa forces and inflicting on them a considerable loss in men and material. The Tanjore inscriptions of Rājarāja refer to presents made to the Big Temple out of the booty gained in the Chālukyan war.⁴ And the early inscriptions of Rājendra's reign contain hints which supplement the information yielded by the Hoṭṭūr

¹ *SII*, xi (i), no. 50, pt. i.

² *EL*, xvi, 73.

³ *SII*, vi, 102.

⁴ *SII*, ii, no. 1, para. 92.

inscription of Satyāśraya. They say that with his powerful army Rājendra captured Idai-tuṟai nāḍu (the doab country), Banavāsī surrounded by a continuous belt of forest, Koḷlipākkai whose ramparts were encircled by *śuḷḷi* trees, and Maṇṇaikkaḍakkam redoubtable in its strength. Idai-tuṟai-nāḍu is the Raichur doab, Banavāsī is the well-known Kadamba capital, Koḷlipākkai is the modern Kulpak about 45 miles north-east of Hyderabad, and Maṇṇaikkaḍakkam is the Mānyakhēṭa of the Sanskrit inscriptions, Mālkhed, the capital of the Chālukyas at this time. The Chōḷa invasion appears then to have been even more formidable than the Hoṭṭur record describes it as being, and it resulted for a time, at least, in the transfer of much territory and several important cities, including the capital, into the hands of the invader. The fighting round Kulpak was doubtless an engagement with the Western Chālukyan forces withdrawing from Veṅgi for the defence of the home country which had been overrun by the forces under Rājendra, who had captured Banavāsī and the Raichur doab and was heading for the capital itself.

Satyāśraya bore the title Akalaṅka-charitra (of spotless conduct); he had a daughter who was married to the Nolamba Pallava chieftain Iṟiva Noḷambādhirāja; she is described in detail as the granddaughter of Taila, the daughter of Satyāśraya, and the younger sister (*tamge*) of Vikramāditya in the Alūr inscription of Vikramāditya¹—she was really his cousin—and her name is given as Mahādevī in another inscription;² though the second inscription calls her Sattiganaṇṇi, there is little room for doubting her filial relation to Satyāśraya. Very different is the case of Kundamarasa who figures as the ruler of Banavāsī 12,000 and Santalige 1,000 in the records of the reigns of Vikramāditya V and his successor Jayasimha II Jagadekamalla, and is often described as the son of Iṟivabeḍangadeva; here the title 'son' is evidently commemorative of the king's appreciation of loyal and valuable service rendered by a feudatory, and the other title 'Tigulaṁamāri',³ 'death to the Tamils', which he alone bears among all the other feudatories, may imply that this service was rendered during the inroads of the Chōḷas into Kārṇāṭaka. If he was in fact a real son of Satyāśraya, it would be difficult to account for the form in which the relationship is repeated in so many inscriptions while he neither possesses the Chālukya *praśasti*, sits on the throne, nor figures in the official genealogies of the dynasty.⁴

Vikramāditya V

Satyāśraya was succeeded in A.D. 1008 by his nephew Vikramāditya V, who had a short reign of only six or seven years. The inscriptions of his reign are few and contain no indications of any great events. The Kauthem

¹ *El*, xvi, 27-31.

² *SII*, xi (1), no. 61.

³ *EC*, vii, Ś. 285.

⁴ This point was first argued out at some length by Mr. V. Venkatarayan, M.A., in his unpublished thesis on the Chālukyas of Kalyāṇī.

plates dated very early in the reign have no fewer than four verses consisting merely of rhetorical praise of the king's good rule, and of his fame and liberality which attracted many good people to Kuntala. His sister Akkādevī figures in A.D. 1010 as the ruler of Kisukād 70 and receives high praise as being an incarnation of Lakshmī (the goddess of fortune), a distributor of innumerable gifts, endowed with wisdom, a shining example of truthfulness and noble conduct.¹ This is just the beginning of the long public career of this celebrated princess whom we shall have occasion to mention again in dealing with the reigns of the successors of Vikramāditya V.

Ayyana

Vikramāditya was succeeded about A.D. 1015 by his younger brothers Ayyana and Jayasimha II. The only evidence that Ayyana II ever occupied the throne is his inclusion in the succession lists in some late eleventh- and twelfth-century inscriptions;² he cannot have reigned for more than a few weeks at most and no inscription of his has come to light so far. The earliest date found in Jayasimha's inscriptions is A.D. 1015 and the latest A.D. 1042.³

Jayasimha II

Jayasimha's reign was a period of much fighting on many fronts. The Paramāra king Bhoja began a war against him to avenge the fate of Muñja, and success attended his enterprise for several years, during which certain territories in the north of the Chālukyan empire seem to have changed hands. Bhoja celebrated on two occasions, about A.D. 1020, festivals in commemoration of his victory in and his occupation of the Konkaṇ;⁴ and the undated Kalvan plates of Yaśovarman⁵ mention Karṇāṭa, Lāṭa and Konkaṇa among the conquests of Bhoja, and show us Yaśovarman himself ruling in the Nāsik District as a feudatory of Bhoja, holding a fief comprising 1,500 villages. Other inscriptions⁶ of Bhoja dated in 1020 and a little later show him making donations to Brāhmins who had come over from Vātāpi and Mānyakheta in the Karṇāṭaka country. On the other side, Jayasimha is described in a Belagamve inscription of A.D. 1019⁷ as 'moon to the lotus which was king Bhoja' and in more detail he is said to have subjugated and ground down the seven Mālavas—doubtless an exaggerated claim in face of the inscriptions of Bhoja cited above. In the Mīraj plates,⁸ A.D. 1024, it is stated that Jayasimha had seized all the possessions of the overlords of Konkaṇa and was staying in his victorious camp in the neighbourhood of

¹ *EL*, xv, 75 ff.

² *IA*, 1918, 287-8.

³ Earliest Bk, 92 of 1935-6 (*ARE*), latest *SII*, xi (i), no. 75.

⁴ *EL*, xi, 182, l. 10; xviii, 321. The story recorded in the *Bhojacaritra* (*IA*, 1919, 117) that king Bhoja captured Taila and subjected him to the same treatment as Muñja had received from Taila, deserves no credence whatever and should be rejected summarily as a palpable fabrication.

⁵ *EL*, xix, 69-75.

⁶ *IA*, vi, 54.

⁷ *IA*, v, 15-17.

⁸ *EL*, xii, 303.

Kollāpura (Kolhāpur), and planning further conquests in the northern territories. In the campaign that resulted in the reconquest of Konkaṇa from Bhoja the illustrious general Chāvanarasa must have borne a prominent part, since he is described as a pupil of Singaṇa (Jayasimha II), the comet to Konkaṇa (*Konkaṇadhūmaketu*), and the destroyer of Pannala, the well-known fortress in Konkaṇ about twelve miles to the north-west of Kolhāpur.¹ The Kadamba chieftain Chaṭṭuga or Chaṭṭa is said to have put the Mālava to flight, drunk the waters of the Gautama-gange (Godāvari) with great *éclat*, and earned for himself the title 'guardian of the highland' from Jayasimha.² Kundamarasa, it seems, also had a share in the victory as he is said to have stampeded Bhoja's elephants.³ We may believe that Jayasimha succeeded in recovering the territorial losses he had incurred earlier at the time of Bhoja's invasion; but we have no evidence regarding the results of the *digvijaya* in the north for which Jayasimha was drawing up plans at Kolhāpur in 1024.

The Chōḷa Rājendra was, however, the really formidable enemy against whom Jayasimha had to contend. The *Miraj* plates declare that Jaysimha had chased the strong ruler of Drāviḍa, the Chōḷa, out of Chālukya territory before he fixed his camp at Kolhāpur in A.D. 1024. Earlier still, the Belagāmve inscription describes Jayasimha as early as A.D. 1010 as 'the lion to that elephant, Rājendra-Chōḷa'. On the other side, the official *prasaṣti* of Rājendra I Chōḷa mentions for the first time in the ninth year of his reign, A.D. 1021, the incidents of his war with Jayasimha; it asserts that Jayasimha turned his back out of fear at Muśangi and went into hiding, incurring much ignominy, and that Rājendra achieved great fame by the capture of vast treasures totalling seven and a half lakhs, together with Raṭṭāpaḍi. In the Sanskrit section, the Tiruvāṅgaḍu plates of Rājendra call him 'the sole destroyer of the line of Taila' and, almost in the terms of the Tamil *prasaṣti* just cited, affirm that the king of the Raṭṭa country fled before Rājendra, abandoning all the inherited wealth of his family together with his own fair fame, and that his army followed his example; but neither Jayasimha nor Muśangi is expressly named here.⁴ Other inscriptions convey hints regarding the parts played by generals on either side, and the various campaigns in which they took part. Among the titles of Chāvanarasa, the Chālukya general already mentioned in connexion with the war in Konkan, are two which mean 'the grinder of Balayeyapaṭṭana'—a fortress on the west coast (Baliapatam)⁵—and 'the breaker of the pride of the fortress of Bijevāḍa'.⁶ Mādhavarāja, the second son of Keśavarāja, won the admiration of Singa (Jayasimha II) by his successful handling of a strong cavalry force during the war against the Chōḷas.⁷ A number of short inscriptions in Tamil and Kannaḍa from

¹ *EI*, xvi, 75 ff.

² *EI*, xvi, 357, v. 10, Inscr. of the reign of Vikramāditya VI.

³ *EI*, xv, p. 331, v. 1.

⁵ *EI*, xvi, 77.

⁷ *SII*, xi (1), no. 76.

⁴ *SII*, iii, no. 99, 105, 107.

⁶ *EI*, xvi, 75, Hoṭṭur inscription A.D. 1037.

Kottaśivaram in the Anantapur District dated A.D. 1022 record the titles of a Chōḷa commander, among which occurs the expression Jayasingakulakāla, death to the family of Jayasimha;¹ an undated inscription says that the king of Veṅgi fled when he heard that the Chōḷa monarch had ordered the advance of this general.²

These inscriptions describe a pitched battle at Maski (Muśangi) about A.D. 1020-1, and operations in the Gaṅga and Veṅgi countries about the same time. The genesis of these events was clearly the attempt of Jayasimha soon after his accession to recover the territory lost to the Chōḷas during the wars of Satyāśraya's reign, and circumstances seem to have favoured his designs for a time. Rājendra I Chōḷa was busily engaged in wars in the south against the Pāṇḍyas, the Keralas, and the Sinhalese during the years A.D. 1015-20, whilst the death or retirement of Vimalāditya in Veṅgi about 1019 also gave Jayasimha the chance of interposing in the affairs of that kingdom with a view to setting up one of his own nominees on the throne and keeping out Vimalāditya's son Rājarāja who was the son of a Chōḷa princess, full of gratitude to the Chōḷas for their having restored his line to the throne of Veṅgi scarcely twenty years before. Jayasimha at first met with considerable success. He recovered the Raichur-doab, crossed the Tungabhadra, and spread his rule farther south into the Bellary District,³ and possibly even into part of Gaṅgavāḍi. The praise of Kundamarasa⁴ for putting to flight the elephant corps of the Chōḷa and Gaṅga also points to the same conclusion. In Veṅgi the rival claimant he set up against Rājarāja captured the fortress of Bezvāḍa with the aid of Chāvaṇaśasa, and found sufficient following to be able to delay the formal installation of the legitimate ruler for two or three years. At this time Jayasimha had in fact some justification for comparing himself to a lion and his enemy Rājendra to an elephant. But when Rājendra actively turned his attention against Jayasimha and sent two forces simultaneously into the field, one in the direction of Gaṅgavāḍi, Nulambavāḍi, and Iḍaituraināḍu (the Raichur-doab), and the other into Veṅgi for the relief of Rājarāja, the situation was completely transformed and the recent successes of Jayasimha were reversed. In Veṅgi Rājendra's success seems to have been complete; the rival king, probably Vijayāditya VII, fled the country, and Rājarāja celebrated his coronation peacefully in A.D. 1022. In the West, the fact that the chief battle was fought at Maski in the Raichur-doab shows that the forces of Jayasimha were rolled back to the north of the Tungabhadra; the final result of the battle itself can only be correctly estimated by striking a balance between the rival statements of the Chōḷa and the Chāḷukya inscriptions; the former affirming the flight of Jayasimha from the field, while Jayasimha himself claims to have driven out the Chōḷa. The battle may indeed

¹ *Cōḷas*, i, 551; *ARE*, 23, 24, 30, and 31 of 1917.

² *Cōḷas*, i, p. 279 n.; *ARE*, 751 of 1917.

⁴ *El*, xv, p. 331, v. 1.

³ *SII*, ix (1), no. 80.

have been a Chōla victory, but it was not followed up, and it would seem that both parties tacitly recognized the Tungabhadra as the frontier between their respective kingdoms.

But for the casual mention of the plan of a northern campaign in the Miraj plates dated A.D. 1024, we hear no more of any fighting in the remaining twenty years or so of Jayasimha's reign, whilst several inscriptions from various parts of his empire attest the flourishing condition of the arts of peace under the administration and patronage of the emperor and his several feudatories. We hear occasionally of minor local conflicts among these feudatories; thus an inscription¹ from Shimoga District in Mysore dated Ś.959 (A.D. 1037) records the death of Ālayya, the ruler of Banavāsi 12,000 and Santalige 1,000, in a fight with the Maṇḍalika Kundama on the plain near the agrahāra Kuppagadde, where a temple was constructed in his memory by his son Jayasimhadeva, who, in his turn, bears titles which show that he kept the Malepas and the Beḍar and Kurumbar from disturbing the peace of the country. The king's sister Akkādevī is said to have been as courageous as Bhairavī in war and this may mean that by Ś.944 (A.D. 1022), the date of the inscription,² she had actually herself taken part in active fighting if indeed the epithet be not a mere compliment by a court poet. Some fifteen years later Akkādevī is found ruling Banavāsi 12,000 together with Mayūravarmadeva, who held sway over Pānugal 1000 in addition; there is reason to believe they were husband and wife, and that Toyimarasa, the son of Akkādevī, was a child of this marriage.³

Jayasimha himself is called Jagadekamalla, 'the sole wrestler of the world', in most of his inscriptions. Two of his queens are known: (1) Suggaladevī, who is found making a gift in A.D. 1029 to a Pāśupata-āchārya, Brahmarāśi-Paṇḍita,⁴ and who figures in the legends of the *Basava-purāṇa* as the author of the conversion of her lord king Desinga from Jainism to Śaivism—a transparent copy this of the Tamil story concerning Mangayarkkaraśi, the Chōla princess who with the aid of Jñānasambandar secured the conversion of her husband, the Pāṇḍya king Neḍumāraṇ, from the Jaina to the Śaiva faith;⁵ and (2) Devaladevī, a Nolamba princess, possibly the sister of Udayādityadeva, as we may guess from an inscription recording the disposal in the Ganges of the corporeal remains of her mother Nolambamahādevī and the gift made by Devaladevī in the presence of Udayāditya to the Brāhman who had returned after his journey to the Ganges.⁶ A daughter of Jayasimha, Hammā or Āvalladevī by name, was married to the Seuṇa Bhillama III, who began by being hostile to Jayasimha, probably under the influence of Para-

¹ EC, viii, sb. 184.

² IA, xviii, 270-5.

³ EI, xvi, 75 ff. An inscription of Ś. 960 from the Kallapa temple in Hangal *tāluk* mentioning Lakmādevī (Akkadevī?) and Mayūravarma together and saying that the latter was ruling Panugal as *ākabhōga* is preserved in the Local Records of the Mackenzie collection. (V. Venkatarayan.)

⁴ Bk, 25 of 1936-7.

⁵ DKD, p. 437, n. 5, and *Pāṇḍyan kingdom*, pp. 53-5.

⁶ SII, ix (i), nos. 91, 92.

māra Bhoja, but subsequently recognized this monarch's suzerainty and entered into the alliance with his daughter; he is seen ruling his hereditary dominions in A.D. 1025 from his capital Sindinagara, Sinnar in the Nāsik District.¹

The Chālukya capital was still located at Mānyakhēṭa, the chief city under the Rāshtrakūṭas; the Chōḷa inscriptions which mention this city are silent about Kalyāṇi up to the very end of Rājēndrachola's reign (A.D. 1044). Other subsidiary capitals where Jayasimha is seen camping at different times are: Ētagiri, the same place as Yātagiri, and Kolḷipāke in the Hyderabad State; Hoṭṭalakeṛe, now represented by Daṇṇāyakana Keṛe in the Bellary District; and Ghaṭṭadakeṛe (A.D. 1038).² Kalyāṇi itself figures as one of the *nelevīḍu* in an inscription dating towards the close of Jayasimha's reign.³

Somēśvara

Jayasimha was followed on the throne by his son Somēśvara I who held the titles Āhavamalla and Trailokyamalla, and whose inscriptions occur from Ś. 964 (A.D. 1042 onwards).⁴ Bilhaṇa credits Somēśvara with having 'made the city of Kalyāṇa' and beautified it so that it excelled all other cities in the world, whilst the Chōḷa inscriptions begin to mention Kalyāṇi as the capital of the Chālukyas during this reign, and call it an ancient city; we have already noticed inscriptions mentioning Kalyāṇi as a *nelevīḍu* (permanent camp) earlier than Somēśvara's reign; clearly then Somēśvara 'made' the city not in the sense of having founded it for the first time, but in that of having adopted it as capital of his empire, adorned it with many new buildings, and added to the amenities of life available there.⁵

A Kannaḍa verse in an inscription from Nander⁶ (in the Hyderabad State) dated Ś. 969 (1 April, A.D. 1047) states that Somēśvara took the lives of the enemy kings of Magadha, Kalinga, and Anga; forced the kings of Konkaṇa to come and prostrate themselves at his feet by the ferocity of his attack; caused even the proud Mālaveśvara to supplicate to him in his own city of Dhārā; conquered the Chōḷa in battle, and won over the kings of Veṅgi and Kalinga to his side. The same inscription mentions the Brahman general Nāgavarma, who was the king's right-hand man in all his principal wars, and gives him the following significant titles: Vindhyādhipamalla-śiracchedana, Sevaṇaḍiśāpaṭṭa, Chakrakūṭa-kālakūṭa, Dhārāvarsha-darpōtpāṭana, and Mārasimgha-madamarddana.

The opening statement in the verse, viz. the execution of the unnamed kings of Magadha, Kalinga, and Anga, seems to be mere *praśasti*, not history.

¹ *DKD*, pp. 437, 514-15; *LA*, xii, p. 120, v. 9, xvii, p. 117.

² *EC*, vii, Sk. 153.

³ *Ibid.*, xii, Si. 37, also *SII*, xi (i), no. 69, though the date is suspicious and the inscription possibly a late copy.

⁴ *Bk*, 69 of 1934-5.

⁵ *Vik*, ii, 1-25.

⁶ The details are taken from Mr. V. Venkatarayan's index of the unpublished Chālukya inscriptions of the Hyderabad Museum.

It will be noticed that Kalinga recurs at the end of the verse in a more credible context. A war in Konkaṇa, an invasion of Mālwa which reached Dhārā, and the continuance of the war with the Chōḷas assisted by a diplomatic triumph in Veṅgi and Kalinga, marked the early years of Somēśvara's reign according to this verse. The enumeration of Nāgavarma's exploits gives a glimpse into other minor wars of the same period, which, like that in the Konkan, were obviously campaigns against recalcitrant vassals in different parts of the far-flung and loosely knit empire. The exact chronological order of these occurrences is by no means easy to decide.

The war in Konkaṇa is attested by an inscription from Nāgai (A.D. 1058) stating that Madhusūdana, the son of Kālidāsa, won successes in Konkaṇa and Mālava.¹ It seems probable that Nāgavarma's campaigns against the Seuṇa (Yādava) who fled before him and the Vindhya chieftain Malla whom he decapitated form part of the extensive campaign of Madhusūdana which ranged from the Konkan to Dhārā. We seem to have here a later stage in the wars between the Chālukyās and Bhoja which had begun under Jayasimha. The Konkaṇas, the Seuṇa, and the Vindhya chieftain Malla may perhaps have been in league with Bhoja, or at least have acknowledged his supremacy, and thus have become proper objects for attack by the Chālukyān generals. While the Nander inscription implies that Bhoja's submission was actually received in the city of Dhārā, the Nāgai record cited above states that this city was burnt and Māṇḍava captured; the Yēur inscription of Vikramāditya VI's reign says that the king of Mālava repeatedly sought safety and peace in Maṇḍapa;² this may mean that he was forced to abandon Dhārā for Māṇḍava, or it may be simply a play on the name of the city, for *maṇḍapa* also means any open pavilion or temporary structure. Bilhaṇa has a number of verses in his poem which clearly state that Dhārā was attacked and that Bhoja had to flee, but perhaps witness to little more than that.³ The Nāgai inscription also mentions the storming of Ujjayinī with its strong ramparts, and the burning of the city on that occasion; this incident is mentioned in the same verse⁴ as the attack on Dhārā and Māṇḍava, but after a reference to the firing of Kāñchī and the beheading of the Chōḷa; so it seems probable that Bhoja courted a second raid into his territory from his suzerain by his attempts to throw off his allegiance while Somēśvara was deeply involved in the Chōḷa war. An inscription of A.D. 1066 from Hoṭṭūr calls the Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara Jemarasa the fire of death to Bhoja,⁵ which description may well have been a title won in some other war with Bhoja later than that which fell in the opening years of the reign of Somēśvara. The verse from the Yeūr inscription alluding to this campaign also says that the king of Kanauj had to resort to the caves of the Himālayas—but this seems to be a gross exaggeration, though there is in fact some indication in contemporary inscriptions

¹ *Hyd. Arch. Ser.*, no. 8, p. 13, v. 43.

³ i, 91-6.

v. 17.

² *IA*, viii, 11 ff.

⁵ *El*, xvi, 81.

that the Chālukya forces did actually penetrate as far as the Gurjara kingdom in the north. Altogether we may safely assume that Somēśvara's generals succeeded in re-establishing his authority pretty firmly over the whole country south of the Narmadā; the invasion of Mālwa and the raid on Dhārā were by way of teaching a lesson to Bhoja, who had to submit temporarily to Chālukya overlordship and to give up all designs of meddling further in Deccani politics as he had done at the beginning of his reign. Possibly the Chālukya power also extended far to the east through the southern districts of the modern Madhya Pradesh into Southern Kosala and Kalinga.

The general Nāgavarma is described as deadly poison to Chakrakūṭa and the uprooter of the pride of Dhārāvarsha. These epithets are mementos of a campaign against the Nāgavamsi ruler, who had his capital at Chakrakūṭa in the modern 'Bastar state' in the Madhya Pradesh; we shall come across Dhārāvarsha and his relations fighting on the side of their Chālukyan suzerains during the incessant warfare against the Chōlas which dominates the political history of the reign of Somēśvara I. The other title of Nāgavarma, the destroyer of the pride of Mārasimgha, implies some temporary trouble near the capital which was soon and swiftly overcome. In an inscription about a year later than the Nander record, the Raṭṭa feudatory Anka claims also to have fought successfully against Mārasimgha.¹ We have also inscriptions of a Mārasimgha Prabhu who was the father of Liḷādēvī, a queen of Somēśvara, which are dated in Ś. 971 and 985 (A.D. 1049 and 1062-3);² the identity of the Prabhu with the opponent of Anka and Nāgavarma is pretty certain. We have at present no records to inform us how and why Mārasimgha first made himself obnoxious to his overlord; but it is clear that he soon learnt his proper place, settled down to the life of a loyal feudatory, and presented his daughter³ to the king as his queen.

The family of the Kākatīyas who were to rise to prominence more than a century later than the reign of Somēśvara I first begin to be heard of in connexion with the campaigns of this monarch. The dates are not known exactly, since the evidence comes from inscriptions of a later time which record older incidents without any dates. But it is clear that Prola I took part in the wars of Somēśvara against Konkaṇa and Chakrakūṭa as well as in some other minor engagements which made him master of the territory round Warangal. The Kazipet inscription (A.D. 1090) mentions these facts, and adds that in recognition of his services and of his merit as a general victorious in many battles, Trailokyamalla bestowed the Anmakonḍa vishaya on him in perpetuity.⁴ The same inscription states that Prola's son Bēta was a lion to the elephants that were the Mālava and the Chōla, a clear

¹ *JBBRAS*, x, 172 and *LR* (VV).

² *SII* xi (i), 85, 99.

³ The relation between Mārasimgha Prabhu and Liḷādēvī is not free from doubt. The inscription mentions Queen Liḷā and then describes him as *tasya māturggurutara-varah* Śrī Prabhur-Mmārasimghah. One is led to suspect some mistake here. *SII*, xi (i), p. 85, l. 27.

⁴ *Hyd. Arch. Series*, 13, p. 26, vv. 2-4.

reference to Somēśvara's wars against the Paramāras and the Chōlas. That Bēta was present with the Chālukya expedition which threatened Kāñchīpuram is clear from other records which describe the achievements of Barma, the Kākatiya general of the period. In an inscription from Pillalmarri, Barma is said to have uprooted the tree of the Chōla king's honour by removing the gates of Kāñchī after a hard fight.¹ Another inscription from Palampet refers to the same incident in more poetic terms and says that Brahma—for that is the real name—brought the bride of victory over Kāñchipura face to face with the Kākati-vallabha after drawing aside as it were the curtain, viz. the doors of the city, at the very moment when his musical instruments sounded a peal of melody.² The play upon the word *kākati-vallabha* pleasingly suggests the happy relations between the Chālukya emperor and his Kākatiya feudatory.

The remaining facts mentioned in the Nander inscription, namely the defeat of the Chōla in battle and the winning over of Veṅgi and Kalinga to his own side by Somēśvara, introduce us to a study of his relations with the Chōlas. And on this subject the Chōla inscriptions have much more to tell than the Chālukya inscriptions or Bilhaṇa. On both sides the incidents of different campaigns are narrated in inscriptions spread over the reigns of different rulers; sometimes later inscriptions give further details of transactions more summarily stated in records nearer the date of the occurrences, while on the Chōla side there are different versions describing what obviously must have been one and the same set of events. It seems best to begin with the Chōla inscriptions which at every stage are more nearly contemporary and contain ampler and more precise statements of facts than the corresponding Chālukya records.

In the Chālukya-Chōla wars of the reign of Jayasimha II we noticed that there were two fronts, one in the east in Veṅgi and the other in the west in the Mysore country and Banavāsi, Bombay-Karnatak, and the Racihur-doab across the Tungabhadra. This feature persists throughout. After the settlement of A.D. 1022, when Rājārāja Narendra crowned himself king of the Veṅgi kingdom and the Tungabhadra was tacitly recognized as the boundary between the two empires in the west, there was a lull for two decades until the death of Jayasimha and the accession of Somēśvara I. During this period Jayasimha appears to have quietly encroached on territory beyond the Tungabhadra, as his inscriptions from the Bellary District³ seem to show; one of his Nolamba Pallava feudatories claims to be ruling Nolambavāḍi 32,000 along with other districts in the years A.D. 1032 and 1034.⁴ Chōla inscriptions also mention a Chālukya palace at Kampili. After his accession Somēśvara seems to have felt strong enough to undertake further aggression against the Chōlas by attacking Veṅgi, where things were not going too well

¹ *Tel. Ins. Kak.* 9, ll. 11-13.

³ *ARE*, 489 of 1914; 501 of 1914; 93 of 1904, &c.

² *Hyd. Arch. Ser.*, 3, p. 3, v. 11.

⁴ *SII*, ix (i), nos. 85, 87.

after Rājārāja's coronation in A.D. 1022, and where internal dissensions between Rājārāja and his half-brother Viṣṇuvardhana-Vijayāditya apparently gave Somēśvara the opening for an effective thrust against Chōla hegemony in that quarter. The Pāmulavāka plates of Vijayāditya dated in his second regnal year state that he dethroned his half-brother Rājārāja after he had ruled for twelve years and crowned himself king on a day in Ś. 952 corresponding to 27 June A.D. 1031.¹ This was indeed an act of rebellion on the part of Vijayāditya and all later inscriptions accordingly omit any reference to this coronation of Vijayāditya and give Rājārāja a continuous rule of forty or forty-one years from the date of his coronation in A.D. 1022; also they do not count the period of Rājārāja's rule from some three to four years before his *abhisheka* as the Pāmulavāka plates do. That Vijayāditya did not long enjoy in peace the fruits of his successful rebellion is clear both from the relatively small number of his inscriptions and from the statement of the later East Chālukyan inscriptions regarding Rājārāja's rule. But there is every reason to think that Somēśvara employed the frustrated ambition of Vijayāditya as a pawn in his game against the Chōlas very soon after he came to power; Vijayāditya became a life-long friend of Somēśvara, and when he was not fighting in the east he was entertained as an honoured guest in the court of that ruler and even placed in control of the administration of extensive territories.

The Kalidiṇḍi plates of Rājārāja-Narendra² and some of the early inscriptions of Rājādhirāja I Chōla give a fairly complete account of the opening campaigns in this war. The former record bears no date, but the facts recorded in it fit in very well with the data from the early inscriptions of Rājādhirāja and indications to be derived from the Chālukyan records. Rājārāja's inscription records a grant made to three Śiva temples built by him at Kalidiṇḍi, a village in the Kaikalur *tāluk* of the Kistna District, to commemorate three Chōla commanders who had received the orders of Rājendra Chōla to proceed to the Veṅgi country, and did so with great promptitude; one of them fell together with several Chālukya generals in a hotly contested battle with a vast Karṇāṭaka army; the battle is described at some length and stress is laid on the fact that the forces were equally matched (*samānayuddham*, *samabalatvācca*).³ Rājādhirāja's inscriptions mention incidents of the Chālukya war for the first time in his twenty-seventh regnal year, A.D. 1045;⁴ they refer to a pitched battle in Dhannāḍa, i.e. Dhānyakaṭaka, in

¹ *JAHRS*, ii, p. 287, l. 63.

² *Ld*, N. Venkataramanyya *Bhārati* Chitrabhānu.

³ *Il*, 91, 96.

⁴ No. 54 of 1893—*SII*, iv, 867. There are some apparent exceptions to this statement, the most important being No. 245 of 1929 where the regnal year 24 given in the *ARE* is a mistake for 34. No. 172 of 1894 (*SII*, v, 465) has the date (2)6 and seems really to be of (3)6; again 484 of 1925 is not of year 10 (*ARE*) but (3)6. On the other hand see 90 of 1892 (*SII*, iv, 537), 365 A of 1903 (viii, 675), both of the 27th year, and 215 of 1902 (vii, 842) and 417 of 1902 (viii, 3) of the 28th year, the latter dated in words—all giving only the battle of Dannāḍai and the advance to Kolli-pākkai.

which the irresistible forces of Rājādhirāja struck terror into the mind even of Āhavamalla, whose generals Gaṇḍappaya and Gaṅgādhara perished there with their elephants; the hitherto brave warriors Vikki, Vijayāditya, the strong Sangamayya, and others, fled like cowards afraid of war, and many elephants and horses were captured by the Chōla army; this victory was followed by a Chōla advance on Kolliṭpākkai, which was consigned to flames. From Western Chālukya inscriptions we get some hints which, read along with the data noticed above, go far to suggest the correct reconstruction of the course of events. In an inscription from Nareyāṅgal dated Ś. 966 (A.D. 1044) the mahāmaṇḍaleśvara Sobhanarasa is given the title 'Lord of Veṅgi', and he is said to have been ruling Belvole 300 and Purigeṛe 300 with the status of Yuvarāja (*Yuvarājapadaviyolaṃ*).¹ Again Singanadevarasa, another feudatory of Somēśvara, bears the title Kolliṭpākeyakāvam (protector of Kolliṭpāka) in an inscription dated in Pārthiva, corresponding to A.D. 1045.

Soon after his accession Somēśvara sent a considerable force eastwards to Veṅgi and gained temporary mastery over that country; this victory is celebrated in the title 'Lord of the city of Veṅgi' attached to the Yuvarājapada (the place of the heir-apparent) in A.D. 1044. News of this invasion reached Rājendra I Chōla, who was then still alive, and he sent out his forces under the three commanders mentioned in the Kalidiṇḍi plates. In the battle that followed, probably in or near Kalidiṇḍi itself, no decision was reached, since the two armies were equally matched. Apparently both of them then applied for and obtained reinforcements, for in the next engagement we find princes of the royal house taking part in the fight in each of the opposing forces. Thus after an interval during which both sides called up reinforcements and regrouped their fighting units, there came the battle of Dhānyakaṭaka (Dharaṇikōṭa in the Guṇṭūr District), on the southern bank of the Kṛishṇā river, in which Rājādhirāja gained such a resounding success that even Āhavamalla Somēśvara, who was not present on the field, was seized with fear when he heard of what had happened. Vikki and Vijayāditya, who are mentioned among the fugitives from the battle, are doubtless identical with Somēśvara's son Vikramāditya and the half-brother of Rājārāja Narendra, the rival claimant to the throne of Veṅgi, now a tool in the hands of Somēśvara after the failure of his attempt to overthrow Rājārāja. The victorious Rājādhirāja cleared Veṅgi of all the Western Chālukya forces and advanced into the enemy country as far as Kolliṭpākkai (Kulpak), where he encountered strong resistance and had to order a halt.

The second stage in the war is described in Rājādhirāja's inscriptions of the twenty-ninth and thirtieth years—A.D. 1047-8.² In this second campaign in the north, the Chōla monarch himself commanded a fighting force and put to flight, or (according to another version) captured, several kinglets like

¹ EC, vii, Ś. 323.

² 114 of 1896 (SII, v, 978), SII, iii, no. 28; 6 of 1890 (SII, iv, no. 329).

Gaṇḍar-dinakaran (Gaṇḍarāditya), Nāraṇan, Gaṇapati, and Madhusūdanan of the fragrant garland; he then demolished the Chālukya palace in the city of Kampili, and defeated the troops of Vikrama-Nāraṇan, who advanced on a tall elephant in front of his father. The third campaign, as it is called in some inscriptions,¹ seems to have followed almost immediately; the chief incident was a battle at Pūṇḍi or Pūṇḍūr on the banks of the big river (Kṛishṇā), in which the Telugu chieftain Viccaya played the leading part on the Chālukya side and his parents and other close relations were taken prisoner by the Chōḷa forces together with several other commanders and many elephants; when in his fear Āhavamalla sent messengers to the Chōḷa camp to sue for mercy, they were turned back with indignity after inscriptions had been hung from their necks proclaiming that Āhavamalla was a despicable coward. The city of Pūṇḍūr was razed to the ground, its site being ploughed with ploughs drawn by asses and sown with *varāṭikai*, a kind of coarse millet, and the large palace at Maṇṇandippai was consigned to the flames.² Then, followed by his army, the Chōḷa took his herd of elephants down to drink at the three ghats on Śīruturai (small river), Perundurai (big river), and Daiva Bhīmakasi (the divine Bhīmā); a pillar of victory with the tiger emblem on it was planted at Yetagiri (Yadgir) of the Chālukyas. The victorious Chōḷa camp became for a while the scene of games and feasting, whilst gifts were bestowed on the kings who had offered submission.³ Fighting was soon resumed in which the Chōḷa defeated several leaders of enemy forces such as the Nulamba, Kālidāsa, Chāmuṇḍa, Kommaya, and Vallavarāja and beheaded the Gurjara king, sparing only those who sought his protection and restoring to these their positions and their diadems. The Chālukya monarch then sent to the Chōḷa a hostile message by one of his high officials (Peṇkaḍai) and two lieutenants; the latter were subjected to deliberate and barbarous insults in the Chōḷa camp—one of them being forced to wear women's clothes and the other having his head shaved so as to show five tufts; these officers were named respectively Āhavamalli and Āhavamalla. Thereafter the ancient city of Kalyāṇapuram was sacked and its royal palace razed to the ground after the guards had been overpowered; in that city Rājādhirāja performed a *vīrābhishheka* and assumed the title Vijayarājendra. At Dārāsūram in the Tanjore District can be seen even now a fine image of a *dvārapālaka* in the contemporary Chālukya style bearing the inscription in Tamil: 'The dvārapālaka (door-keeper) brought by Uḍaiyār Śrī Vijayarājendradēva after burning Kalyāṇapuram'!

The Chālukya inscriptions give little aid in the elucidation of this part of the war except in their mention of some of the names of the Chālukya generals referred to in the Chōḷa records, viz. Kālidāsa, Gaṇḍarāditya, Madhusūdana, and so on. The Telugu chieftain Viccaya, who sustained a

¹ e.g. *SII*, v, no. 520.

² From here 172 of 1894 (*SII*, v, 465).

³ *SII*, v, 520.

disastrous defeat at Pūṇḍūr, must have been an important Chālukya feudatory who had his headquarters at Yadgiri in the Hyderabad state where we find a Bijjana ruling early in the reign of Vikramāditya VI.¹ Somēśvara is said to have conquered the Chōḷa, Lāṭa, Drāviḍa, Nēpāḷa, and Pāñchāla in an inscription of A.D. 1047,² and another inscription dated only three years later mentions a feudatory mahāsāmanta Ajarasa who defeated the Chōḷa, Andhra, Magadha, Konkaṇa, Mālava, Pāñchāla, and Lāṭa kings.³ By Pāñchāla must be meant the Gurjjara-Pratihāra kingdom which had its capital Kanauj in Pāñchāla, and the fact that a Gurjjara prince fought and fell on the Chālukya side in the Chōḷa wars is clearly an indication that Somēśvara's overlordship did for a time include the Gurjjara-Pratihāra kingdom in its scope. The references to Magadha and Nēpāḷa are not easy to explain, but there are signs that fighting elsewhere in Somēśvara's empire was going on side by side with the endless Chōḷa wars. An inscription of A.D. 1049⁴ states that Somēśvara was then residing in the *neleviḍu* at Vagghāpura in Karahāḍa-nāḍu after his 'conquest of the Pallavas' *Pallava-digvijayam-geydu*. In the Nāgai inscription of a later date (A.D. 1058) Somēśvara is said to have stormed and set fire to Kāñchī, and Bilhaṇa refers to the same occurrence in more poetic fashion by saying that Somēśvara appropriated the Lakshmī (prosperity) of the Chōḷa king and secured her by taking hold of her Kāñchī (girdle).⁵ Telugu-Choḍa feudatory of Somēśvara ruling over Sindavādi in A.D. 1059-60, Chiddanna Choḍa Mahārāja, bears the distinctive title of 'the great lord who was the cause of the destruction of Kāñchīpura'; this inscription also refers to the above-mentioned victorious expedition of the emperor in the southern country as an event which had taken place some years previously.⁶ Pallava in the expression Pallava-digvijaya may well be taken to stand, like Pāñchāla above, for territory once held by the Pallavas. If this explanation be accepted, Somēśvara must be assumed to have tried to carry the war into the enemy's territory behind the lines of his fighting forces, and thus forced a withdrawal of the foes who were invading and ravaging his kingdom. It was also a fitting reprisal for the raid on Kalyāṇapura. A record from Sūḍi in the Dhārwar District of A.D. 1050 mentions the breakdown of the civic constitution of that town which resulted from the Chōḷa invasion—*Cholikara prahaṭṭadim keṭṭa*.⁷ And as this inscription also records a restoration of the constitution, we may infer that by this time the country had already been cleared of the Chōḷa forces and that the task of reconstruction had begun.

But the truce in the Chōḷa war did not continue long, and hostilities were renewed by a fresh Chōḷa invasion in which Rājādhirāja and his brother Rājendra took part. At this expedition took place at the close of Rājādhirāja's

¹ *SII*, ix (i), no. 147.

² *SII*, xi (i), 86.

³ *Hyd. Arch. Ser.*, no. 8, p. 10, v. 17; *Vik.* i, 114-17.

⁴ *SII*, ix (i), no. 123, ll. 8-9, 13.

⁵ *LR*, 25, p. 98 (VV).

⁶ *Ibid.*, no. 83.

⁷ *El.* xv, 78.

reign and the fighting was continued for some time after his death in the field, we have to gather the details from the inscriptions of Rājendra.¹ A first brief reference to the chief event in the war, the battle of Koppam, occurs in an inscription of the second regnal year of Rājendra II, i.e. A.D. 1054; Rājādhirāja's latest inscriptions bear dates in his thirty-sixth year, also A.D. 1054, which was therefore the year of the battle. The expedition must have started a little before this from the Chōla country.

The Chōla king sought an occasion for war, invaded the Raṭṭamaṇḍalam, and began to ravage the country by defiling its rivers and demolishing its towns and villages; the proud Chālukya Āhavamalla was enraged when he heard of this, and, marching out with his forces, he met the Chōla in battle at Koppam, a place of great natural strength on the 'big river'. The battle was long and hotly contested. In its early stages Rājādhirāja himself led the fight on the Chōla side, his brother Rājendra holding his men in reserve. The Chālukya troops concentrated their attack on the elephant on which Rājādhirāja was riding and mortally wounded the king, so that he 'went up into the sky being welcomed by the women of the world of Indra'. Then the vast army of Kuntalas fell upon the Chōla forces which, unable to withstand the onslaught, broke up and began to retreat in disorder. At this stage Rājendra-dēva entered the fray, shouting out to the retreating forces 'Fear not', and, pressing forward on his elephant like very Death against the Kaṇṇāṭaka troops, turned defeat into victory. Once more the enemy concentrated on the royal elephant, 'the shower of his straight arrows pierced the forehead of Rājendra's elephant, his royal thighs, and his high shoulders resembling hillocks', and several warriors who had mounted the elephant together with their king, fell dead. But Rājendra was more fortunate than his brother; he succeeded in putting to death several Chālukya generals, including Jayasimha, the brother of the strong Chālukya, Pulakēśin, Daśapanman, and Nanni Nuḷamban. Finally the Chālukya was defeated and fled in great disorder with many of his generals such as Vanniya-Rēvan, Tuttan, and Kundamayan; the elephants, horses, and camels, the victorious boar-banner and other insignia of Chālukya royalty, together with the peerless Sattiyavvai, Sāṅgappai, and the rest of the queens, a crowd of other women, and much wealth abandoned by Āhavamalla on the field, became the booty of the Chōla king. Rājendra then did a thing that no other monarch had ever done before, and crowned himself king on the battlefield while the wounds he had received in the fight were still fresh on his body. According to other inscriptions,² he then pressed on to Kollāpura where he planted a Jayastambha before he returned to his capital at Gangāpurī. Such is the account of the battle of Koppam as narrated in the Chōla inscriptions.

The site of the battle has been the subject of some discussion; but taking the entire course of events into account, the most likely view seems to be that

¹ Particularly *SII*, iii, 29 and v, 647.

² *SII*, iii, 55; ii, 304 c.

which identifies Koppam with Kopbal on the left bank of the Hire-Halla (great river), an important tributary of the Tungabhadra.¹ The battle, which marks an important stage in the Chālukya-Chōla relations, was thus another fought in the Raichur-doab, the cockpit of the Deccan.

One of the clearest references to this Chōla invasion and the fall of Rājādhirāja in battle occurs in identical terms in some Chālukya inscriptions dated A.D. 1071.² The vigorous denunciation of the Chōla in these rather late records goes some way to explain the reluctance to refer to these incidents noticed in the inscriptions of Somēśvara's reign. The wicked Chōla, these inscriptions affirm, took to evil courses (*nele geṭṭu*), abandoned the ancient dharma of his family, entered the Belvola country, and burned several temples including the Jinālayas erected by Permāṇadi; his unrighteous deeds bore immediate fruit and he lost his life in battle, yielding his sundered head to Trailokyamalla, and causing the extinction of his line—a reference to the lack of heirs to the Chōla throne in the male line which led to the accession of Kulottunga I; again the great sinner (*mahāpātaka*), who was the Tamila-king called Pāṇḍya-Chōla, ruined himself and fell very low because of his enormities. The Nāgai inscription of A.D. 1058 says that Bāchirāja, the son of Kālidāsa and Rebbanabbe, secured for his overlord the status of universal emperor (*sārvabhauma*), and adds immediately that he killed the savage and truculent foe who had opposed the powerful Kuntala ruler, and brought to him the freshly decapitated head of that enemy.³ Though the Chōla is not mentioned by name, there can be no doubt that the reference here is to the incidents which we have just traced in some detail with the aid of Chōla inscriptions. The title Rājādhirāja Chōlangonḍa of Mārarasa (A.D. 1062) and the name of the Chōlangonḍa-Traipurushadeva temple at Aṇṇigere are further mementos of these occurrences in the inscriptions of Somēśvara's reign.⁴

In the midst of these repeated engagements with the Chōla power, Somēśvara's attention was once more for a time diverted to the kingdom of Mālava after the death of king Bhoja of Dhārā about A.D. 1055. After mentioning the death of Bhoja and the accession of his relation Udayāditya, the Nāgpur *prasasti* of the Paramāras says: 'delivering the earth which was troubled by kings and taken possession of by Karṇa, who, joined by the Karṇāṭas, was like the mighty ocean, this prince did indeed act like the holy boat.'⁵ There are other inscriptions, however, which show another relation of Bhoja, Jayasimha by name, ruling in Mālava in the years immediately following the death of Bhoja, apparently about 1055-9,⁶ and this, the earliest

¹ *Hyd. Arch. Ser.*, no. 12, p. 5. Fleet's suggestion of Khidrāpūr on the Kṛishṇā (*EI*, xii, 296-8) seems much less probable now.

² *EI*, xv, 23; *BG*, i (ii), 441; *EC*, viii, sb. 325.

³ *VV*, 36 and 37; *Hyd. Arch. Ser.*, no. 8, p. 12.

⁴ *BK*, 189 of 1932-3; *SII*, xi (i), no. 97, 103.

⁵ *EI*, ii, 192, v. 32.

⁶ Mandhata grant vs. 11-12, *EI*, iii, p. 47, Panahera stone inscr. *ASI*, 1916-17, pp. 19-20.

date for Udayāditya himself so far known (vv. 11-16),¹ falls at the close of the period of Jayasimha's rule. From these facts and from the omission of the name of Jayasimha in the Nāgpur *prafasti*, we may infer that this king had sought the aid of Karṇa and the Karṇāṭas either to gain the throne of Mālava for himself or to maintain himself on it against the attacks of Udayāditya, and that he was for a while successful. Karṇa was doubtless the Haihaya ruler of Dāhala, son of Gāṅgēyadeva-Vikramāditya. He ruled from about A.D. 1041 to 1070. The Karṇāṭas here spoken of were doubtless the Chālukyas under Somēśvara I. In his account of the achievements of Vikramāditya in his father's reign, Bilhaṇa mentions that he lent his assistance to the king of Mālava, who came to him for protection, and that he established this prince in his kingdom² after freeing it from his foes; this may be a reference to the help given to Jayasimha. This support did not avail him long, since the Chālukyas could not stand by him owing to their renewed preoccupation with the Chōla struggle. Bilhaṇa also says that Somēśvara utterly destroyed the power of Karṇa, king of Dāhala.³ This doubtless is an exaggeration, and it is not possible to decide whether the differences between the Chālukya and Chedi monarchs preceded or followed their co-operation in favour of Jayasimha.

Āhavamalla was by no means inclined to accept the verdict of the battle of Koppam which, in spite of the death of the Chōla monarch in the field, was for the Chālukya both a military defeat and a political disaster involving great loss of prestige. Somēśvara's plan of recovery comprised two parts—one directed towards winning Veṅgī over to his side if possible or establishing his power there under cover of furthering Vijayāditya's claims if necessary, and the other meant to retrieve the name lost on the field of battle at Koppam in 1054. An inscription of A.D. 1049 as also the Mulgund inscription of Somēśvara dated A.D. 1053⁴ gives to one of his sons, Somēśvaradeva, the title Vengīpuravareśvara, showing that this title attaching to the Yuvarāja-pada held by Sobhanarasa some time before had come to be held as early as 1049 by the real Yuvarāja himself; and this fact is itself certain evidence regarding the intentions of the ruling monarch regarding Veṅgī. Six years later, in 1055, the year after the battle of Koppam, there is recorded at Drākshārāma in the heart of the Veṅgī kingdom an endowment of a lamp in the temple by Kupama, the daughter of Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭa, the *pradhāni* of the emperor Trailokyamalladeva.⁵ A few years later, from about A.D. 1062 onwards, begins a series of inscriptions in which Viṣṇuvardhana-Vijayāditya figures as a feudatory of Somēśvara but with the significant title Vengīmaṇḍaleśvara, lord of the kingdom of Veṅgī.⁶ The fact seems to be that after the campaign in which the battles of Kalidiṇḍi and Dhānyakaṭaka were

¹ *JASB*, ix, 545 ff.

² *Ibid.*, i, 102-3.

³ *SII*, iv, 1010.

⁴ *Vik.*, iii, 67.

⁵ *SII*, xi (i), 84; *EL*, xvi, 53.

⁶ *Nāgai* (LR); *EC*, vii, Ci. 18 and so on.

fought and Kollipākai was reached, the Chōla monarchs were too busy elsewhere to concern themselves with Veṅgī; and after the death of Rājendra I, his sons Rājādhirāja and Rājendra found it impossible to go to the aid of Rājarāja, though Rājendra at least did really intend to do so, as we learn from the inscriptions of his younger brother Vīrarājendra. That Rājarāja himself was present in and ruling the Veṅgī kingdom is witnessed by the Nandampūṇḍi grant which was issued in his thirty-second regnal year, c. A.D. 1051. In what relation he stood to Somēśvara during these years it is by no means easy to decide, though it seems probable that he had to acknowledge overlordship of this monarch and entertain his officials in his kingdom; Somēśvara on his side was perhaps content with this recognition, and refraining from the onerous task of displacing Rājarāja from Veṅgī and imposing Vijayāditya on that kingdom, he compensated Vijayāditya by giving him an honoured position elsewhere in his empire. Rājarāja is known to have made gifts of gold to the temple of Tiruvaīyāru in the years A.D. 1049 and 1050;¹ and one is left wondering whether this means that Rājarāja went to the south to solicit the help of Rājādhirāja at that time; if this in fact was so, his mission produced no immediate results, since the Chōla emperor was evidently more intent on the western front and eager to undertake the campaign which led to the battle of Koppam, or possibly, on the other hand, that campaign was planned after Rājarāja's visit and as a result of it, as the best means for securing relief for Rājarāja from the pressure of Western Chālukya officers and forces by drawing these off to the defence of their home country; if that was indeed the root cause of the campaign of Koppam, it must be held to have failed completely in its execution, and Rājarāja had to make his peace with Somēśvara's representatives by himself as best he could.

To turn once again to the western theatre. Anxious to wipe out the disgrace that befell him on the field of Koppam, Āhavamalla set out with a large force led by the Daṇḍanāyaka Vālādēva and other generals, and a battle ensued on the banks of the Muḍakkāru (winding river) in which the verdict of Koppam was only confirmed according, at least, to the Chōla inscriptions; Rājendradēva's inscription (A.D. 1061)² states that the Daṇḍanāyaka and his lieutenants fell, whilst Irugaian and others, unable to resist the vigorous onslaught of the Chōla forces, were forced to retreat together with their king and the proud Vikkalan. Rājendradēva, his son Rājamahendra, and his brother Vīrarājendra also seem to have been present at the battle, and their inscriptions add further details to our information about the conflict. Rājamahendra's inscription (A.D. 1062)³ says that with a war-elephant he forced Āhavamalla to turn his back at Muḍakkāru and defeated the army of Jaysinga with his own troops. Vīrarājendra's inscriptions from his second year (A.D. 1064) onwards⁴ give a long account of a battle at Kūḍal-śangamam

¹ *SI*, v, 520.

² *Ibid.*, vii, 743.

² *Ibid.*, v, 647.

³ *Ibid.*, v, 976.

preceded by some other events in which this king seems to have taken a leading part and which are not mentioned elsewhere; but clearly the course of the campaign, its probable date, and the various designations of the Chālukya commanders leave little room to doubt that Kūḍal-śāngamam is only a second name for the Muḍakkāru of other inscriptions. In fact the mention of Muḍakkāru itself in an inscription¹ of Virarājendra which omits Kūḍal-śāngamam makes this quite certain.

The preliminaries to the battle of Kūḍal-śāngamam are thus described in the Chōḷa inscription:² 'Virarājendra drove from the battlefield in Gaṅga-pāḍi into the Tungabhadra the mahāsāmantas whose strong hands wielded cruel bows, along with Vikkalan who fought under his banner at the head of the battle. He attacked and destroyed the irresistible, great, and powerful army which Vikkalan had again dispatched into Veṅgi-nāḍu; fought the mādaṇḍanāyakan Chāmuṇḍarāja and cut off his head; and severed the nose from the face of Chāmuṇḍarāja's only daughter called Nāgalai, who was the queen of Irugaiyan and who resembled a peacock in beauty.' Here we have two more or less separate but connected occurrences—the chase of Vikramāditya across Gaṅgavāḍi to the banks of the Tungabhadra and the defeat of a Western Chālukya army in Veṅgi: the campaign in Gaṅgavāḍi was perhaps a prelude to the battle of Muḍakkāru (Kūḍal-śāngamam), first mentioned about A.D. 1061, and there is a Western Chālukya inscription from Sūḍi (Dharwar District) dated A.D. 1061³ which mentions that Somēśvara was at that time in camp at Puliyappayaṇavīḍu in Sindavāḍi after his *digvijaya* in the South and the conquest of the Chōḷa. The pursuit of Vikramāditya across Gaṅgavāḍi shows the extent of initial success which attended Āhavamalla's effort to reverse the verdict of Koppam. The occasion for the fighting in Veṅgi is not clear; but it was severe and attended with wanton barbarity; the Chālukya commander Chāmuṇḍarāja lost his life, and his daughter was cruelly mutilated. It is probable that the Chālukya army said to have been dispatched to Veṅgi was sent after the death of Rājarāja to aid Vijayāditya, who is said to have seized the throne by force and to have bestowed it on his son Śaktivarman II, and that this Śaktivarman was also among those who fell on the Chālukya side as a result of Virarājendra's campaign in that country. The date of this Veṅgi campaign of Virarājendra would seem from the Western Chālukya inscriptions mentioning Chāmuṇḍarāja to have been later than the battle of Kūḍal-śāngamam. This campaign was, however, evidently only an episode without results, a diversion which preceded the main engagement at Kūḍal-śāngamam, which, considering the course of events, is best identified with Kūḍali at the junction of the Tungā and the Bhadrā in the Mysore country.⁴ This engagement, in which on both sides the ruling monarchs and some princes who were closely related to them took part, is

¹ *SII*, iii, 84.

³ *EL*, xv, 85 ff. F.

² *Ibid.*, same as *SII*, iii, 37.

⁴ *SII*, iii, 32.

described at considerable length in the inscriptions of Virarājendra, which count it as the third occasion on which he met the Chālukya forces, after the two campaigns in Gaṅgavādi and Veṅgi mentioned above.¹ Once more we have the conflicting claims of the rival parties; but the silence of the Chālukya inscriptions on details and the tone of the Chōla records clearly imply that military success was on this occasion also with the Chōlas. Among the names of generals on the Chālukya side besides the emperor Āhavamalla himself and his sons Vikramāditya (Vikkalan) and Jayasimha III (Śiṅgaṇan), we must note Maduvaṇan (Madhusūdana) and Kēśava, both sons of the celebrated general Kālidāsa of the Vaṇasa family. But the Chōlas gained little political advantage from the victory, and the death of Rājendra which occurred soon after must have decided Virarājendra to return to his capital.

The further course of the war is to be traced in the later inscriptions of Virarājendra's reign, and in fugitive references in Chālukya inscriptions of more or less corresponding date. Five inscriptions of Virarājendra dated in the fifth year² A.D. 1067–8 say that he 'terrified Āhavamalla yet a second time on the appointed battlefield, fulfilled the vow of his own elder brother and seized Vēṅgai-nādu'. We have inscriptions showing Vishṇuvardhana Vijayāditya engaged on a southern expedition and camping at Mudukakeṇi in the Shimoga District, and at Arasikeṇi, in the years A.D. 1063 and 1065,³ and this campaign seems to be not unrelated to the second engagement on the battlefield planned beforehand as mentioned in Virarājendra's records. The Maṇimangalam inscription of the same monarch, also of the fifth year, gives more details of this engagement on the appointed battlefield and then continues the story one stage farther.⁴ Among the generals who lost their lives in the battle are specially named Malliyaṇan, Mañjippayan, Piramadēvan, Aśokaiyan, Śattiyaṇan, Pattiyaṇan, Vīmayan, and Vangaran, besides the Ganga, Nuḷamba, Kāḍava, and Vaidumba kings; the heads of these fallen commanders are said to have been carried to Gangaikoṇḍacōlapuram and nailed on its walls! Then the Chālukya, feeling that it was better to face death than to live in disgrace, wrote a letter (*ōlai*) to say that Kūḍal, the place where formerly he and his sons had been defeated and had fled, would be the scene of another trial of strength, and whoever from fear failed to present himself there would be deemed no king but a disgraceful coward afraid of war; the letter was sent by a messenger named Gangākētta; when he arrived at Virarājendra's court and duly delivered his message, the Chōla monarch was doubly pleased, and marched to the field that had been named; but the Vallava chief (Chālukya king) did not appear, and the Chōla waited at Kāndai for one month beyond the date agreed upon for the engagement; when the Chālukya ran away again and hid himself by the western ocean, while his three generals Devanātha, Śitti, and Kēśi also turned their backs, the Chōla suppressed all

¹ *Cōlas*, i, 318–19.

³ *EC*, vii, Ci. 18; *ŚII*, ix (i), 128.

² *ŚII*, iii, 193.

⁴ *ŚII*, iii, 30.

resistance in the famous Raṭṭapāḍi country and set up a pillar of victory, bearing his emblem of a tiger, on the banks of the Tungabhadra; he then dressed the Chālukya messenger as the Vallava, placing a magnificent necklace on his neck, writing the word Chālukya on his chest, and hanging on his person a placard bearing an inscription which told of the open flight of the Chālukya in order to escape capture by the Chōla elephant.¹

The inscription then turns to give an account of Vīrarājendra's campaigns in another quarter. He challenged his enemy saying: 'I shall not go back without regaining the good Veṅgī country; come and defend it if you are a Vallava (meaning both strong man and Chālukya).' A terrific struggle followed on the banks of the Kṛishṇā, close to Vijayavāḍa (Bezwada) in which the huge army commanded by Jananātha, Rājamayan, and Muparasana was driven into the jungle; after this resounding victory, Vīrarājendra made his elephants drink the water of the Gōdāvarī; he then crossed Kalingam and dispatched his conquering forces into territories beyond Chakrakūṭa. He thus reconquered the good country of Veṅgī and bestowed it on Vijayāditya who came and paid homage at his lotus feet before he returned to his capital of Gangāpurī (Gangaikondachōlapuram).

The Tirumukkūdal inscription, also of the fifth year of Vīrarājendra, gives all these details up to the crossing of Kalingam as far as the Mahendra mountain,² it then mentions the bestowal of Veṅgī on Vijayāditya and the return to Gangāpurī, after which it turns to narrate the events of a war in Ceylon; the record then reverts to the Chālukya war, and gives details of the engagements in and near Chakrakūṭa briefly mentioned in the other inscriptions; it states that the Chālukya sent twice the number of elephants which he had previously employed against the Chōla, who met them at Koṇḍai (Koṇḍapalli?) and inflicted on them a crushing defeat as before, leading to the flight of several Chālukya generals and the capture of the rest, together with many beautiful women and much booty. The battle of Koṇḍai was commemorated by the erection of a pillar of victory with the Chōla emblem of the tiger on it,³ and the Chōla troops pressed on to Śakkarakkōṭṭam (Chakrakūṭa) where a fresh defeat was inflicted on the Chālukya forces and more prisoners were taken. That the son of Rājarāja Narendra, Rājendra, the future Kulōttunga I, was co-operating with his maternal uncle Vīrarājendra in these wars, particularly in the Bastar region, becomes evident from the references preserved in the inscriptions of Kulōttunga; they state that when he was yet a Yuvarāja (Iḷangō) he overcame the treachery of his enemies, captured a large number of elephants at Vairāgaṭh, and levied tribute on Dhārāvarsha, the Nāgavamśi king; again in another version of the same events he is

¹ Hultzsch's rendering of this part of the inscription (*JII*, iii, p. 30, ll. 26-8) differs considerably from that given here, but is rather incoherent. See also *LI*, xxi, 230 ff.

² *EI*, xxi, pp. 230 ff., ll. 8-9.

³ K. V. S. Aiyar imagines a geographical name Śuṭṭukkal or Pulīśuṭṭukkal in this part of the text for which there is no warrant. *EI*, xxi, loc. cit.

represented as personally leading a cavalry charge, waving his drawn sword, and by its force breaking up and putting to flight the army of the Kuntala king on the field of battle.¹ That on the Chālukya side, Vikramāditya led the armies which fought in the Veṅgī kingdom and farther north in Kalinga and Chakrakūṭa is clear; the Chōḷa inscriptions mention his dispatch of troops into Veṅgī before the battle of Kūḍal-śāngamam; Bilhana includes Veṅgī and Chakrakūṭa among the conquests of Vikramāditya in his *digvijaya*,² and the Tamil poem *Kalingattupparaṇi* implies that at Chakrakūṭa the enemy against whom Kulōttunga fought was Vikramāditya.

Somēśvara failed to keep the engagement he had himself made to retrieve his name, and we hear little more of him after this except the mention of his illness, and of his death by voluntarily seeking a watery grave in the Tungabhadra river, at the end of March A.D. 1068. Perhaps illness took hold of him soon after he sent the challenge to Vīrarājendra, and then his failure to keep an appointment he had made with so much *élan* may have aggravated his disease and led to his suicide. His failure to appear at Kūḍal as expected is recorded on 10 September A.D. 1067;³ and his *parama-yoga* (final union) at Kuruvatti on the Tungabhadra took place on 29 March A.D. 1068⁴. The interval is not too great to be covered by the suggestion made about the reason for Somēśvara's inability to go to Kūḍal.

The battle of Bezwāḍa, the further fighting in the Baster region, and the final handing over of the Veṅgī kingdom to Vijayāditya must now be explained. Ultimately they are connected with the question of the succession to Rājarājanaṛendra in the Veṅgī kingdom. We have noted above that after the death of Rājendra I Chōḷa, the Veṅgī ruler was left very much to his own devices, that he had to make terms with Somēśvara, and that though Vīrarājendra's intercession soon after the death of Rājarāja brought about the fall of Śaktivarman II in battle, it did not alter the balance of political forces to any considerable extent. Vīrarājendra resolved that this state of affairs should be ended and that Veṅgī should come once again into the sphere of Chōḷa influence, and thus his fighting, which was first directed against Vijayāditya supported by Vikramāditya, ended by a bestowal of the kingdom on Vijayāditya by Vīrarājendra himself. Here is a diplomatic revolution not unrelated to the general trend of Deccani politics which began to be dominated by the growing ambitions of Vikramāditya VI. The change in Vijayāditya's attitude to Vīrarājendra and his new-born readiness to submit to him and receive his

¹ *SII*, iii, nos. 64 ff.

² *Ibid.*, iv, 29-30. The remarks of Buhler (*Intr.*, p. 31, n. 3) on Bilhana's account of this *digvijaya* appear to me quite just. Even our vastly improved epigraphic knowledge since Buhler's day furnishes no warrant for including Kerala, Simhala, Cauda, and Kāmarūpa among Vikramāditya's conquests. The principle adopted in this work is not to accept as history any statement of Bilhana which is not clearly corroborated by other evidence. The vague statements found in *prastāvis* about N. India have been ignored. *Contra*, Ray, *DIINI*, i, p. 203, 250-1.

³ *EI*, vii, 9.

⁴ *EC*, vii, Sk. 136.

kingdom from him as a fief belied the whole of his past career and was obviously brought about by the action of Vikramāditya. The suggestion may well be made that all this happened as a consequence of the death of Somēśvara I and immediately after it. And in fact the submission of Vijayāditya is followed soon after by a treaty between Vikramāditya himself and Vīrarājendra sealed by a dynastic alliance. Let us examine the details of this occurrence as we find them in our sources.

Vīrarājendra's inscriptions of the sixth and seventh regnal years A.D. 1068–70 are very instructive. Those of the sixth year¹ state that 'on a third occasion', i.e. at the next opportunity after the two encounters at Kūḍal-śangamam and near the river, Vīrarājendra burnt Kampili before Somēśvara could untie the *kaṇṭhikā* (necklace) which he had put on, and set up a pillar of victory at Karaḍikal, a village in the Lingsagur *tāluk* of the Racihur District. The Somēśvara mentioned here is doubtless Somēśvara II who had been made Yuvarāja in his father's lifetime.² The *kaṇṭhikā* here mentioned must doubtless be taken as being the symbol of Yuvarāja's office; and the idea is that after the death of Somēśvara I, before his son Somēśvara II could untie his Yuvarāja's *kaṇṭhikā* for his coronation as emperor, Kampili was burnt and the pillar of victory set up by Vīrarājendra. A record of the seventh year³ of Vīrarājendra states explicitly that he drove Somēśvara out of the Kannaḍa country, conquered the Raṭṭapāḍi seven-and-a-half-lakh country, and bestowed it together with the *kaṇṭhikā* on the Chāḷukki Vikramāditya who came and bowed to his feet. It is thus abundantly clear that Vijayāditya's submission to Vīrarājendra was, if we may trust the testimony of the Chōḷa inscriptions, but the prelude to Vikramāditya's soliciting and gaining the aid of the Chōḷa monarch against his own brother. How far is this confirmed by the other lines of evidence accessible to us?

An inscription of Somēśvara II⁴ admits that Vīrarājendra wrongly supposed that at the commencement of the new reign attack and conquest would be easy whilst the new government was not yet firmly in the saddle, and so came and laid siege to Gooty, the famous fortress in the Anantapur District; but the army of Somēśvara fought so well that the Chōḷa soon turned his back and fled. The same inscription calls Daṇḍanāyaka Lakshmaṇa the restorer of the kingdom of Bhuvanaikamalla, and the cause of the existence of the Chāḷukya kingdom—at once giving an idea of the importance of the general's services and a much clearer idea of the danger from which he saved his master. The record then proceeds to detail the arrangements made by Somēśvara for the defence of the southern frontier, which matters may be reserved for later study. There is no hint of any part played by Vikramāditya against his brother, and in fact other records show that he was still officially Yuvarāja under this elder brother. Bilhaṇa's revelations regarding Vikramā-

¹ *SII*, iii, 83.

³ *SII*, iii, 84.

² *Vik.* iii, 55.

⁴ *EC*, vii, Sk. 136.

ditya's relations with his brother and Vīrarājendra go far to confirm the impressions derived from the Chōla inscriptions. When Vikramāditya had completed his education and had grown up to manhood, his father conceived the plan of making him Yuvarāja; but when this plan was put before him he refused the favour, affirming that the position belonged of right to his elder brother Somēśvara, and his father had to yield and make Somēśvara Yuvarāja. But even so, the luck of the kingdom and the love of his father favoured Vikrama, and he bore the burden of the duties both of the king and of the Yuvarāja. Vikramāditya then went on the *digvijaya* which included the wars against the Chōla king in the south and in Veṅgī and Chakrakūṭa. When on his way home he was encamped on the Kṛishṇā he heard of the death of his father, who had drowned himself in the Tungabhadrā after a sudden illness as related above, a *dāhajvara*, against which no remedy availed. After performing the funeral ceremonies, he returned to Kalyāṇī and lived for a time on friendly terms with his brother. Somēśvara then fell into evil courses, oppressed his subjects, and turned against Vikramāditya, who now left the city with his younger brother Jayasimha since the capital was no longer safe for them. All attempts by Somēśvara to capture and slay his brothers failed, thanks to Vikramāditya's ability as a military leader. After evading his elder brother, Vikramāditya marched to the Tungabhadrā and Vanavāsa. Resting there for a while, he resumed his march with the intention of attacking the Chōlas; but just then Jayakeśī of Konkan and the Ālupa king made their submission, and the Chōla king also, feeling that he could not withstand Vikrama's invasion, sent an ambassador to meet the Chālukya prince and ask for his friendship, offering him at the same time his daughter's hand. Vikrama thereupon agreed to give up his expedition. He retired to Tungabhadrā in order to give an appearance of victory to the Chōla monarch and so to save his face, and his marriage with the Chōla princess was duly celebrated before the two kings went back to their respective capitals.

From this highly embellished account of Bilhaṇa some things stand out clearly, viz. Vikramāditya's eagerness to grasp power commensurate with his great ability, his dislike of his brother Somēśvara's succession to his father's throne, and his readiness to ally himself to the Chōla monarch whom he had fought relentlessly during the lifetime of that father. Bilhaṇa's account of the part taken by Jayakeśī, the Kadamba ruler of Goa (c. A.D. 1050-80), is borne out by inscriptions which attest his having brought together the Chālukya and Chōla monarchs at Kāñchī, and having confirmed the Chālukya monarch in his own kingdom.¹ To complete the picture of the diplomatic relations of the time we have to note that just as Vijayāditya and Vikramāditya were gainers by their alliance with Vīrarājendra, so Rājendra (Kulōttunga), the son of Rājarāja and the lawful claimant to the throne of

¹ *JBBRAS*, ix, p. 242, l. 2; p. 278, l. 12.

Veṅgī, was a loser. He was definitely kept out of Veṅgī, and after the death of Vīrarājendra, Vikramāditya tried without success to keep him out of the Chōḷa kingdom; Kulōttunga therefore naturally sought alliance with Somēśvara II and developed lifelong enmity to Vikramāditya.

In tracing the political effects of the death of Somēśvara I we have been led far into the reign of his successor Somēśvara II; we now return to that of Somēśvara I. Under him Chāḷukya power became immensely extended. From the early years of his reign practically to its end Veṅgī was completely under his control, and the Paramāras and Pratihāras, two major powers of Northern India, became tributary to him for a time; he maintained the long struggle with the Chōḷas with undiminished vigour to the end of his life, in spite of the many defeats and set-backs which befell him during its wearisome course; and though he lost many a battle he never once allowed himself to entertain the idea of ultimate defeat. Beside his sons, particularly Vikramāditya, he had many other able commanders in his service who loyally fought his battles and were ever ready to defend his honour with their lives. Somēśvara must have been a greater diplomat than he was a warrior, or he could not have succeeded in making his influence felt over so many states and for so long, and that with a military record of far from unimpaired success in battle. His alliance with Viṣṇuvardhana-Vijayāditya and the limits he set to himself in the use he made of it in the furtherance of his political objects were alike master-strokes of high policy. If the relentless pursuit of glory, the capacity to bend all available resources in men and material to the service of that pursuit, and the talent so to organize them as to make them readily available wherever and whenever they are required, are signs of greatness, Somēśvara was a great ruler, even greater than his more celebrated son Vikramāditya. He had great faith in himself and succeeded in imparting this faith to his followers. He was not unmindful of the arts of peace; the noble city of Kalyāṇī was his creation. Somēśvara's sway extended over the whole of the Deccan between the Vindhyas and the Tungabhadra, with considerable additions, varying from time to time both in the north and the south, to the limits of his permanent dominion.

The Nāgai inscription of Ś. 980 (A.D. 1058) gives to Somēśvara the titles Rāya Nārāyaṇa and Vīramārtāṇḍa, and mentions a war with the Chaulūka king, who must have been Bhīmadeva I (A.D. 1022-64);¹ but of this war we have no information from any other source. Somēśvara I is said to have fixed his camp at Pottalakere in A.D. 1044,² at Pūvinapadāṅgile in A.D. 1045 after the capture of Śivāpa,³ and at Vagghāpura in Karahāḍanāḍu four years later after his Pallava *digvijaya*.⁴ He is said to have been residing at Kalyāṇapura in A.D. 1053, 1054, and 1055 in inscriptions bearing these dates.⁵ He was at

¹ *Hyd. Arch. Ser.* No. 8, vv. 16, 21 of Nāgai (B).

² *Ibid.*, 101.

³ *LR* (VV); *BK*, 23 of 1936-7; *LC*, xi, Cd. 47.

² *SII*, ix, i, 98.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 83.

Kōļūru in A.D. 1058¹ and in Beṇṇeya-daṇḍu in A.D. 1062.² Six queens of Somēśvara are known from the inscriptions: Chandalakabbe or Chandrikā-dēvī mentioned in a record of A.D. 1047;³ Maiḷaladevī, bearing the same titles as Chandrikādēvī two years later, ruling Banavāsi 12,000 in A.D. 1053 and making a visit with the emperor to Śrīśaila in A.D. 1057;⁴ Iḷlādevī the daughter (?) of Prabhu Mārasimha who has been mentioned above; Hoysaladevī who made a grant in A.D. 1055 for a *tīrtha* on the Tungabhadra established by a Gauḍa of Onnālai (modern Honnāli);⁵ Ketala-dēvī who was ruling the Ponnavaḍa *agrahāram* in A.D. 1054 according to the *tribhōgābhyan-tara-siddhi* which Fleet is inclined to explain as the equal sharing of the income proceeds by the ruler, the Brāhmins and the gods;⁶ and Bāchaladevī, who was perhaps the chief queen, as she was the mother of Somēśvara II, Vikramāditya VI, and Jayasimha III.⁷

Somēśvara II

Somēśvara II Bhuvanaikamalla succeeded his father on 11 April A.D. 1068, within a fortnight after that father's self-immolation in the Tungabhadra at the end of March; the formal installation evidently took place after the expiry of the days of pollution and the conclusion of the funerary ceremonies.⁸ The inscription which records this fact further states that the Chōla ruler immediately renewed his attack on the Chālukya kingdom as he calculated that the beginning of a new reign was the most suitable opportunity for aggression on his part; he came and laid siege to Gutti (Gooty), but the cavalry divisions of the Chālukya army attacked him in great force and compelled him to retreat. The southern frontier was strengthened and different sectors of it were entrusted to eminent generals; among them were the two brothers of the emperor, Singa (i.e. Jayasimha) being put in charge of Nolamba-sindavāḍi, Vikramāditya becoming governor of Gaṅgavāḍi up to Ālampura, and the trustworthy and loyal Lakshmaṇa Daṇḍanāyaka holding Banavāsi 12,000. While making these arrangements the emperor is reported to have clearly defined the order of seniority among them, saying that Vikrama-Gaṅga-bhūpa was next to himself, Vīra-Nolamba-deva, i.e. Jayasimha, next to Vikrama, and that Lakshmaṇa came immediately after Jayasimha, all others in the state being lower in rank than Lakshmaṇa, described as 'the promoter of the kingdom of Bhuvanaikamalla-Vallabha' and 'the servant who was indispensable to the Chālukya kingdom' (*Chālukya-rājyakke kāraṇam ādāḷ*). On the other hand, the emperor also had to deal with

¹ *SII*, ix, i, 122.

² *LR* (VV).

³ *SII*, xi, i, 83; *BK*. 72 of 1932-3; *SII*, ix, i, 119, 121.

⁴ *EC*, vii, Hl. i. Fleet thinks Hoysala Vinayāditya was a feudatory of Somēśvara. *DKD*, 439, 492.

⁵ *IA*, xix, 268.

⁶ *DKD*, p. 438 and n. 1. Her rule of the same area in Ś. 984 (A.D. 1062) from Kalyāna is mentioned in a record of Ś. 995 from Hunwaḍ (*BK*. 169 of 1933-4).

⁷ *Nāgai inscr.*, p. 31, l. 244.

⁸ *EC*, vii, Sk. 136.

evil and treacherous *sāmantas* (feudatories), and with turbulent forest tribes, beside repelling powerful foes. Somēśvara's reign was thus full of trouble from its commencement; there was no love lost between him and Vikramāditya, and reading between the lines of Bilhaṇa's panegyric on Vikramāditya we can see that his intrigues against his elder brother began very early, probably even before Somēśvara's accession, and that he fomented the hostility of the Chōla enemy and the disloyalty of the *sāmantas* within the realm.

The so-called frontier arrangements in the south after the repulse of the Chōla invasion, particularly the appointment of Vikramāditya as Yuvarāja and governor of Gaṅgavāḍi, must be interpreted in the light of other inscriptions already noted; on the one hand the Chōla Virarājendra claims to have driven Somēśvara II out of Kaṇṇāṭaka and bestowed the whole of Raṭṭapāḍi on Vikramāditya, and on the other Lakṣmaṇarasa is said to have saved the kingdom of Bhuvanaikamalla-Vallabha. As a matter of fact we find that Somēśvara's inscriptions recognize Vikrama as next in rank to himself and governor of Gaṅgavāḍi; Vikramāditya himself was evidently not content with a subordinate position, and if his inscriptions in the Bellary and Anantapur Districts¹ giving him full imperial titles as early as A.D. 1071 are not mere exhibitions of usurped authority, we must suppose that the Chōla war was brought to an end with a political compromise by which the Chālukya empire was virtually divided between the two brothers, Vikramāditya getting as his share the parts adjacent to the Chōla empire with which he had just formed an alliance cemented, as Bilhaṇa tells us, by his marrying a daughter of Virarājendra.

By the death of Virarājendra, which occurred early in A.D. 1070, the alliance of Vikramāditya with the Chōlas was changed from an asset into a liability. He found that he had to divide his attention between the pursuit of his differences at home with his brother, and the protection and maintenance of his young brother-in-law Adhirājendra on the Chōla throne against the designs of the Eastern Chālukya Rājendra (Kulōttunga I). Vikramāditya proceeded to Kāñchī, where he spent some time and succeeded in suppressing attempts at rebellion; he went next to Gangākuṇḍa (Gangaikondachōlapuram) where he formally installed Adhirājendra on the throne. After a month in the Chōla capital, Vikrama returned to the Tungabhadra.² Some time later (Bilhaṇa grossly exaggerates when he says it was only a few days after his return) Vikramāditya heard that the Chōla king had lost his life in a popular rising (*prakṛti-virodha*) and that Rājiga, the ruler of Veṅgī, had captured the vacant Chōla throne. Rājiga is doubtless Rājendra (Kulōttunga²), and Bilhaṇa's designation of him as Veṅgī-nātha shows perhaps that the position held by Vijayāditya in Veṅgī as a gift of Virarājendra was without prejudice to the claims of the legitimate successor of Rājarāja Narendra. But with the accession of Kulōttunga to the Chōla throne, Vikramāditya found

¹ *SII*, ix (i), nos. 135, 136, 138. See also *Cōlas*, i, 333-5.

² *Vik*, vi, 7-25.

himself placed between two enemies, one on either side of him; his brother Somēśvara at home, and Kulōttunga in the Chōla country. Vijayāditya, who had served as a pawn for many years, brought no strength to the side of Vikramāditya to whom he in fact owed everything.

For the next five or six years (A.D. 1070-6) it was to be the task of Vikramāditya to extricate himself from this dangerous situation. He made very good use of the formal position assigned to him by his brother as governor of Gaṅga-vāḍi, and acted throughout with a superb confidence in himself and in his ultimate success, and in the importance of both for the well-being of the Chālukya empire. Disdaining to use subordinate titles, he adopted the full imperial style in all his inscriptions and assumed the *biruda* Tribhuvanamalla. Knowing full well that Somēśvara and Kulōttunga would naturally enter into an alliance against him, he laid his plans carefully and prepared for a fight on two fronts simultaneously. By offering inducements and by a show of force, he succeeded in detaching from Somēśvara and winning over to his side a considerable number of the vassals and feudatories in the empire. An inscription of A.D. 1071 from the Bellary District¹ mentions Tribhuvanamalla (Vikramāditya) as ruling from the *nelevēḍu* of Govindavāḍi and refers to a recent victory of his over Daṇḍanāyaka Chiddaya, which had given him great satisfaction; Govindavāḍi is perhaps Govindavāḍā in the Rāyadurg *tāluk* of the Bellary District. It was also the capital from which Trailokyamalla Jayasimhadēva, who bears the usual Nolamba-Pallava titles and is styled *annana singam* (the lion of his brother), was ruling over Nolambavāḍi at this very time²—a clear confirmation this of Bilhaṇa's statement that Vikramāditya and his younger brother Jayasimha were acting together in opposition to Somēśvara. Vikramāditya was extremely successful in the diplomatic field and quietly won many princes over to his side before he actually resorted to the final arbitrament of war. Besides the Kadamba Jayakeśi, and Vijayāditya who were already on his side, he seems to have secured the adhesion of the Hoysala princes Vinayāditya and his son Eṇṇyanga, the latter of whom is said to have carried out the behest of the Chālukya emperor (Vikramāditya) and compelled the Chōla king to wear leaves as his robes;³ the Pāṇḍya of Uccangi also took his side and showed his loyalty by assuming the title Tribhuvanamalla and taking part in the war against Kulōttunga, winning for himself the distinction of being known as 'the breaker of the mind of Rājiga Chōla'—Rājiga-Colamanobhanga.⁴ Even the distant Yādava prince Seuṇa II was persuaded to join Vikramāditya; in two of his inscriptions dated in A.D. 1069 Seuṇa bears only the feudatory title of Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara, and we may well assume that like his ancestors he continued to pay homage as a vassal of the reigning Chālukya emperor of

¹ *SII*, ix (i), no. 135.

² *EL*, iv, 215.

³ *Cōlikar annaleyaṁ tālirannuḍisi* - *EC*, v, Ak. 102 (a).

⁴ *Ibid.*, also *EC*, vii, Ci. 33.

Kalyāṇī—Someśvara II;¹ but Hemādri says in his *rājaprasasti* of the Vrata-khaṇḍa that Seunachandra's strong arm rescued Paramārdi-deva (Vikramāditya) from the pressure of his enemies and established the light of the Chālukya family in the kingdom of Kalyāṇa.²

Somēśvara must have had a difficult and harassing reign; the intrigues of his brother were persistent and continuous in all quarters and there were few lieutenants in whom he could repose confidence; the illustrious Lakshmaṇa Daṇḍanātha was the most conspicuous exception; he at least was always loyal and prompt in carrying out the commands of the emperor and did much to restore the damage that had resulted from the Chōla invasions of the previous reign.³ He was in charge of the important divisions of Belvola 300 and Purigeṇe 300 in the heart of the empire; this country had usually been ruled by the heir-apparent, but as there was no one among his relatives who both enjoyed Somēśvara's confidence and was fit for the charge, it was given over to the most trusted commander in the army; Lakshmaṇa had under him the mahāsāmanta Jayakeśiyarasa of the Manala family (hence different from the Kadamba Jayakeśi of Goa who was the ally of Vikramāditya) as the Rāshtrakūṭa of Purigeṇe in the year A.D. 1074.⁴ A considerable number of inscriptions ranging from A.D. 1071 to 1075 attest the loyal rule of Udayāditya over Banavāsīnāḍ with Bankāpura as his capital; the name of his queen Lachchaladevī occurs in one of these records, and in another there is mention of the emperor Somēśvara as being in camp at Bankāpura as the guest of Udayāditya.⁵ The Kadamba-Kīrtivarmadeva is also referred to as present in Banavāsī in A.D. 1071, presumably either assisting Udayāditya in some capacity or temporarily officiating for him in the administration of the province.⁶ An inscription which shows the Raṭṭa Kārttavīrya of Saundatti as a feudatory of Somēśvara II unfortunately bears no date, and we cannot say how long he continued to serve the emperor. Two queens of Somēśvara, Kañchaladevī and Mañjaladevī, are mentioned in an early inscription of the reign in A.D. 1069.⁷ Somēśvara's younger brother Jayasimha figures as the ruler of Kogaḷi 500, Kadambalige 1,000, and Ballakunde 300 in A.D. 1068,⁸ and a little later in accordance with the frontier arrangements already noticed as ruling from Kampili over Noḷambavāḍi 32,000 and Sindavāḍi 1,000—a position he seems to have held up to A.D. 1073.⁹ He bears the usual Noḷamba-Pallava *birudas* and is found ruling over other divisions also on occasions—as for instance Uchchangi in A.D. 1070,¹⁰ and Kisukāḍ 70 from A.D. 1069 to 1076, when a part of this division, if not the whole of it, was held under him by his sister Suggaladevī.¹¹ Lastly, an inscription from Niralgi bearing a

¹ *DKD*, p. 515.

⁴ *BK*, 20 of 1935-6.

⁶ *EC*, viii, Sb. 317.

⁹ *Ibid.*, 133, *EC*, xi, Cd. 82; *SII*, xi (i), 109, 110.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, xi (i), 117. *INKK*, no. 8, *BK*, 100 of 1929-30 gives a genealogy of the Chālukyas which differs from the usual account followed here.

² *BG*, i, ii, p. 271, v. 29.

⁵ *EC*, viii, Sb. 276; vii, Sk. 129, 132, 295, 221, 130, 109.

⁷ *SII*, ix (i), 134.

¹ *EC*, xv, 340.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 132.

¹⁰ *SII*, vi, 571.

date in December A.D. 1075 shows Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara Vikramāditya, doubtless the king's younger brother and opponent, together with his ally Bhuvanaikammalla Pallava Permāḍi Viṣṇuvardhana Vijayāditya, camping at Bankāpura in the course of a tour in the service of the Emperor.¹

Somēśvara II himself was doing his best to hold the empire together in the face of the veiled ambition of his brother which led the latter to pursue a policy of continual secret intrigue against the ruling monarch in order to undermine his position. We find Somēśvara touring the empire and fixing his camp in various different places, but after A.D. 1072, when we meet him at Kokkaragoṇḍa on the Tungabhadra,² Somēśvara apparently keeps well away from that river—clear proof of a virtual division of the empire and that Vikramāditya jealously kept the emperor out of the territory assigned to him, while he himself enjoyed access to all parts of the realm under pretence of serving the reigning monarch as his next-in-command. We have epigraphic evidence of Somēśvara's presence at Bankāpura in A.D. 1071, 1074, and 1076,³ at Kalyāṇi and Vikramapura in A.D. 1074, and at Tagoḍage on the north bank of the Perdoṛe (Kṛishṇā river) in Tardavāḍi in A.D. 1075.⁴

This review of the epigraphical evidence regarding Somēśvara's doings and his relations with his feudatories and brothers makes it clear that he succeeded in maintaining his position as emperor until towards the close of A.D. 1075, and that Vikramāditya respected that position and consented to hold a rank subordinate to that of his elder brother. In Bilhaṇa's narrative of the civil war between the brothers there is little indication of any exact chronology. The poet implies that Vikramāditya's attack on Kulōttunga, the alliance Kulōttunga made with Somēśvara in order to compel him to fight on two fronts, and the final engagement which decided the issue, all followed quickly after Kulōttunga's accession to the Chōla throne. This account is clearly against the evidence of the contemporary inscriptions both of Somēśvara and Kulōttunga. Equally unfounded are the vapid moralizings of Bilhaṇa intended to exalt his patron's noble conduct above the baseness of his elder brother, who for the sake of power and pelf did not hesitate to ally himself to the despicable Chōla, the sworn enemy of the Chālukya line. Bilhaṇa has nothing but praise for Vikramāditya's alliance with Virarājendra, and says not a word about his disloyal attempts to foment dissension among his brother's vassals. The Gaḍag inscription of Vikramāditya VI (A.D. 1099)⁵ contains a belated justification of his conduct; it states that Bhuvanaikamalla inherited the kingdom bestowed on him by his father in accordance with the proper rule of succession (*krama*); but that when, after he had reigned for some time, the feeling of absolute power corrupted him and he became a callous and cruel tyrant to his subjects, the virtuous younger

¹ *FI*, xvi, 68.

² *EC*, vii, Ś. 129, 221, *BK*, 207 of 1926-7, 75 of 1935-6.

³ *EI*, xv, 351.

⁴ *Ibid.*, xv, 337.

⁵ *JII*, xi (i), 114, 116.

brother (*tadanujo dharmātmā*) could stand it no longer, and assumed the government of the realm after putting his ill-advised relative under restraint (*nigrhya*). This is also the key to which, we have seen, Bilhaṇa has set the events in the *carita*, and it is not too much to assume that this was the theory that had the sanction of Vikramāditya himself. But the statement about the deterioration of Somēśvara's character and rule makes its appearance rather late, perhaps some years after that monarch's death, and no facts corroborating it can be found from any other source.

Vijayāditya is found in Banavāse in 1075 together with Vikramāditya; and Bilhaṇa says that Rājiga (Rājendra-Kulōttunga) had become lord of Veṅḡ before he seized the Chōla throne on the death of Adhirājendra; the kingdom of Veṅḡ which Virarājendra had bestowed on Vijayāditya must have changed hands soon after the demise of the former; Kulōttunga's capture of Veṅḡ was thus the first step in his plan for upsetting the political arrangements which his uncle had made as part of his alliance with Vikramāditya. Then came the rebellion in the Chōla which ended the short reign of Adhirājendra and brought about the accession of Kulōttunga to the Chōla throne; this was followed by the alliance of Kulōttunga with Somēśvara II and the preparations for the final encounter. The incidents of this war are first mentioned in Kulōttunga's inscriptions dated in his sixth regnal year, A.D. 1076, and this account of them is in conformity with the evidence of the Chālukya inscriptions which date the commencement of Vikramāditya's reign and of the Chālukya-Vikrama era in A.D. 1076-7. Some of the Chōla inscriptions contain a brief reference to the war saying that Vikkalan and Singaṇan, i.e. Vikramāditya and Jayasimha, plunged into the western sea. Others give a longer account,¹ and there are references also in contemporary Tamil literature.

The war obviously began with a clash in the Kolar District (Nangili) between Vikramāditya's forces and those of Kulōttunga; but clearly the Chōla accounts exaggerate the extent of the success attained by the Chōla monarch; it seems probable that Vikramāditya was compelled to withdraw to the Tungabhadra frontier, leaving all the country to the south and east of that river in the hands of the enemy; but we may not believe that Kulōttunga advanced to the sea, for while the Chōla occupation of Gangamaṇḍalam and Singaṇam, i.e. the country ruled over by Jayasimha, viz. Nolamba-Sindavāḍi, is attested by the provenance of Kulōttunga's inscriptions, no such confirmation is to be had regarding any occupation by him of the country west of the Tungabhadra.

Utterly worthless as far as the Chōla front of the war is concerned, Bilhaṇa's account is yet the only source which ekes out the cryptic statement of Vikramāditya's inscriptions regarding Somēśvara's part in the war and the

¹ See *Cōlas*, ii, 10 ff. The present account offers a fresh interpretation of this part of the Chōla inscription.

fate that befell him at the end of it. As the result of a bitter contest, says Bilhaṇa, in which the armies of Somēśvara and Kulōttunga simultaneously engaged the forces of Vikramāditya, 'the Drāviḍa lord fled the field and Somadeva entered the prison'.¹ Vikrama then retired to the Tungabhadra; he intended to restore his captive brother to liberty and to the throne, but, as on the eve of the battle, Śiva intervened a second time; an angry voice commanded Vikrama to assume the sovereignty himself, and he did so. He also made his younger brother Jayasimha viceroy at Banavāse.² Jayasimha was among those who had actively assisted him in his successful bid for the throne; an inscription of A.D. 1081 affirms that he helped his brother to gain the kingdom by driving away the Chōla invader.³ How long Somēśvara lingered in the prison, what his ultimate end was, and when it came, are not known. That Somēśvara was weak and incompetent as a ruler we may infer from the course of his ill-starred reign; but that he was wicked in his ways and turned into a cruel tyrant who oppressed his subjects without compunction is hardly established; we ought not to trust the inscriptions of Vikramāditya or Bilhaṇa in this matter without the presence of confirmation from some less biased source.

Vikramāditya VI

Two undated stone inscriptions in the Hyderabad Museum contain a verse in Sanskrit which states expressly that Vikramāditya wrested the kingdom from Somēśvara and thereby attained great fame.⁴ The cyclic year Nala or Anala, corresponding to Śaka 999 current, A.D. 1076-7, is reckoned as the first year of the new era initiated by Vikramāditya at his accession, and an inscription at Waḍageri in Hyderabad State records the *dānas* made at the *paṭṭabandhamahotsava* (festival of the coronation) 'on Phālguna, Śukla 5, of the Nala year'. The inscription presents Vikramāditya as in camp at Naḍaviyuppayana-vidu, which was perhaps somewhere near Waḍageri.⁵ The date of this inscription has been variously taken to be that of the coronation, that of the anniversary of the coronation, and that of the grants recorded in it on account of the coronation. The best view seems to be to accept the date as equal to 11 February A.D. 1076 and to treat it as the date of the coronation of Vikramāditya. The mention of the king's camp elsewhere in the inscription does not by any means invalidate this view of it.⁶ It must be noticed, however, that the numerous dates in the Chālukya-Vikrama era occurring in the inscriptions raise problems which have not yet been altogether satisfactorily solved.⁷

¹ *Vik*, vi, 90.

² *Ibid.*, 98-99 and xiv, 4.

³ *BK*, 75 of 1933-4.

⁴ *Somēśvarād-bāhubalena rājyam gṛhitavān-ārjjitakīrttilaksmīh.*

⁵ *IA*, xxii, 109-10; *DKD*, 446; *LR* (VV).

⁶ See *IA*, 1918, p. 290; *DKD*, p. 446, and *EHD* (3rd edn.), p. 147 and n. 49, also (4th edn.) p. 217, n. 5.

⁷ Discussions by Fleet, *IA*, viii, 187 ff.; Kielhorn, *ibid.*, xxii, 109 ff., and Venkatasubbaiayya—*Some Śaka dates*, pp. 83 ff. and *IA*, 47, pp. 289-90.

The new era was called the Chālukya-Vikrama era; it was regularly employed for fifty-one years throughout the reign of Vikramāditya in all his dominions and then sporadically for about half a century more, after which it went out of use. It also set the model for some of his successors to begin eras in their own reigns, not one of which attempts survived the reign in which it began, but on the other hand they all contributed to the early disappearance of the Chālukya-Vikrama era. Though Bilhana says nothing of the foundation of the era, the Gaḍag inscription dated in its twenty-third year says that Vikramāditya set aside the celebrated Śakavarsha, and made his own name well known throughout the world by bringing in the Vikramavarsha called after himself. It says further that the famous Tribhuvanamalla of irresistible prowess was in process of restoring the prosperity of the earth which had suffered under a wicked man, Somēśvara.¹

About the time when Vikramāditya won his success against Somēśvara and Kulōttunga, another war was being waged in Ceylon as the result of which the Chōla armies were turned out of the island and Vijayabhāhu became its sole ruler. Vikramāditya hailed Vijayabhāhu as his natural ally and sent him a friendly embassy with rich presents.² Ceylon was then an integral part of the South Indian state system, and Vikramāditya's diplomacy sought out the enemies of Kulōttunga in order to establish friendly relations with them.

By the time Vikramāditya actually sat upon the throne of the Chālukyas he had had more than his share of fighting in the wars of his predecessors which had been going on for well over twenty years. Against his chief enemy Kulōttunga he had done all he could, and had yet failed to attain any conspicuous success. In no way inferior to Vikramāditya whether in the field of battle or in the realm of policy, Kulōttunga had successfully resisted the former's efforts to prevent his accession to the Chōla empire; on the other hand Kulōttunga's attempt to crush Vikramāditya by a double attack on him had also failed completely and had only hastened the termination of Somēśvara's rule. Thus both sides now fully realized the limits of their capacity, and the new equilibrium that declared itself continued unchanged for more than forty years, that is for the best part of the reigns of these two great contemporary monarchs. Kulōttunga's position improved considerably after the death of Vijayāditya, which occurred about this same time, and he began to send his sons one after another as his viceroys to rule over the Veṅgī kingdom, now virtually a dependency of the Chōla empire.

The reign of Vikramāditya, which lasted for a full half century, was generally peaceful and except towards its close, when the death of Kulōttunga

¹ *EI*, xv, p. 350, vv. 17, 25.

² *Cūlavamsa*, ch. 60, v. 24; *Cōlas*, ii, 13-14.

offered him the long-awaited-for chance of reasserting control over the Veṅgī kingdom, Vikramāditya followed a peaceful policy and forswore all attempts to aggrandize his empire at the expense of his neighbours. A rebellion on the part of his brother Jayasimha and conflicts forced on their suzerain by the growing contumacy of the Hoysalas, who were beginning to find their strength in the latter part of Vikramāditya's reign, were the only occasions on which there was actual warfare within the empire. The numerous inscriptions of the reign also bear witness to the general state of prosperity and contentment that prevailed in the land. Learning and all the arts of peace found encouragement on all hands; Bilhaṇa, who found his way from Kashmir to Kalyāṇī, where he made his home, is but the best-known case among a considerable number of immigrants from distant lands who were honoured and cherished as the glories of an enlightened and cultured court. The superlatives employed by the illustrious Vijñāneśvara in relation to the emperor, the capital, and himself, are by no means unique; the inscriptions of the time belaud many places, persons, and institutions in nearly the same manner. There must have been some real and widespread sense of happiness and security as a foundation for the fame of this period as a bloomtide of the arts and of poetry, a fame which has come down to us so resoundingly across the expanse of nine centuries.

The relations between Vikramāditya and his brother Jayasimha III continued to be cordial for some years after the accession of Vikrama. Jayasimha had started his political career as governor of Tardavāḍi under his father Somēśvara I about A.D. 1064, and this fact, which, at least in his own eyes, gave him an equal position with his two elder brothers, was cherished by him in the constant use of his father's title Trailokyamalla among his *birudas*. Under Somēśvara II he became viceroy of Nolaṃba-Sindavāḍi, and after that his full style was Trailokyamalla-Nolaṃba-Pallava Permāḍi Jayasinghadeva. In the civil war between Somēśvara and Vikramāditya he took the side of the latter; Bilhaṇa¹ says that Jayasimha had his reward on the day of Vikramāditya's coronation; he does not specify its exact nature, and states, in another context, in the account of Jayasimha's rebellion which occurs much later in the poem, that Vikramāditya had sent him out to Banavāsi as viceroys. The inscriptions tell us exactly what happened. They show Jayasimha as the ruler of the two six hundreds (i.e. Belvola 300 and Puligeṇe 300) as early as 25 June 1077,² and this division was usually the charge of the Yuvarāja, the heir-apparent; another record of the third year of Vikramāditya³ states that Jayasimha was then ruling this division together with Kandur 1,000 as Yuvarāja, calls him *aṇṇan-ankakāra*—the guard of his brother, and records his performance of the rites of Hiranyagarbha and Tulāpurusha in his camp (*nelevidu*) at Ētagiri. Very soon more and more

¹ *Vik*, vi, 99, xiv, 4.

³ *BK*, 237 of 1928-9.

² *EI*, xvi, 329.

territory was added to the charge of Jayasimha, who became ruler of Banavāsi 12,000¹ and Santalige 1,000.² In actual fact this promotion of Jayasimha meant the reduction to a lower rank of the most trusted generals of the emperor; Barmmadeva, who had independent charge of Banavāsi and Santalige with Balligāve as his headquarters in the second year of the reign (1078), is seen to be in charge of revenue work (perjjumka and the two bilcodes) under Jayasimha in the fourth year (1080).³ Jayasimha kept his place as viceroy until some time in the seventh Chālukya-Vikrama year, 1083, after which he is not heard of in the inscriptions. Bilhana, however, gives an account of what happened, devoting two full cantos (XIV and XV) of his *Kāvya* to the relations between the two brothers.

A confidential adviser (*āptapurusha*) approached Vikramāditya and gave him, with many apologies, news of Jayasimha's defection. Abandoning the path of righteous rule, he was engaged in accumulating enormous riches by oppressing all ranks of his subjects, in raising the strength of his army, and in entering into close alliance with wild and turbulent forest tribes. Above all, he was seeking to secure the friendship of the Drāviḍa king by sending him messages and presents, and attempting to sow dissension among the troops of Vikramāditya himself. He had formed plans of advancing to Kṛṣṇavēṇī at an early date with hostile intent against the emperor. With the memory of his war with his elder brother still tormenting his mind, Vikrama was appalled by this news, which opened the prospect of a war with his younger brother as well. Unable to discover any real cause for the course Jayasimha was reported to be taking, Vikrama sent out spies to ascertain the facts. Their reports confirmed everything he had heard before. Even then Vikrama sent friendly messages to his brother pointing out that he was already monarch in all but name, and that he stood to gain nothing by rebellion. But these efforts at friendly adjustment failed, and Jayasimha marched out with his army and advanced to the Kṛṣṇā where many *maṇḍalikas* joined him. Mistaking Vikrama's protestations of friendship as a sign of his weakness, and elated by his easy march to the Kṛṣṇā and the accession of new allies, Jayasimha allowed his troops to ravage the country and to plunder and imprison its people, and sent many insulting messages to his brother, the ruling king. His patience exhausted at last, Vikrama found himself forced to take the field in self-defence, and advanced to the banks of Kṛṣṇā to join battle with his brother. A last attempt to negotiate before the actual fight also failed; in the battle that ensued, the elephant troops of Jayasimha brought him initial success, and Vikrama's army began to break up and flee; then the undaunted valour of Vikramāditya riding on his powerful elephant steadied his army, restored the day and destroyed Jayasimha's hopes. Vikrama captured many horses and elephants belonging to the rebel

¹ BK, 64 of 1933-4.

² BK, 4 of 1933-4; and EC, viii, Sa 109.

³ EC, vii, Ś. 124; and 135; and BK, 144 of 1932/3.

army together with the harem of Jayasimha, who was himself taken in flight in the midst of a neighbouring forest. When he was brought before Vikramāditya, the king spoke kindly to him and soothed his fears (*sambhāshya samtoshya ca*).

So far Bilhaṇa. In condemning Jayasimha's revolt on moral grounds, he forgets that this prince was only following the example set by Vikramāditya himself when he rose against Somēśvara and dethroned him; Jayasimha's failure in the execution of his plan was his only misfortune. His hopes of help from the Chōla Kulōttunga did not materialize; Kulōttunga was either busy elsewhere or he had little expectation of Jayasimha's victory; but according to Bilhaṇa, even without such assistance, Jayasimha came very near success—unless indeed Bilhaṇa has given us an exaggerated account of what in fact was a very small affair. We may doubt if Vikramāditya was as kind and forgiving to his brother after the revolt as Bilhaṇa states; in any case we hear nothing more of Jayasimha.

To turn now to Vikramāditya's relations with the Hoysalas. This line of rulers claimed descent from the moon and belonged to the clan of Yādavas; they had risen to power quietly and by slow stages, at first in the service of the Chālukyas in that belt of no man's land which lay to the west of Gaṅgavāḍi and across the Mysore country and served as a buffer between the Chālukya and Chōla empires; this region was occupied by a number of minor chieftains of Ganga, Āluva, or Kadamba extraction and by the less known Senāvaras, Santāras, Kongālvās, and so on, besides the Hoysalas who started on their career from the Mudugere *tāluk* of the Kaḍūr District with Sosevur as their original capital.¹ The presence of a Hoysaladevī among the queens of Somēśvara I has been noted already; in the inscriptions of the reign of Vikramāditya occur references to three generations of Hoysala rulers—Vinayāditya, his son Eṇeyanga, and Eṇeyanga's sons Ballāla I and Vishṇuvardhana. Vinayāditya is mentioned in records dated from the Chālukya-Vikrama year 14 (A.D. 1090) and he is called Tribhuvanamalla-Poysaladeva and ruler of Gaṅgavāḍi 96,000—a title which seems rather to register a claim than to describe a fact.² The part of Eṇeyanga in the war against Kulōttunga has been noticed in an inscription of his grandson Narasimha which calls him the strong arm of the Chālukya kings and ascribes to him victories won against the Malepas (mountain chiefs), Chakrakūṭa, Kalinga, and Dhārā, besides his success against the Chōla.³ After a long association with his father as Yuvarāja, in which capacity he must have gained most of his successes in the field, Eṇeyanga appears to have had a short reign of less than two years after the death of Vinayāditya.⁴ All this time the Hoysalas were improving

¹ In my account of the Hoysalas I have made use of an unpublished thesis on the subject by Mr. A. Krishnamurti, research student in the University of Madras, 1932-4.

² EC, vi, Kd. 22 v. Cn. 148, Bl. 200.

³ EC, vii, Sh. 64; v. Bl. 58; also Ak. 117 on the Malwa campaign.

⁴ Ibid., Ci. 72.

their own position as well as fighting their suzerain's battles. Before the end of Vinayāditya's rule the Hoysala power had been established over a considerable area bounded by Alvakheda, Konkaṇa, Bayalnad (Waynad), Taḷakāḍ, and Sāvimale.¹ Taḷakāḍ must be taken to stand for the Chōḷa province which had Taḷakāḍ as its headquarters, and Sāvimale, not satisfactorily identified yet, must have lain somewhere in the hilly tract of the Shimoga District.

The same boundaries marked the Hoysala kingdom in the reign of Ballāla I (A.D. 1100–10), whose *biruda* Tribhuvanamalla registers in an inscription his feudatory relation to Vikramāditya.² Ballāla's younger brother Biṭṭiga, afterwards famous as Vishṇuvardhana, was associated with him early in his reign, and this Biṭṭiga appears as the ruler of Gaṅgavāḍi as early as A.D. 1101,³ when he too bears the title Tribhuvanamalla. Biṭṭiga was a distinguished soldier with an ambition that matched his military skill. Under his leadership Hoysala power crossed swords on equal terms with the Chōḷas and Chāḷukyas, gained considerable territory at the expense of both these imperial powers, and began to grudge even the formal acknowledgement of Chāḷukya suzerainty. Many inscriptions afford information regarding the achievements of Biṭṭiga, but not in such a way as to enable us to follow his progress step by step. The more picturesque details occur in inscriptions of relatively later dates, and it is seldom easy to distinguish the facts from the fancy of the panegyrist. Allusions to some of these events in the records of other dynasties like the Sindas of Yelburge are again not very different in character and do not help much to clear up matters. Also the poetic convention followed in the *prasaṅgis* of ascribing to any ruler of a family the known achievements of all his predecessors constitutes another complicating factor. When an inscription of A.D. 1160, for instance, says that Vishṇuvardhana conquered Māḷava and Chakrakūṭa and captured the elephants of Somēśvara,⁴ it is obviously recalling the work done by Freyanga and possibly even by Vinayāditya as well for the Chāḷukya cause under the banner of Vikramāditya before that monarch began to rule as emperor in his own right.

Vishṇuvardhana is given several titles which seem to refer to his individual achievements; most noteworthy among them are: Taḷakāḍu-Banavāse-Hānūgallu-goṇḍa, Vira-Ganga, Vijaya Noṇamba, and Sāhasa-Kadamba.⁵ The inscription which gives these titles bears a date in March A.D. 1117 and records the conquest of Taḷakāḍ and Gaṅgavāḍi and the expulsion of the Chōḷa power from that area, the defeat of the Pāṇḍyas of Uchchangi (Noṇambavāḍi), the conquest of the Tuḷu kings, the destruction of the power of Jagaddeva and of Irumgōḷa, and an expedition to the eastern lands which

¹ *EC*, vi, Cm. 160. I do not share Fleet's idea that this boundary was first acquired in full by Vishṇuvardhana (*DKD*, p. 492).

² *Ibid.*, v, Bl. 199.

³ *Ibid.*, vi, Kd. 164.

⁴ *Ibid.*, vi, Kd. 69.

⁵ *Ibid.*, v, Bl. 58. Fleet, *DKD*, p. 495, calls this a copper-plate; *EC* has a stone record. The date of *AK*, 34 is very doubtful and it should be left alone.

made Kāñchī tremble;¹ it also mentions the surrender of the Kongkonga country, by which perhaps Konkana is meant. Another inscription of about the same date claims among other things that Vishṇuvardhana was like a forest fire to the Kadamba heroes, and like a gale to the cloud which was Jayakeśi.² Passing by a number of clearly exaggerated and fictitious statements in the other inscriptions, we may note the record of A.D. 1160 which mentions the subjugation of Adiga, the Chōla governor of Talakād, and the successive attacks on Uchchangi, Banavāse, and Belvola, followed by Vishṇuvardhana's advance to the Kṛishṇā river (Perddore) by way of Hāngal; the inscription ends by declaring that he held sway over the entire country from Kāñchīpuram to Perddore. The pursuit of Jayakeśi, and the capture of Hayve 500 and Palasige 12,000, are specifically mentioned in another inscription³ (A.D. 1136). Finally the Gaḍag inscription (A.D. 1192) of Vīra Ballāla⁴ states that after depriving Jagaddeva of his kingdom he succeeded his brother as ruler; he then overran Uchchangi and other countries, made himself supreme over the territory extending from his own capital to Belvola, and bathed his horses in the stream of the Kṛishṇavennā. Strictly interpreted, this would mean that while the conquest of Jagaddeva took place before 1111, the bulk of Vishṇuvardhana's conquests were achieved during the first five or six years after his accession to the throne in that year. All this may indeed have happened; but the evidence is slender and late. The inscription ends by saying that King Vikramāditya was constantly reminded by his ministers and counsellors to beware of the Hoysala, who was, they declared, the most dangerous among all the subordinate rulers of the empire.⁵

Jagaddeva, the enemy of Ballāla and Vishṇuvardhana, has usually been identified with the Santāra chieftain of that name; but he cannot have been the same person. Chronology is against it; Fleet was aware of the difficulty and made his suggestion with reservations which have been lost sight of by others.⁶ Hoysala inscriptions clearly state that Jagaddeva was a ruler of Mālwa. We have seen that there was confusion in that country due to a disputed succession and to foreign invasions by the Chauḷukyas of Gujerat and the Chedis of Central India, and that Vikramāditya, under orders from his father, interceded on behalf of Jayasimha and placed him on the throne. Udayāditya, who followed Jayasimha c. A.D. 1060, must have made friends with Vikramāditya. Jagaddeva was a son of Udayāditya, and his Jainad inscription⁷ says that he conquered the Andhra king, subdued the king of Chakradurga, and entered the city of Dorasamudra. The Hoysala inscriptions likewise mention the Mālaveśvara Jagaddeva among the commanders

¹ DKD, pp. 495-6.

² EC, v, Bl. 17.

³ I accept Sir R. G. Bhandarkar's note 1 at *EIID*, p. 219, but translate the verse differently.

⁴ DKD, p. 494.

⁵ *Hyd. Arch. Survey, Report*, 1927-8, pp. 23-4.

⁶ Ibid.

⁷ *I-A*, ii, 300.

sent against the Hoysala by the Chālukya emperor,¹ and picture a spirited engagement between Jagaddeva riding an elephant and Ballāla I on horseback, during which Jagaddeva hailed Ballāla as a 'doughty champion' to which Ballāla replied that he was no ordinary knight, but Vira Ballāla himself, and thereupon wrought such havoc among Jagaddeva's troops as excited the wonder of the world.² The implied suggestion that Jagaddeva lost his kingdom (Saptānga) to the Hoysalas is of course mere poetic exaggeration.

To complete the picture we must refer to two more inscriptions dated in Ś. 1039 (A.D. 1118) which give a forceful account of a successful night attack by Vishṇuvardhana's general Gangarāja on the imperial forces encamped at Kaṇṇegala under the command of twelve *sāmantas*;³ the army of Vikramāditya is said to have suffered great losses in stores and vehicles as well as incurring heavy casualties. We have no details from the Chālukya side which can be definitely referred to this battle. But the inscriptions of the Pāṇdyas of Uchchangi show them in the enjoyment of uninterrupted power for many years after the battle of Dumme in which they engaged the Hoysala forces at the western borders of the Chitaldrug District.⁴ Likewise the Kadambas of Hangal and Goa are seen to have more or less held their own, and Jayakeśi II of Goa, after a period of hesitation during which he entertained ideas of availing himself of the confusion caused by Vishṇuvardhana to proclaim his independence, finally threw in his lot with that ruler, and their definitive alliance was sealed by his marriage with Mañjaladevī, the emperor's daughter, who is seen ruling jointly with him in Goa in A.D. 1124.⁵ We come on the mention of another battle at Halasūr in the Shimoga District in an inscription of Chālukya Vikrama of the year 46 (A.D. 1121-2);⁶ the battle is said to have been due to an uprising by Poysala Bitṭideva's daṇḍanāyaka Boppana against Tribhuvanamalla Bhujabala Ganga Permāḍideva, who was ruling the Maṇḍali province near the Banavāsi region; the engagement is described as a great battle (*mahāhava*) and Nanni Ganga Permāḍideva, the son of Bhujabala, seems to have lost his life in it. Above all, the Sinda inscriptions give the lie direct to the high-sounding claims of the Hoysala records, and go far to show that considerable success did in fact attend Vikramāditya's efforts to organize resistance against the aggrandizement of Vishṇuvardhana, and that the Hoysala power did not advance, at least as long as Vikramāditya lived to control events, by such easy or rapid strides as its panegyrists would have us believe. 'At the command of the universal emperor, Vikrama', say the Sinda inscriptions,⁷ 'Āchugi (II), a very lion in war, and shining like the hot-rayed sun, sounding his war cry, dislodged and

¹ EC, ii, 349 (138).

² Ibid., ii, 73 (59); 125 (45).

³ EI, xvii, 117, also xiii, 301 ff.

⁴ JBBRAS, xi, 234, 244. Fleet's translation with changes in the light of a closer study of the text.

⁵ Ibid., vi, Tk. 45.

⁶ Ibid., vi, Cm. 99, 100.

⁷ EC, vii, Sh. 12, 15, and 4.

prevailed against Poysala, took Gove, killed Lakshma in battle, valorously pursued the Pāṇḍya, dispersed the Malepas, and seized upon Konkana.' Of Āchugi's son Permāḍideva we read that he 'took the head of Kulaśekharāṅka, captured Chatṭa alive, alarmed and pursued Jayakeśin, seized upon the royal power of Poysala who was the foremost of the fierce rulers of the earth, and acquired the reputation of being himself proof against all reverses. Going to the mountain passes of the marauder Biṭṭiga, plundering him, besieging Dhorasamudra, and pursuing him till he arrived at and took the city of Bēlupura, King Perma, of great glory—driving him before him with the help of his sword, arriving at the mountain pass of Vāhaḍi, and overcoming all obstacles—he acquired celebrity in the world.'¹ A later inscription bearing the date Ś. 1084 (A.D. 1162-3)² mentions the achievements of Āchugi and his son in somewhat different terms, giving further details not found in the earlier version.

Difficult as it appears to be to strike the balance of truth between these widely divergent accounts, they can be fairly reconciled by being treated as reports of different stages in the march of events, each party laying stress on the brightest moments of its own fortunes. The Belūr copper-plate record would thus record a cross section of affairs as they stood when Viṣṇuvardhana had won a considerable number of initial successes, and had gained many allies over to his side who either yielded to force or possibly even joined the rebellion with ulterior plans of their own. At this period the empire of Vikramāditya was rudely shaken, portions in its southern division passing into the hands of Viṣṇuvardhana, whose cause came to be openly espoused by the Pāṇḍya ruler of Uchchangi and by Jayakeśi II of Goa, beside several minor chieftains whose territories lay on the path of Viṣṇuvardhana's advance to the Kṛishṇā. But Vikramāditya was no craven; neither his age nor the long peace that had followed his accession had abated a jot of his martial vigour, and when the contumacy of the Hoysala forced a quarrel on him, he was quite equal to the contest and plunged boldly into the fray. He organized an adequate force with the active and loyal assistance of Sinda Āchugi II and his son Perma, and Viṣṇuvardhana was promptly displaced from the new territory which he had attempted to overrun and occupy; his allies were promptly and severely punished, Goa was sacked and burnt, and the Pāṇḍya was put to flight and relentlessly followed up. The Hoysala himself had to seek the safety of mountain fastnesses and passes nearer home, and thither he was pursued in strength by the imperial forces. Kaṇṇegala, where the Hoysala inscriptions locate a Chālukya camp in A.D. 1118, lies in the heart of the Hassan District very near the Hoysala capital, which had itself to stand a siege. Though in no position to give a consecutive account of the war, we can see clearly enough that Viṣṇuvardhana's adventure had landed him in

¹ *JBBRAS*, xi, 244-5; the date Ś. 872 is clearly a mistake.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 269-70.

an ocean of trouble, and that while the Chālukya empire managed fairly easily to weather the storm owing to its military strength and its superior ability in negotiation—witness the alliance between Jayakeśi and Vikramāditya following soon after the sack of Goa by Āchugi—the Hoysala territory was for some years occupied by the imperial forces. The battle of Halasūr (A.D. 1122) in the Shimoga District, during which a Ganga prince lost his life in upholding the cause of the empire against the Hoysala rebellion, is proof at once of the long-drawn-out nature of the military operations and of the unfailing loyalty of some of its feudatories to the empire even in the most troublous periods of its existence. A hitherto little-noticed inscription, an undated fragment from the Yedatore *tāluk* of the Mysore District,¹ mentions another battle at Hosavīdu in which, in spite of the fierce fight put up by the Hoysala forces, victory was decisively with Permādideva, i.e. either Vikramāditya VI or possibly even the Sinda Permādi. We find Vikramāditya encamped at Jayantīpura, Banavāsī, in the forty-sixth and forty-seventh years of his era (A.D. 1122–3),² and there can be little doubt that after settling affairs farther north, the emperor had come down south to conduct the operations against the Hoysala, if not actually to lead them in person. Vishṇuvardhana had to eat humble pie and to abandon, at least for a time, his grandiose schemes. Vikramāditya assumed the title of Vishṇuvardhana in token of his triumph over the Hoysala ruler;³ on the other hand, his adoption of this mode of celebrating his success, usually reserved for independent monarchs subjugated for the first time, shows how nearly Vishṇuvardhana had achieved his object, though the claim in the Hoysala inscriptions that he ruled the entire country from Kāñchīpuram to the Kṛishṇā must be taken merely to mark the extreme points ever touched by his forces during the whole course of his wars.

The extent of Vikramāditya's empire in other directions is indicated by the Sitābaldī (Nagpur) inscription of Ś. 1008 (A.D. 1087) of the Rāshṭrakūṭa feudatory Rāṇaka Dhādideva;⁴ the Nidikoṇḍa inscription of the Naṭavādi ruler Duggabhūpa,⁵ Chālukya-Vikrama year 29 (A.D. 1106), whose territory lay across the Kṛishṇā river partly in the modern Hyderabad State and partly in the Nandigrāma *tāluk* of the Kistna District; and the Anamkoṇḍa inscription of Kākati Prola dated in the forty-second year of the Chālukya-Vikrama era (December A.D. 1117).⁶ This last inscription mentions the part played by Baija Daṇḍanātha, the minister of Bēta, the father of Prōla, in persuading his master to visit the Chālukya emperor, to acknowledge his overlordship, and to obtain from him the grant of Sabbi 1,000; and as we find Bēta's son Prōla ruling at the time of the record, it is possible that Bēta's

¹ *EC*, iv, Yd. 30.

² *BK*, 94 of 1936–7; *SII*, ix (i), 204.

³ *BK*, 96 of 1929–30; *INKK*, no. 8, ll. 12–13.

⁴ *FI*, iii, 305.

⁵ *Hyd. Arch. Rep.* 1933–4, pp. 20–21; *ARE*, 1924, ii, 57.

⁶ *IJ*, ix, 256.

visit to Vikramāditya had taken place some time before this.¹ The need for his renewal of allegiance is not clear, and can only be surmised. Vikramāditya never relented towards Kulōttunga and was always on the look out for opportunities of creating difficulties for him. We have seen that for several years after the death of Vijayāditya the kingdom of Veṅgī was being ruled by Kulōttunga's sons as viceroys of the Chōla empire,² and we hear little of any disturbances in Veṅgī either due to Vikramāditya's initiation or otherwise till Vikrama Chōla became viceroy about A.D. 1092-3. Then came two wars against Kalinga and a war against Bhīma, the chieftain of Kuḷanu (Colair lake), which at one time exposed Vikrama Chōla to attack on two fronts; though there is no direct evidence for this, it seems probable that the troubles of Kulōttunga and Vikrama Chōla at the same time were, at least in part, due to the ever-vigilant watching of events and the unwearying intrigues of Vikramāditya. However that may be, inscriptions bearing dates in the Chālukya-Vikrama era begin to make their appearance in Drākshārāma and other places in the Telugu country from A.D. 1115,³ and in them the Chālukya emperor is referred to by the title Parāntaka, while one of the Telugu chieftains is proud to describe himself as chief pillar of support to the prosperous royal house of Rāya-nārāyaṇa. In the year A.D. 1118, Anantapāla, the famous general of Vikramāditya, is roundly described as the ruler set over Veṅgī 14,000,⁴ and two years later Anantapāla's *paṭamahādevī* (chief queen) made a gift to the celebrated shrine of Bhīmēśvara in Drākshārāma.⁵ This same shrine has other inscriptions dated in the Chālukya-Vikrama era recording gifts about the same time from Velanāṇṭi Rājendra, and Mayila, the wife of a Telugu-Chōḍa chieftain.⁶ Another Western Chālukya commander, a nephew of Anantapāla, was ruling Koṇḍapalli in the Krishṇā District in A.D. 1127.⁷ Before he began his rule there, Govinda Daṇḍanātha, as this nephew of Anantapāla's was called, had attacked the capital city of Jananāthapura⁸ (Bezwada) and captured Kumāra; he had taken captive Ducheya (Durjaya?) Gonka after depriving him of all his possessions; he had waged war ruthlessly against the Chōla monarch, and had consigned Veṅgīpura to the flames, reducing its wretched inhabitants to lamentation and despair. This is doubtless an overdrawn picture; but it leaves no room to doubt that Anantapāla's rule in Veṅgī was established only after a hard-fought struggle in which the Chōla viceroy and his feudatories like the Velanāṇṭi chief Gonka—the identity of Kumāra is not known—suffered decisive reverses in the field. The inscriptions in Drākshārāma bear dates in the Chālukya era up to 57, A.D. 1132-3, and one of them towards the close of the period mentions a certain Nambirāja, son of Malla and lord of Kollipāka, ruling over the

¹ For an inscription of Beta Ś. 1001 see *Hyd. Arch. Ser.* 13, p. 25.

² See *Cōlas*, ii, pp. 30-2, 44-9.

³ *Ibid.*, ix (i), 196. See also *ibid.*, iv, 1322.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 1216, 1228.

⁵ 258 of 1905; *El*, ix, p. 261; *SII*, ix (i), 213.

⁶ *SII*, iv, 1017, 1036, 1214, &c.

⁷ *Ibid.*, iv, 1211.

⁸ *SII*, iv, 1091.

Shaṣṣahasra country, as a feudatory, evidently of the Chālukya empire.¹ Thus, from about 1118 to the end of Vikramāditya's reign, and for some years thereafter, the Chōla power ceased to exist in Veṅgī, and it is this state of affairs which finds an echo in the Piṭhāpuram inscription of Mallapadeva (A.D. 1202), which says that after the marvellous (*apūrvapurusha*) Kulōttunga had ruled the five Drāviḍas together with the Andhra country for fifty years, and thereafter Vikrama Chōla went south to rule the Chōla territory, the land of Veṅgī at once fell into a state of anarchy—*Veṅgī-bhūmir-nāyaka-rahitā jātā*.² Though Vikramāditya had failed in his efforts to keep Kulōttunga from the Chōla throne at the beginning of his own reign, he yet had the satisfaction of breaking up the Chōla empire towards the end of it.

Vikramāditya's long reign is remarkably rich in epigraphical documents, and no attempt can be made here to reproduce all the interesting details preserved in the hundreds of inscriptions scattered over almost all the important villages and towns in the Deccan. Some of them are of exceptional interest for their literary quality or the vivid portrayal of religious and social conditions, and these will be studied in some detail elsewhere in this volume. A few facts bearing on the movements of Vikramāditya, his part in the administration of the realm, and his personal doings may now be noticed.

Kalyāṇī was the capital, but the emperor was apparently more often out of the city than in it, for on one occasion, quite early in his reign (A.D. 1083), the fact of the king's continuous residence in the capital for a long period is particularly noted in a manner that implies that this was an exception rather than the rule.—*Śrikalyāṇapure bahudivasa sthiranivāsini*.³ When inscriptions, and there are quite a number of them, mention that Vikramāditya was ruling happily at Kalyāṇapura, it is just possible that the name of the capital is mentioned *pro forma* without any implication that the emperor was actually in residence there.⁴ Next to Kalyāṇī, the city most often mentioned in the records of the reign is Jayantipura or Banavāsi, where we find the king in residence in the fourth, thirteenth, twenty-fifth, thirty-second, forty-sixth, forty-seventh, forty-eighth, and forty-ninth years of the reign.⁵ Among the other temporary residences or military camps of the monarch may be noted Ponuguppe in the year 2,⁶ Ētagiri in the second and third years,⁷ Poṭṭalakeṛe in the sixth year,⁸ Appayaṇadakuppa on the Bhīmarathi in the twenty-fifth year,⁹ Ballakunḍe in the twenty-seventh,¹⁰ Manyakeṛe in the years 34 and 37,¹¹ and Kollipāke in the forty-first year;¹² Jananāthapura occurs in a Telugu record from Bhīmavaram bearing no date,¹³ whilst Fleet noted that Vijaya-

¹ *SII*, iv, 1127.

² *Ibid.*, iii, 306.

³ *LR, EC*, viii, Sb. 549, *SII*, ix (i), 175, 204, 207, &c.

⁴ *BK*, 67 of 1936-7.

⁵ *SII*, ix (i), 150.

⁶ *SII*, ix (i), 167.

⁷ *Tel. Inscr. Chal.*, 32.

⁸ *LI*, iv, no. 33, vv. 22-4.

⁹ *SII*, ix (i), 145, 152, 159, and so on.

¹⁰ *EC*, vii, Sk. 124; *BK*, 237 of 1928-9.

¹¹ *BK*, 72 of 1936-7.

¹² *Hyd. Mus. SII*, ix (i), 190.

¹³ *SII*, v, 51.

pura (Bijapur) is mentioned as a Rājadhānī in a record of A.D. 1091-2.¹ Brāhmins from the Tamil country were particularly liked by Vikramāditya who imported them in considerable numbers and settled them within his empire after making ample provision for their support. The Nilgund copper-plate grant² mentions that a colony of 500 learned Brāhmins from Drāviḍa received first of all in A.D. 1087 the grant of a whole village, Nīrgunda, from the emperor residing at Kalyāṇī; thirty-six years later (A.D. 1123) the same group was granted another village on the initiative of one of them who held high office under Rāya Pāṇḍya of Uchchangī and is described as Drāviḍāditya Śrīkaraṇādhikāri Sarvādhyaaksha (the Sun of the Tamils who was the officer in charge of the Temples department and Chief Superintendent). As on both these occasions the petitioner was a Pāṇḍya, Palata Pāṇḍya in the first case and his grandson in the second, the petitioners' recollection of their original connexions with the Tamil Pāṇḍyan country may have had at least as much to do with this immigration as had Vikramāditya's affection for the home of the Chōla princess who was his queen; love of fame and the desire to be known abroad, particularly in the territory ruled by Kulōttunga, as a liberal patron of learning and religion, may also have been incentives. Gifts to a temple and an institution for supplying meals made on the banks of the Tungabhadra in the twenty-second regnal year (A.D. 1098),³ a *tulāpurusha dāna* (gift of gold equal in weight to the donor) on the banks of the Narmadā the next year,⁴ more *dānas* on the banks of the Chandradevī⁵ in Ś. 1027 (A.D. 1105)—such are notable instances of the emperor's active practice of *dharma* according to the traditional ideas of the period. Two *rājagurus* (preceptors of the king) figure in the records of the reign: Vāmarāśideva in A.D. 1082 and Anantaśivadeva in A.D. 1111;⁶ the latter is described as ruler of Ūṇukallu and Gurindālu, who had a Perggaḍe Nimbaṇayya under him.

Vikramāditya was ably served by a number of generals who were as distinguished in learning as in war, and who were mostly Brāhmins by extraction, and the inscriptions have conserved many an interesting detail regarding their fortunes and those of their close relatives. Prominent among them stands Anantapāla whose rule in Veṅgī in semi-regal style has been noticed above. He comes into view first about A.D. 1098, and is found soon after enjoying the trusted position of ruler over the 'two six hundred' (i.e. Puligere and Belvola), the Yuvarājapada.⁷ Banavāsi 12,000 is added to his charge three years later,⁸ and he holds this double responsibility for five or six years or possibly more; next he is found administering the Vaḍḍarāvuḷa income of the entire seven-and-a-half-lakh country in A.D. 1112; his sister's son Gōvinda Daṇḍanāyaka, who was also perhaps his son-in-law (*aliya*), appears

¹ DKD, p. 450.

² BK, 54 of 1934-5.

³ Ibid.

⁴ EC, vii, Sk. 13; BK, 151 of 1926-7.

⁵ EI, xii, 154.

⁶ LR.

⁷ SII, ix (i), 151 and 185.

⁸ EC, vii, Sk. 98, 192; BK, 80 of 1932-3.

to have been in sole charge of Banavāsi in A.D. 1117, and both uncle and nephew are mentioned together as ruling Banavāsi four years later¹—but clearly Anantapāla's name must have been included in these records only as a matter of form since he was in Veṅgī at this time, whither Gōvinda also appears soon after to have followed him. Anantapāla and Gōvinda are both found bearing the *arasa* title, and at Chebrolu there was a large tank or reservoir named Anantasarovara after the former.² Anantapāla's father was Maheśvara-daṇḍādhipa who held the title *Chālukya kula-mūla-stambha* (the main pillar of the Chālukya family), and his grandfather was also a general, Bhīma by name. So also were the father, grandfather, and great-grandfather of Gōvindarasa—all distinguished in the field. Gōvinda is himself credited with having conquered the Chōla country and captured much treasure and many elephants—though the exact occasion on which he did this is not very clearly indicated.³ Anantapāla was himself the most eminent of a group of five brothers, all of whom were employed in the service of Vikramāditya—viz. Nambi-daṇḍādhipa, Nārāyaṇa, Vāmana, and Lakkana Daṇḍanāyaka. Kālidāsa, who is praised at great length in inscriptions at Nāgai and other places; Sureśvara Paṇḍita, employed in the administration of Beṇṇevūr twelve in A.D. 1099,⁴ the 200 Brāhmins of Kuruvatti who were equally noted for learning, martial spirit, and religious devotion,⁵ and, above all, the illustrious Somēśvara, whose accomplishments and valour are celebrated in superlative terms in the Gaḍag inscription—the careers of all these are unmistakable signs of the growth of an aristocracy in the land, an aristocracy which was marked by its intellectual and martial excellence as well as by its active loyalty to the throne to which it owed everything. It was the close alliance between this aristocracy and the throne which enabled the empire to hold together and to resist disruptive effects of the continual plots and intrigues of its feudatory chieftains, whose conduct was inevitably swayed by memories of a real or mythical glorious past, or by hopes of themselves becoming imperial rulers.

The names of several queens of Vikramāditya are known from the inscriptions; Bilhaṇa mentions two, the daughter of the Chōla king Vīrarājendra, and the Silāhāra princess of Kārhatāka, Chandralekhā; the former cannot be identified among the names found in the inscriptions, but the other is clearly the Chandaladevī mentioned in them—a name also occasionally used by Bilhaṇa. Kētaladevī is mentioned as early as the second year of Vikramāditya's reign as making a gift to the shrine of Chaṇḍeśvara at Kumbittige (Bijapur District),⁶ and again in the sixteenth year, as ruling Siruguppe, Kolanūru, and another village in the Bellary District.⁷ Lakshmī-mahādevī, also called

¹ *EC*, vii, Sk. 316; *BK*, 20 of 1933-4.

² *Ibid.*, ix (i), 213, 220.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ *SII*, ix (i), 159.

⁵ *SII*, vi, 112.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 165.

⁷ *BK*, 67 of 1936-7.

Lakshmādevī, was ruling Dronapura (Doṇi in Dharwar) in his fifth year¹ (A.D. 1081); in an inscription from Sūḍi dated four years later she is described as the favourite queen of the emperor and said to rule from Kalyāṇapura on equal terms with the monarch himself;² about A.D. 1096 she is mentioned as holding rule over eighteen *agrahāras* and Dharmapuram (Ḍambal);³ seven years later she was present with the emperor on the banks of the Chandradevī when he made several grants, and she was ruling Niṭṭasingi during the years A.D. 1110–11.⁴ Chandaladevī, who is first mentioned about A.D. 1083, endows education liberally in A.D. 1097;⁵ Jayakarṇa and Somabhūpa are described as her sons.⁶ About A.D. 1093–4 Jakkaladevī is mentioned as ruling the village of Inguṇige where a Jaina temple was built by the emperor to enshrine an idol of Mahāmāṇikyadeva which a Jaina devotee had obtained as a present from a merchant; this queen seems to have come of Kadamba stock.⁷ Paṭṭamahādevī Maṭṭalamahādevī, administering Kaṇṇavalle in A.D. 1095,⁸ was perhaps the same as the Malayamatidevī who is praised for soft, sweet, and winsome speech (*mṛdu-madhura-vacana-racana-catura-kaṭālāpī*) in a record of A.D. 1108;⁹ Mālaladevī, the daughter of Senabhova Rayaṇa of Yalavattī, beloved of the king's heart (*chittavallabhe*), who constructed the Māleśvara temple,¹⁰ Padmaladevī who held sway in the *agrahāra* Mamgoli in A.D. 1116,¹¹ and Bhāgalamahādevī whose uncle (*māva*) was Maṇḍalika Rājarasa Perggade Mārttāṇḍayya and who is said to have made a gift of gold in Sirūr,¹² are the other queens mentioned in the records. Fleet, on the strength of inscriptions not too well known to modern investigators, gives data regarding yet another queen: 'Sāvaḷadevī, daughter of the Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara Jogamarasa or Jogamarāṇa, of the Sūryavamśa, who is spoken of as the lord of Darikāḍu-nāḍ and the Maṇḍaleśvara of Maṇḍalavāḍa, and of his wife Tārādevī; in A.D. 1077–8 or at some later time she was managing the *agrahāra* of Nareyamgal, which her husband had given for her *angabhoga*, i.e., by free translation, 'pin-money'.¹³ Vikramāditya's daughter Maṭṭalamahādevī and her marriage with Kadamba Jayakeśi II of Goa have been noted already. His son Malikārjunadeva, who is first mentioned as ruling Hānungal in the second year of the reign, A.D. 1077,¹⁴ is found holding the position of Yuvarāja and in charge of Tardavāḍi 1,000 from about A.D. 1096 to A.D. 1116 or thereabout, after which nothing more is heard of him; he must have predeceased his father. Somēśvara was another son of Vikramāditya; his mother as already noted was Chandaladevī. For some reason, he seems to have been designated for the succession to the throne from his birth; he is found ruling the 'two

¹ BK, 76 of 1927–8.

² IA, x, 185–90.

³ Hyd. Mus.; BK, 150 of 1928–9.

⁴ LR (VV) also BK, 105 of 1932–3 (n.d.).

⁵ SII, ix (i), 175.

⁶ SII, ix (i), 195.

⁷ DKD, p. 448.

² EI, xv, 101.

⁴ LR (VV).

⁶ LR, Hyd. Mus. (VV).

⁸ BK, 56 of 1936–7.

¹⁰ LR.

¹² 90 of 1927–8 (n.d.).

¹⁴ EC, viii, Sb. 172.

six hundred' and Banavāse as early as A.D. 1089 with the rank of Mahā-pradhāna, being already described as *aṇṇana singa*—the lion of his father;¹ earlier still, in 1083, he was governing Kisukād 70, Bagāḍage 70, and Narey-angal 12, with the titles Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara Bhūlokaṃalla Permāḍi.² Some years later he is described as Ganga Permāṇaḍi, ruling various *maṇḍalas* in 1110 with Kollipāke as centre, in which situation he seems to have continued to the end of Vikramāditya's reign;³ he is called Kumāra Sōvidēva in some of the Telingana inscriptions. His brother Kumāra Jayakarnadeva was administering Mahāgrahārasindige in A.D. 1112, and made a gift to a temple in the neighbourhood of Bijapur ten years later.⁴ Kumāra Tailapa, who ruled Sindavāḍi 1,000 with Tumbala as *neleviḍu* at least from A.D. 1113 to 1123, was perhaps another son of Vikramāditya.⁵

Somēśvara III

Vikramāditya was followed on the throne by his son Somēśvara III who bore the titles Bhūlokaṃalla, 'the wrestler of the earth', and Sarvajña Chakravarti, 'the omniscient emperor'.⁶ His reign began in the fifty-first Chālukya-Vikrama year, and his latest inscriptions mention his thirteenth regnal year;⁷ we may state roughly that his rule extended from A.D. 1126 to A.D. 1138. His rule was on the whole marked by peace, and the extent and prosperity of the empire continued very much as they had been left at the end of Vikramāditya's reign. Like his father he began an era of his own called the Bhūlokaṃalla, though the Chālukya-Vikrama era is also cited in some of the inscriptions of the reign. Only once is he said to have gone south on a *digvijaya*, in the third year of his reign, when he encamped at Hulluṇiya-tīrtha;⁸ if we may rely on an inscription in the Hyderabad Museum,⁹ the auspicious day for starting on this expedition was fixed on the date of Somēśvara's accession by the astrologer Nannayabhaṭṭa, who received a grant of land for his successful casting of this horoscope. It would thus appear that this *digvijaya* was undertaken more as a mere matter of form to keep up the dignity of the emperor than owing to any pressing emergency or real desire for fresh conquests. Kalyāṇi continued to be the capital, and the emperor is said to have been in residence there in several inscriptions;¹⁰ the *neleviḍus* at Jayantipura and Piṇjarāsaṃgamada Kuppa are mentioned in the second and sixth years of the reign.¹¹ On the last-mentioned date (A.D. 1132) Tailapadeva is found holding the place of Yuvarāja with a Sinda feudatory of his, Bācharasa, by name, ruling over Sindavāḍi from Guttikal. The continuance of the Telugu country as part of the Western Chālukya empire for

¹ BK, 66 of 1934-5.

² *Hyd. Mus.*; BK, 196 of 1926-7; *Tel. Ins. Chal*, 35, 36.

³ *SII*, ix (i), 190, 202, 221.

⁴ *EC*, viii, Sb. 414.

⁵ No. 1377 (VV).

⁶ *SII*, ix (i), 224 (Yr. 5), 230-1 (Yr. 8).

⁷ *Ibid.*, 2 of 1927-8.

⁸ BK, 93 and 94 of 1936-7.

⁹ BK, 82 and 104 of 1932-3.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, vii, Sk. 100.

¹¹ BK, 35 of 1936-7; *SII*, ix (i), 226.

the best part of the reign of Somēśvara III is attested by a Telugu inscription of the ninth year of his reign from Bhīmavaram (Godāvari District) recording a gift to Keśavadeva by Daṇḍanāyaka Lakshmarasa accompanied by a prayer for the prosperity, strength, and long life of Bhūlokamalladeva, and by another undated Sanskrit inscription from the same place giving the genealogy of the Chālukyas of Kalyāṇī to Bhuvanaikamalla,¹ besides inscriptions in Drākshārāma which are probably of about the same date. But the Vengī country had already begun to slip out of the hands of the Western Chālukyas, and its southern half had definitely gone over to the Chōlas soon after the death of Vikramāditya VI. At Chebrolu in the Guntur District, in the heart of the region formerly ruled over by Daṇḍanāyaka Anantapālāyya, Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara Nambayya, who calls himself lord of Kollipāka and of the Shaṭṣahasra country, is found acknowledging the overlordship of Vikrama-chōla in A.D. 1127,² evidently with the intention of ultimately becoming an independent ruler under the name Nambirāja³—an attempt that met with little success since the Chōlas were regaining strength under Vikrama whose suzerainty over the Velanāṇḍu chiefs is seen to be fully re-established in an inscription from Niḍubrōlu dated A.D. 1132.⁴ This transfer of territory from allegiance to one empire to the other was not effected without fierce and sanguinary conflicts; when the energetic hand of Vikramāditya which had sustained the extension of Western Chālukya power to the eastern seaboard was withdrawn, the Eastern Chālukya territory tended to resume that subservience to the Chōla power which had become normal to it during a period of well over a century; and now even Somēśvara III was apparently roused to strike a blow in the defence of the outlying parts of his empire. An undated inscription from Drākshārāma⁵ mentions a battle on the Godāvari in which the Velanāṇḍi Chōda Gonka II put to flight the army of the Western Chālukyas in the presence of the Kuntala monarch, conquered Gōvinda and Lakshmaṇa, the two generals of the Chālukya forces, and captured much booty in gold, horses, and camels. The date of this important engagement, of which we have no further details, must be placed somewhere about A.D. 1135 or a little earlier, towards the close of the period covered by the inscriptions of the Telugu country bearing dates in the Chālukya-Vikrama era. The two *daṇḍanāyakas* of the Chālukya army who sustained defeat in this battle of the Gōdavarī are well known from other contemporary inscriptions to have represented the Chālukya empire in its eastern territory. The presence of Somēśvara himself on the field of battle is specially mentioned by this inscription and should be noted.

The Hoysala ruler Vishṇuvardhana appears to have continued to acknow-

¹ *SII*, v, 68, 88.

² 266 of 1893 (*SII*, iv, 1127).

³ 277 of 1893 v. 10 (*SII*, iv, 1141) discussed in my paper *Gonka II and the Chālukyas*, Tirupati

² 153 of 1897; *LII*, vi, 223.

⁴ 163 of 1897 (*SII*, vi, 123).

O. Confce., pp. 419-22.

ledge the Chālukya suzerainty far into the reign of Somēśvara, and his inscriptions mention the name of his suzerain and the feudatory relation of the vassal to the emperor down to about A.D. 1135, and describe him as ruling Gangavāḍi and Nōḷambavāḍi from the *nelevīḍu* of Dorasamudra.¹ Fleet mentions also an inscription from Sindigere of A.D. 1137 which describes Viṣṇuvardhana as 'the crest-jewel among the feudatory chieftains of the jewel of the Chālukyas'—*Chālukya-maṇi-maṇḍalika-chūḍāmaṇi*.² But towards the close of Somēśvara's reign, in his thirteenth year (1139), we get an inscription of which, in spite of its mutilated condition, enough can be read to show beyond doubts that the Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara Hoyasāḷadeva, having captured Gangavāḍi, Nōḷambavāḍi, and Banavāsc, was then laying siege to Hangal.³ This fact together with the existence of other inscriptions in which, even before A.D. 1137, the Hoysala monarch employs the titles of full imperial sovereignty, shows that here again Somēśvara's peaceful nature tempted the ambition of Viṣṇuvardhana to make a second and perhaps more fortunate bid for freedom than that attempted under Vikramāditya.

An inscription dated in the second year of the reign shows Somēśvara on a visit to the shrine of Svayambhu-Somanāthadeva of Kaḍlevāḍ, 'the southern Vārāṇasi' in the Bijapur District, where he performed the sixteen *mahādānas* besides liberally endowing the shrine.⁴ Somēśvara's interests lay more in religion and letters than in war and politics, and he was himself the author of an encyclopaedic treatise on the conduct of affairs called *Abhilashitārtha-chintāmaṇi* (the magic stone yielding all desired goods) or *Mānasollāsa* (the refresher of the mind); the book is divided into a hundred chapters and is a repository of much curious and recondite lore which largely justifies its titles and probably was the cause of its royal author's being described as 'omniscient' (*sarvajña*). The structure of empire held together mainly through the cohesion imparted to it by the work of Vikramāditya, and the loyalty he had inspired in its principal officials and feudatories. Anantapālayya continued to hold high and important offices for some years after Somēśvara's accession,⁵ and so too we may presume did others. The name of Queen Barmaladevi occurs in an inscription of Somēśvara dated Ś. 1056 (A.D. 1134);⁶ we cannot say whether she was the mother of the two sons of Somēśvara, or whether there were other queens.

Jagadekamalla II

Somēśvara III had two sons; the personal name of the elder one remains unknown to us; though he followed his father on the throne,⁷ his inscriptions always mention him only by the titles Perma and Jagadekamalla, and

¹ EC, xii, Tp. 104, Gb. 34; v, Cn. 248, Ak. 30; vi, Kd. 35.

² EC, viii, Sb. 414.

³ III, ix (i), 224.

⁷ EC, xi, Dg. 41.

² DKD, p. 498.

⁴ BK, 35 of 1936-7.

⁶ LR (VV).

historians usually style him Jagadekamalla II. His records are generally distinguishable from those of Jayasiṃha II Jagadekamalla I by the additional title Pratāpa-Chakravartin, 'the valorous emperor'. He is also styled Tribhuvanamalla in some of Hoysala Vishṇuvardhana's inscriptions, and in one record dated in the Chālukya-Vikrama year 65 (A.D. 1141) he is called Tribhuvanamalla Permāḍideva.¹ The earliest reference to Jagadekamalla appears to occur in an inscription from Chitaldrug dated in a cyclic year corresponding to A.D. 1124;² though he bears all the titles appertaining to the paramount chief and has Vijaya Pāṇḍya of Uchchangi as his feudatory, he must be presumed to have held some high place under his grandfather at the time. We hear nothing of him afterwards until the inscriptions of his own reign after that of his father had concluded begin to appear from Ś. 1060 (A.D. 1138)³ onwards. Jagadekamalla also initiated an era of his own which did not long survive his reign, and was not always used even during that period.

The ambition of Vishṇuvardhana Hoysala was roused, as we have seen, to another effort by the weakness of Somēśvara III, and though the inscriptions of that ruler continue to bear witness to his nominal recognition of the allegiance he owed to the Chālukya emperor,⁴ they yet show unmistakably the growing power and importance of this too powerful vassal. A great expedition (*mahādaṇḍa*) which he led against Māhaḷige is mentioned in an inscription bearing the date Ś. 1066 (A.D. 1143); in the battle that ensued, a brave soldier (*mahāvīra*), Hakara by name, is said to have attacked and put to flight the four-fold troops of the enemy, though he himself fell fighting.⁵ Of the other details of this great Hoysala expedition no account has come down to us. But by A.D. 1149⁶ we find Vishṇuvardhana claiming Bankāpura in Dharwar as his *nelevīdu* from which he ruled Gangavāḍi, Noḷambavāḍi, Banavāse, Hangal, and Huḷigeṛe up to the Heddoṛe (Krishṇā). Three years later, shortly after the close of Jagadekamalla's reign,⁷ Vishṇuvardhana continued to rule from Bankāpura, while his son Narasiṃha with his seat at Dorasamudra acted as his ally and supporter. Part of this claim of the Hoysala to rule over all the territory up to Krishṇā is contradicted by other inscriptions of Jagadekamalla, and may well be an exaggeration; but nevertheless one may clearly discern here the beginning of the end of the Chālukya empire hardly a generation after it had reached its zenith under Vikramāditya.

However, the external forms of empire continued intact to the end of Jagadekamalla's reign, and even the Hoysalas did not openly throw off the mask of vassalage, much less so the Kalachūryas or the Kākatiyas. An inscription of A.D. 1143 from the Chitaldrug District praises the king for his success

¹ *SII*, ix (i), 236; also *EC*, vi, Kd. 76 (C-V year 71).

² *EC*, xi, Cl. 13.

³ *Ibid.*, viii, Sb. 233. ⁴ *Ibid.*, v, Ak. 124, Hn. 114; vi, Cm. 161; xii, Ck. 35; vi, Kd. 76.

⁵ *Ibid.*, Sa. 58.

⁶ *Ibid.*, xii, Ck. 40.

⁷ *Ibid.*, v, Ak. 52. I do not think the hiriya-arasa Bittideva of *EC*, xi, Cm. 96 is Vishṇuvardhana *contra* Rice, *JRAS*, 1915, pp. 327 ff.

against the Chōla and the Hoysala,¹ not to speak of more exaggerated claims found in other records.² Another inscription from Muttage, dated four years later in A.D. 1147, bestows great praise on Barmma-daṇḍādhipa for having fiercely attacked and pursued the Hoysala at the command of King Jagadekamalla.³ An inscription from Lakshmeśvar (A.D. 1147) describes the achievements of the true hero (*niccalā-gali*) Kēśirāja-daṇḍādhipa, whom it entitles 'a potent spell' for the expulsion of the Chōla, Lāla, and Ghurjara rulers; he is said to have caused the Mālava, Kalinga, and Chōla to pay tribute to the emperor, and to have been the cause of the restoration of Chālukya rule;⁴ this seems to be less a record of facts than the *prafasti* of a prominent general in the traditional mode; at any rate there is no light from any other source on the achievements here attributed to Kēśirāja, though the last of his titles may well indicate that his policy and generalship delayed the dissolution of the empire; an undated inscription describes him as ruling over Halasige 12,000, Hangal 500 and the 'two six hundred' (Purigeṇe and Belvola) with the Sinda Boppadeva under him as Manneya of Mulgunda 12.⁵ It seems unlikely that Kēśirāja was the same person as Kādamba Jayakeśi II of Goa, as has been suggested.⁶

The latest record of Jagadekamalla is dated Ś. 1074 (A.D. 1151) and mentions a Ganga Mārasimha, son of Kīrtideva, as ruling over Jiduvalige, Eḍeṇāḍ, and Hannipalli in that year;⁷ Mārasimha's son Ekkala is mentioned in earlier records.⁸ One inscription from Bagali (Bellary District) is dated in the Āngirasa year corresponding to the Chālukya-Vikrama year 16; if the name of the era may be assumed to be a mistake for Jagadekamallavarsha, then the reign must be held to have lasted about two years more, up to A.D. 1153,⁹ or even until 1155 if we may trust the date in yet another inscription from Chinna-Tambalam.¹⁰ Kalyāṇi continued to be the capital and the principal residence of Jagadekamalla II and is mentioned as such in many inscriptions of the reign. Jayantipura is mentioned once in A.D. 1148.¹¹

Taila III

Jagadekamalla II was succeeded by his younger brother Tailapa III who is generally described as Trailokyamalla, though several records, particularly those of the Hoysalas, seem to give him the Tribhuvanamalla title also.¹² The *malla* titles of the Chālukya rulers, however, become very confused about this period, and offer no sure guide to the identity of the kings

¹ EC, xi, Dg. 85.

² INKK, no. 8, ll. 17-18.

³ BK, 83 and 109 of 1926-7.

⁴ EC, viii, Sb. 132.

⁵ SII, ix (i), 258; cf. BK, 47 of 1934-5 where the same feature recurs.

⁶ SII, ix (i), 265.

⁷ LA, 1919, p. 4; EC, viii, Sa. 159; v, Ak. 117, &c.

⁸ 100 of 1929-30; INKK, no. 9.

⁹ EI, xvi, p. 47, vv. 9 and 12, and ll. 54-5.

¹⁰ Sewell, *IIISI*, p. 106, *sub* A.D. 1047.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, Sb. 233.

¹² LR.

mentioned in particular inscriptions; it seems best therefore to ignore the testimony of any inscriptions doubtful on this score. Taila is also called Chālukya-Chakravarti Vikrama in some inscriptions.¹ One of the earliest inscriptions of the reign comes from Bijapur (*rājadhāni Vijayapura*) and is dated in the third year of Tailapa's reign on a day corresponding to 28 August A.D. 1151;² Tailapa must have begun to rule some time in 1149-50, while his elder brother Jagadekamalla was still on the throne, and this is not really unlikely. Taila was in fact by no means an able ruler, and he had come to the throne at a difficult time; the vassals of the empire, particularly the fresh and vigorous ones among them who, like the Hoysalas, Kākatīyas, and Yādavas, had risen in the service of the Chālukya empire and established themselves for some generations as administrators of its various provinces, were waiting for an opportunity to strike a blow for their own freedom; and Taila did not possess either the statesmanship or the martial ability which might have stemmed the threatening disruption. Verses occurring occasionally in his records which speak of successful expeditions against the Chōla, Mālava, and Ghurjara³ are echoes of the ancient glory of the line, not a record of actual events in Taila's reign. But the more immediate danger came from the ambition of the Kalachūrya Bijjaḷa, the son of that Hemmāḍiyarasa who was ruling Tarddavāḍi in the centre of the empire under Somēśvara III. Bijjaḷ(ṇ)a had himself begun as a *mahāmaṇḍaleśvara* administering the same division, and had either been rapidly promoted to important positions of trust because of the confidence he inspired in Taila III, or had arrogated to himself more and more power by rapid stages, until at last he found himself in a position to overthrow his suzerain and put himself in his place.

It is perhaps worth while to stress one fact to which Fleet drew attention in his account of Taila's reign; his inscriptions are not as numerous as one might have expected, and many feudatory rulers like Śivacitta Permāḍi and Vijayāditya of the family of the Kadambas of Goa,⁴ the Raṭṭa chief Kārttavīrya III, the Seḷāra Vijayāditya, and the Kākatīya of Warangal find no place among the feudatories dating their records in the reign of Taila III. We shall presently see that some of them co-operated with Bijjaṇa in his successful revolution.

To turn then to Bijjaṇa and his activities. The Bijapur inscription of the third year of Taila III (A.D. 1151) shows him as a *mahāmaṇḍaleśvara* under the Chālukya emperor;⁵ but he is already styled Bijjaḷa-kṣhoṇipāla and credited with successful campaigns against Mālava, Lāla, Nēpāḷa, and Ghurjara; he has the celebrated general Maḷlāra under him and puts him, along with other officers (*Karaṇas*), in charge of the Tarddavāḍi division in the heart of the empire. The feudatory position of Bijjaṇa is indeed mentioned in later records

¹ 54 of 1926-7; *SII*, ix (i), 268.

² *BK*, 124 of 1933-4; no. 130 is of the fifth year.

³ *II*, v, 235.

⁵ *BK*, 124 of 1933-4; *INCK*, 10. Also *BK*, 10 of 1935/6 n.d.

as late as A.D. 1156-7.¹ But he soon comes to be called, significantly enough, the ruler of all countries² and his daṇḍanāyaka Mahādevaśa had charge of the Banavāse province along with four others who are described as the mind incarnate (*antaḥkaraṇa rūpa*) of Bijjaṇa-deva. It is perhaps not far fetched to see in this grandiloquent epithet bestowed on the generals proof of the entertainment of secret and far-reaching designs which Bijjaṇa was energetically pursuing with the aid of many assistants in many parts of the empire. The next stage is marked by inscriptions in which Taila III is first mentioned, and then Bijjaṇa is introduced not as his subordinate (*tatpāda-padmopajivi*), but as his contemporary (*tat-kāladolu*).³ In an inscription from Hāvēri dated in the eighth regnal year of Taila III on a day in December A.D. 1157, Bijjaṇa is given imperial titles and described as Mahārājādhirāja Bhuja-balachakravartin Kalachurya Bijjaladeva.⁴ About the same time he began an era of his own and assumed the *biruda* of Tribhuvanamalla, while a record from Annigeṛe dated in his second regnal year⁵ without any mention of Taila falls within a week of, if not on the same day as, the Hāvēri inscription in which Taila's supremacy is acknowledged. The completion of the process of usurpation is announced by inscriptions which give to Bijjaṇa all the imperial titles ever employed by the Chālukya emperors and proclaim him as ruler from Kalyāṇī; among the earliest of such records must be counted one dated on a day in his seventh regnal year (Chitrabhānu) corresponding to 16 May, A.D. 1162.⁶

Bijjaṇa's inscriptions exhibit a great multiplicity in their various forms of reference to him, and this is clearly natural in the conditions of the case; one instance may be cited as perhaps the most interesting of them all; it occurs in an inscription of A.D. 1163 from Kadlevād in the Bijapur District, and reads: *Tribhuvanaika-nijabhujā-vīra-Malladeva*.⁷ This title lays stress on the strength of Bijjaṇa's own arms which made him the unrivalled wrestler in all the three worlds. Similarly, another inscription from Muttage, dated A.D. 1170,⁸ states that all the kings of the Kalachuri line were famous emperors; but some, lacking strength, were reduced to the status of *maṇḍalika*s; being a strong man, Bijjaṇa considered the status of *maṇḍalika* quite below his rightful position and raised himself, by the power of his army, to the position of universal emperor. But this is not the whole truth. The Silāhāras are particularly praised at the end of an inscription of Bijjaṇa⁹ and a Silāhāra copper-plate grant of A.D. 1191 affirms that it was through the friendship of Vijayāditya of that family that Bijjaṇa attained the imperial position.¹⁰ A Kākatīya inscription from Anamkoṇḍa reveals the part played by the Kākatīya

¹ BK, 130 of 1933/4.

² Ibid., vii, Sk. 108, xi, Dg. 35.

³ 201 of 1928-9.

⁴ BK, 33 of 1936-7.

⁵ BK, 101 of 1929-30; INKK, p. 33, l. 46.

⁶ DKD, pp. 475 and 548.

⁷ LC, vii, Sk. 104.

⁸ BK, 103 of 1932-3.

⁹ 14 of 1937-8.

¹⁰ 101 of 1929-30; INKK, p. 31, v. 27.

monarchs in completing the destruction of the Chālukya empire; one verse¹ states that Prōla captured Tailapa-deva riding an elephant in battle as he was ever fond of doing, and that though Prōla was generally known to cut off the heads of captive kings, he spared Taila on that occasion from a lingering feeling of loyalty to his one-time suzerain to whom he thus granted mercy. Anamkoṇḍa Nagari is said at the same time to have been besieged by Jagaddeva, who was aided by a number of *maṇḍalikas*; this was perhaps the Santāra chieftain of Pambuchcha who was fighting on the side of the Chālukyas.² A little farther on another verse in the Anamkoṇḍa inscription clearly refers to the death of Taila as due to disease (*atisāra*) brought on by his fear of Rudra, the son of Prōla.³ Since this Kākatiya inscription falls towards the end of A.D. 1163, and the latest date known for Taila III is that of the Sinda Chāvuṇḍa from Paṭṭadakal, 17 June 1163, we may assume that Taila died in the latter half of that year.⁴

The Kalachurya revolution brought no lasting good to its initiators. Pratāpa Chakravarti Vīra Bijjala is found ruling from Kalyāṇa as late as Ś. 1090 (A.D. 1168),⁵ and then we hear little more of him except in some suspicious legends according to which Bijjala lost his life through the hostility of the newly risen sect of the Lingāyats whom he persecuted. These legends are contradicted by the almost contemporary evidence of the Ablūr inscriptions of the time of Kāmadeva of the Hangal branch of the Kādambas.⁶ Inscriptions of Bijjala's sons (there were at least four of them) begin to appear from some time in A.D. 1167 and continue until 1183. But the interval between the death of Taila III and the accession of his son Somēśvara IV in A.D. 1184 can only be regarded, from the standpoint of the Chālukya empire, as a period of great confusion and unsettlement. Whatever was the real cause of his death, it is clear that Bijjala quitted the stage fairly early in this period, and Sovideva was evidently the first and most prominent among his various sons whose inscriptions appear side by side all over the Kārṇāṭaka. Sovideva is generally entitled Rāyamurāri, and sometimes his name occurs as Somideva; his latest record seems to be dated in the tenth year (A.D. 1176).⁷ The other brothers were Sankama, Āhavamalla, and Mallugi or Mallikārjuna; Fleet mentions also a Mahārājādhirāja Singhaṇa among them—on the strength of a copper-plate charter of A.D. 1183.⁸ These inscriptions contain little of general interest to us, and their value lies chiefly in the indication they give of the inability of the Kalachuri line to turn the results of Bijjala's work to any good account. The Chālukya power does not seem to have quitted the arena without a struggle. A number of inscriptions of a Jagadekamalla III with the full imperial titles of the Chālukyas fall in

¹ *HAS*, 13, p. 9, vv. 8 and 11.

² *HAS*, xiii, p. 11, v. 18.

³ *BK*, 58 of 1934-5.

⁴ *BK*, 53 of 1937-8.

⁵ *EL*, ix, 261.

⁶ *LA*, 1919, p. 4 and n. 30.

⁷ *EL*, v, 237.

⁸ *LA*, iv, 274.

this period, and they are not confined to any one part of the Chitaldrug District as has been stated;¹ among the earliest of these is one from Davāṇa-gere *taluk* in Chitaldrug District bearing the date A.D. 1164;² the inscription opens with the usual Chālukya *praśasti*, mentions Jagadekamalla, and then proceeds to say that at that time Bijjala was the ruling Kalachurya; it records transactions in the eighth year of the Kalachuri era. Among the latest of Jagadekamalla III's inscriptions we may notice two: the first is one from the Chitaldrug *tāluk*, dated in the Śōbhakrit year (A.D. 1182),³ which shows Jagadekamalla as emperor and Vijaya Pāṇḍya as his feudatory, and makes no mention of the Kalachuris. Even more significant is a record from the Harpaṇahalli *tāluk* in the Bellary District which states that Jagadekamalla was ruling from Kalyāṇa, then mentions his feudatory Vijaya Pāṇḍya and his subordinates, and finally, without defining his particular status, introduces the Kalachurya Bhujabalachakravarti Rāyanārāyaṇa Āhavamalladeva to record some transactions in his fourth regnal year, also Śōbhakrit (7 June, A.D. 1183).⁴ The exact relation of Jagadekamalla III to his predecessor and successor is not stated in the inscriptions or elsewhere; it has been plausibly surmised that he may have been a son of Tailapa III, like Somēśvara IV. It might also be that he was a brother or cousin who kept the Chālukya claims alive during the minority of Somēśvara IV. Whatever may be the real facts of the case, it is clear that the Kalachuris had no easy task; the opposition to their efforts to capture the imperial throne was strong; but they had gone too far to recede, and the whole family seems to have come to grief in their impossible attempt to maintain themselves in an untenable position. The Hoysalas played their game better; they continued to pay nominal allegiance to the imperial name, bided their time, and gained by the mistakes of Bijjala and his sons.

Somēśvara IV

Tribhuvanamalla Vīra Somēśvara IV, the son of Taila III, is the last Chālukya ruler of Kalyāṇī of whom we hear. An inscription dates his fourth regnal year in Śōbhakrit⁵ 1105 and he must be taken to have begun his reign some time in A.D. 1177–80. But other records point to another reckoning from A.D. 1183.⁶ The earliest dated record of his reign is a Sinda inscription from Kurgod recording, among other matters, an endowment to a Śiva temple from Rāchamalla II in Ś. 1103 (A.D. 1181);⁷ and the latest is an inscription in the Chitaldrug *tāluk* bearing a date corresponding to 17 January, A.D. 1200.⁸ Somēśvara's inscriptions generally mention Kalyāṇa as his capital, but at least two speak of Jayantīpura (Vanavāsi), in A.D. 1184 and 1186, as

¹ *IA*, 1919, p. 5.

² *Ibid.*, Cd. 13.

³ *SII*, ix (i), 276. The editors seem to have missed the meaning of the inscription.

⁴ *EC*, viii, Sb. 419.

⁵ *EI*, xiv, 267.

⁶ *EC*, xi, Dg. 43.

⁷ *BK*, 207 of 1928–29.

⁸ *EC*, xi, Cd. 36 and *IA*, 1919, p. 5.

also does the latest record of A.D. 1200;¹ whilst the inscription of A.D. 1184 throws some light on the political conditions of the time. Opening with the usual imperial *prastāvi* of the Chālukyas, it first describes the reigning emperor as Chālukyābharāṇa Śrīmat Trailokyamalla Bhujabalavīra Somēśvara-deva; the Bhujabalavīra title is obviously intended as a reference to some decisive success against the Kalachuri power which restored the Chālukyas to the position of uncontested suzerainty from which Bijjala had cast them down. The inscription then introduces a Tumbūḷa Bammideva, son of Kālidāsa daṇḍādhipa; Tumbūḷa Bammi is said to have taken orders from Rāyamurāri Sōvideva Mahipa and to have waged successful war against a Mallanrpa and plundered the Chōḷa country right up to the sea, forcing the Chōḷa monarch to embark on the sea in order to save himself. Who is this Rāyamurāri Sōvideva? As the inscription is dated in Ś. 1106 (A.D. 1184) it must be Somēśvara IV, who assumed the title Rāyamurāri as well as Bhujabalavīra, for the son of Bijjala with that name is not represented by any inscriptions after A.D. 1176–7. Lastly, the inscription states that Padmideva, the son of Bammideva, and Vatsarāja, the maternal uncle of Padmideva, were ruling Sindavāḍi 1,000 division and all that lay to the east of it by their own strength (*nija-vīrya-bhuja-baladim*)—an indication, as it would seem, that the Chālukya emperor to whom they owed allegiance was in no position to give them any support.

The name Bamma, Barma or Bammi, popular forms of Brahma, appears to have been very common among the generals of the Chālukya army at the time, and it is easy to confuse data relating to the different persons of this name mentioned in several contemporary records. Beside Tumbūḷa Bammideva, there were at least two others. First a Barma, son of Būtuga (Bhūtiga), who was a Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara ruling at Toṛagale in Ś. 1110 (A.D. 1188); there is no reference in his inscription² to the contemporary Chālukya emperor Somēśvara IV, but he traces his descent from Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara Āhavamalla Būtuga who was a feudatory of Nūrmaḍi Taila, i.e. Taila II, and had taken part in the establishment of the Chālukya empire of Kalyāṇī; he is said to have killed Pāñchāla, and we know that the victory against Pāñchāla was an important step in the rise of Taila II and the growth of his empire. The other Barma is much the most interesting figure in the history of the period, because it was to him that Somēśvara, and perhaps even Jagadekamalla III towards the close of his reign, owed the last gleam of prosperity that shone on the vanishing fortune of the Chālukya empire of Kalyāṇī. Brahma was the son of Kāma or Kāvaṇa, described in one inscription as *Kalachurya rājya samuddharaṇa*,³ ‘the upraiser of the Kalachurya sovereignty’—a title which suggests the growing opposition to Kalachurya rule and the need for saving it from at least a collapse, if not a restoration after complete disaster. Brahma himself seems to have held some position in the Kalachurya army of

¹ *SII*, ix (i), 277, 279.

² *IA*, xii, 96.

³ *DKD*, pp. 464–5; *LC*, xi, Dg. 44.

Sōvideva, about A.D. 1175; if this was so, he must soon have changed over to the side of the Chālukyas, for an inscription from Anṇigeṛe of the second year of Somēśvara (Krōdhi, A.D. 1184)¹ describes him as the Daṇḍanāyaka of Somēśvara, and 'fire to the Kalachuri race'; an undated inscription from Ablūr² styles him *Chālukya-rāja-pratishṭhāpaka*, establisher of the Chālukya kingdom. The Anṇigeṛe record states further that Chālukya Vīra Sōma wrested the kingdom from the Kalachuryas with the aid of Brahmadanḍēśa. In an inscription of A.D. 1185 Somēśvara is himself called *Kalachurya-kulanirmūlana*, the uprooter of the Kalachurya race.³ The only detail vouchsafed to us about the part of Brahma in the war against the Kalachurya occurs in a Hoysala inscription to which we shall have to revert presently.

Somēśvara is said in one inscription (A.D. 1184) to have had at his beck and call the kings of Chōḷa, Lāḷa, Gauḍa, Maleyāḷa, Telunga, Kalinga, Vanga, Pāñchāḷa, Turushka, Ghurjara, Jajhauti, Mālava, and Konkaṇa kingdoms⁴—a transparent exaggeration. But the undated Ablūr inscription gives him full credit for his achievement against the Kalachuris though it makes prominent mention of Bammaiṃya's part also.

Somēśvara had the title Vīra Nārāyaṇa;⁵ among his famous generals, besides the illustrious Brahma, may be noted the Mahāmantri Tejimaṃyadaṇḍanāyaka,⁶ and Mālapa daṇḍanāyaka who was ruling over Sindavāḍi 1,000 in A.D. 1186.⁷

The Hoysalas professed allegiance in vague terms to the Chālukya empire, but the titles of the Chālukya monarchs mentioned in the Hoysala inscriptions of the period bear no obvious relation to the succession on the imperial throne deduced from the Chālukya records. One inscription from the Shimoga District dated in the Śōbhakrit year (A.D. 1182) seems⁸ to record some trouble from Ballāla II in which subjects of the Chālukya emperor, including some women, suffered considerable hardship. This was more in the nature of a local trouble, and Ballāla was not the only one to realize that the restored Chālukya rule of Somēśvara IV lacked enduring quality. The Yādava Bhīllama is said in an inscription from Anṇigeṛe, dated A.D. 1189, to have 'become the beloved of the goddess of sovereignty of the Karṇāṭa country' reigning over the whole kingdom.⁹ But the Yādavas had started as feudatories of the Chālukyas, and experienced as much difficulty as did the Kalachuryas in gaining recognition as an imperial power from those who had formerly stood to the Chālukyas in the same relation as they themselves had done. The Raṭṭas, Silāhāras and Kadambas, and the Pāṇḍyas of Nolambavāḍi, never gave them their allegiance, and the Hoysalas found in their success an example which stimulated them to much greater effort than they had ever put forth since the time when Vikramāditya VI had put a sharp

¹ BK, 207 of 1928-9.

⁴ I.R.

⁷ SII, ix (i), 279.

² LI, v, p. 250, l. 69.

⁵ SII, ix (i), 279.

⁸ EC, viii, Sb. 419.

³ SII, ix (i), 278.

⁶ BK, 86 of 1928-9.

⁹ DKD, pp. 518-19.

curb on the restless ambition of Viṣṇuvardhana. The Gadag inscriptions of Bhillama¹ and Ballāla II² (A.D. 1192) enable us to complete the story of the disappearance of the Chālukya empire of Kalyāṇī. Bhillama spent some years in the south trying to organize his new conquests; his pressure compelled Somēśvara and his trusted general Brahma to move towards the south, and the presence of Somēśvara in Jayantipura (Banavāse) in A.D. 1186 and the omission of all mention of Kalyāṇī in his later inscriptions may well indicate the permanent loss of the capital to the Yādavas of Devagiri. The attempt of Vira Ballāla to imitate from the south the example set by the Yādavas from the north naturally brought him into conflict first with the Chālukya emperor and his general, and then with the Yādava Bhillama who had displaced them from their capital city. Here is the account found in the inscription of Ballāla II: 'The general Brahma overcame sixty well-trusted elephants (of the enemy) with a single tuskless one of his own, and thus, with a gesture of scorn, deprived the Kalachuri line of Kshatriyas of the fortune they owed to his father; that Brahma whose army was strengthened by an elephant corps, Ballāla overcame with only a single cavalry division and deprived him of his kingdom. Further, the heroic Ballāla attained the Lordship of the Kuntala country after destroying Jaitrasimha who was, as it were, the right arm of Bhillama.'³ Ballāla's victory against Brahma was doubtless a decisive blow against the last vestiges of the Chālukya empire under Somēśvara, who continued thereafter to lead an obscure existence for a period of less than a decade. We hear nothing of the exact manner of his end or of other members of his family. Jaitrapāla, the right-hand man of Bhillama, was more probably his minister rather than his son Jaitugi, and by this victory against the Yādava forces Ballāla advanced the northern frontier of the Hoysala empire to the Malaprabhā and Krishṇā rivers, whilst the Yādavas kept possession of most of the territory that lay farther north. Doubtless the Kākatīyas also gained something as a result of the final dissolution of the Chālukya hegemony. They had begun encroaching upon the Chālukya empire soon after Vikramāditya's death when Prōla II extended his dominions by overthrowing Gōvinda daṇḍanāyaka of Koṇḍapalli.⁴

In later times princes claiming Chālukya descent and adopting the title *Kalyāṇapura-varādhīśvara* are represented by inscriptions, not always genuine, found in various parts of Western India; the most notable among them was Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara Kāmadeva, a feudatory of the Yādavas, in Southern Konkan (Ratnāgiri District); Kāmadeva's minister Kēśava Māhājani made a gift of the village of Teravāṭaka, Terwan, to a Brāhman and this fact is recorded in a copper-plate grant from the place bearing the date Ś. 1182 (A.D. 1260-1).⁵

¹ *EI*, iii, 217.

² *IA*, ii, 299; *EI*, vi, 89.

³ Cf. *EI*, vi, 92. My interpretation here differs from that of others.

⁴ *EI*, ix, 261.

⁵ *JRAS*, v, p. 177, no. 8.

III

ADMINISTRATION

Royal Traditions and Emblems

THE Chālukyas of Kalyāṇī were particular in tracing their descent from their ancestors of the Bādāmi period, and included the history of the entire line from Pulakēśin I in the traditions of their copper-plate grants of which the Kauthem plates of Vikramāditya V¹ are the earliest in this period. The heirlooms of the dynasty included the peacock-banner (mayūradhvaja) obtained from Kātyāyanidevi,² whilst the Kauthem plates state that these kings bore the special titles (*viśeshanāma*) of Samastabhuvanāśraya (asylum of the whole world), Sarvalōkāśraya (the same meaning), Viṣṇuvardhana (cherisher of Viṣṇu), and Vijayāditya (Sun of Victory). The significance of the Boar on the seal is brought out by a verse of invocation occurring in several inscriptions³ where the whole earth is said to be sustained with ease by Viṣṇu incarnate as the Boar—an announcement, by implication, that it was the aim of Chālukya rule to extend its protection over the entire earth in imitation of Viṣṇu's divine reign. The same idea animates the punning epithet applied to the bow of Iṣiva-bedanga Satyāśraya in the Kauthem plates, *sarvavarṇadharam dhanuh*, the bow which supports all classes without distinction, also the bow which bears all colours like the bow of Indra, the King of the Gods, the rainbow.

Monarchy

The monarchy was hereditary, and succession went generally in the eldest male line. Vikramāditya V and his brothers came to occupy the throne only because Iṣiva-bedanga had no male child. Even Vikramāditya VI, who waged war against his elder brother and deposed him, did not question the law of primogeniture in the matter of succession to the throne.

Coronation

The *abhisheka* of the kings took place regularly at Kisuvoḷal in this period as it had always done in Bādāmi times; in an inscription⁴ of A.D. 1070 this place is described as the Mahā-Vīra-Simhāsana (the great heroic lion-throne) of the Samastabhuvanāśraya-Śrī-Prithivī-Vallabhas, and as the chief among all the cities of the entire country, since it was the scene of the great festivals of the coronations of the Chālukya dynasty; its modern name Paṭṭadakal (coronation-stone) preserves the memory of this historic fact.

¹ *IA*, xvi, pp. 15–24 (A.D. 1008).

² *SH*, xi (1), 47, ll. 2–3.

³ *HAS*, viii, p. 9, ll. 23–6.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 110, ll. 10–13.

Yuvarāja

It was usual to install the heir apparent when he came of age as *Yuvarāja*, and to put him in charge of the administration of the two central divisions of Belvola Three Hundred and Purige Three Hundred, sometimes mentioned together as *eraḍarunūru* (i.e. the Six Hundred made up of two divisions). A *kaṇṭhikā* (necklace) is mentioned as the badge of the *Yuvarāja*'s office, and the practice of investing the *Yuvarāja* with it seems to have begun with the *Rāshtrakūṭas*.¹ When there was no qualified prince of the royal family, the place of *Yuvarāja* was temporarily conferred on some trusted official, and some instances of this have been noticed in the section on political history.

Imperial Titles

The full style of imperial titles adopted in all formal documents in this period was as follows: *Samasta-bhuvānaśraya Śrī-Prithivī-Vallabha Mahārājādhirāja Parameśvara Paramabhaṭṭāraka Satyāśrayakulatilaka Chālukyābharana Śrīmat*, 'The prosperous N.N., asylum of all the worlds, beloved of the goddesses of prosperity and earth, the great king of kings, the supreme lord, the great lord, the tilak of the line of Satyāśraya, the ornament of the Chālukyas', followed by the distinctive title of the particular ruler ending in -malla. These -malla (wrestler) titles, however, sometimes fail to reveal the identity of the monarch; the same king occasionally had two such titles, as did Somēśvara I, who was both Āhavamalla (wrestler in war) and Trailokyamalla (wrestler in the three worlds); there were doubtless some wrong recitals in the original inscriptions or later copies of them necessitated by the decay of originals; and the Hoysalas of the twelfth century seem to have resented their subordination to the Chālukyas so much that they considered any -malla title good enough for the formal recitation at the beginning of their inscriptions.

Relations with Vassals

But the relations between the emperors and their vassals were by no means always so strained or so hostile as they were with the Hoysalas. Yājñavalkya² and two of his commentators, Aparārka and Vijñāneśvara, who belong to this period, are clear that whatever breaches of law and custom may occur during the temporary conditions of a conquest in progress, yet once this is completed, the overlord is bound to protect the traditional established order of the conquered country exactly as he does that of the home territory; and scores of inscriptions testify that the Chālukyas were scrupulous in the observance of this rule. The subordinate rulers were allowed to preserve their original regal state intact in every respect, subject only to the open and loyal acknowledgement of the suzerainty of the emperor by reciting his imperial

¹ *SII*, iii, 83, Altekar, *Rāshtrakūṭas*, p. 152.

² *I*, 342-3.

titles and reign first of all, and then afterwards introducing their own respective *prāśastis* with some phrase like *tatpādapadmopajīvi* (and dependent on him). The poet Pampa¹ noticed long before modern epigraphists that the *prāśastis* of all feudatory rulers began with the much discussed phrase *Samadhigatapañcha-mahāśabda* (who had attained the five great sounds). To give an example, the Kadamba Ādityavarma recites the full *prāśasti* of his family with flag, seal, and everything else in a record from Kogaḷi, dated A.D. 992,² whilst the *paṭṭabandha* (coronation) of another feudatory ruler, a Nolambādhirāja, is particularly mentioned in a record of A.D. 1044.³ Also petitions were presented to these vassal rulers in the same way as to the emperor, as is seen from the *binnaṭa* made in A.D. 1078–9 by *perggade* Kambaṇṇa to the *Maṇḍalika* Joyimayya for the gift of some land to the god Kambeśvara somewhere in the Bellary District.⁴ Their rule is often described in nearly the same terms as that of the emperor himself; they too are said to be ruling from *neleviḍis* or *rājadhānis*, to be suppressing the wicked and protecting others, and to be occupying their leisure in noble and pleasant social and intellectual pursuits; their Courts also were minor replicas of the imperial establishment, and they had their own ministers and administrative staffs quite distinct from the corps of residential officers of the emperor; in one instance no fewer than five ministers of a single feudatory are mentioned.⁵ The only major difference in the formulae employed to describe them lies in the omission of the particular phrases indicating increasing prosperity and unchanging permanence of rule which occur in the imperial records—such as *uttarottarābhivṛddhi-pravardhamānam ācandrārkkatāraṃbaram saḷuttam ire*.

Training of Princes

To return to the imperial court. Little precise information is forthcoming from the inscriptions or even from the literature regarding the education and training of princes. The *smṛti* of Yājñavalkya merely repeats the ancient prescription that the king should be well versed in philosophy (*ānvikṣikī*), the Veda (*trayī*), politics (*daṇḍanīti*), and economics (*vārttā*), and neither Aparārka nor Vijñāneśvara has touched on contemporary facts in commenting on this statement; the *Mānasollāsa* of Somēśvara offers no further information about this matter. In the *Vikramāṅkadevacarita* Somēśvara I once casually tells his chief queen that he is learned in the Vedas, Āgamas, and Itihāsas, and that his mind is filled with reverence to his teachers;⁶ in the description

¹ *Vikramarjuna Vijaya I*. There are many discussions of the meaning of the phrase; Fleet, *CII*, iii, 296, n. 9, is still one of the best.

² *SII*, ix (i), 77, ll. 5–10.

³ *Ibid.*, 98, l. 6.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 143, ll. 21–2.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 115 (A.D. 1054). See also *ibid.*, 75, 80, 112, &c. The schematic use of formulae postulated, with reservations, by Fleet at *BG*, i (ii), p. 428, n. 4 is not borne out by the more numerous texts of inscriptions now available.

⁶ *Vik*, ii, 39.

of Vikramāditya's education in the third canto Bilhaṇa tells us that as an infant he sported with whelps of lions shut up in iron cages, and later mastered all the scripts (*sarvāsu lipishu*), and developed into a poet and orator.¹ We are better informed, as we shall see, about the attainments of princesses of the royal family, of high officials and of the common people. We can only assume that in such a well-organized society and in a state where so much depended on the personal capacity of the monarch the proper education of the future emperors of the land would have received all the care it merited.

The Emperor

The emperor had to be constantly on the alert, and capacity for exertion (*mahotsāha*) is placed at the head of the many qualities required of a monarch by Yājñavalkya. That Taila II and his successors strove to live up to this ideal is clear from such records as we possess of their personal movements; there is sufficient evidence that in both war and peace they took an active share in determining policies and making general dispositions. They were of course all assisted by competent and trustworthy ministers, most of these as eminent in the council-chamber as they were on the field of battle. There was, however, it would seem, no regularly constituted Council of Ministers in these states or, as we should say nowadays, no regular distribution of portfolios. Those nobles or courtiers who were near at hand were summoned to take part in any important discussions that were in being; others would be absent on various duties in the different parts of the empire; and we do not know what method was followed, if any, to keep the ministers of the highest rank in touch with one another and with the latest developments in politics and administration. The ministers, either singly or in meetings, had only power to advise; the emperor listened to them attentively, and then came to a decision either on his own initiative or, if he followed the *smṛiti*, after a further consultation with the purohita, who was supposed to possess all the learning and statesmanship of a minister in addition to being an adept in matters of religion. The rule of the emperor was therefore fully personal in its character, and he had to be ready to apply his mind to all matters, from the highest to the lowest, which were brought to his notice from anywhere in his far-flung dominions. And much of his time must have been taken up also by the endless petitions for gifts (*dānas*), to be made by the emperor himself or to be sanctioned by him even when others made them, as we may judge from the numerous instances of *paramēśvara-datti* (the gift of the emperor) recorded in inscriptions. Such a system, or rather the lack of it, worked at all without a breakdown only because the most powerful Indian emperor had in theory only the negative duty of preserving order; his supreme function was to uphold the existing order, to maintain the peace needed by the various sections of the people, the castes, guilds, sects, villages,

¹ *Vik*, iii, 15-19.

temples, and all the rest of them, to live their lives of free and autonomous self-expression without mutual disturbance.

Local and Social Autonomy

If ever there was a purely police state, it was surely the ancient Hindu state. The real life of the nation was moving along channels other than political, and the numberless bodies and institutions which looked after the material and spiritual well-being and advancement of the nation seldom came into the arena of politics except when a hitch arose. Then they invoked the aid of the royal officials, if necessary of the king himself, to put matters straight and give them a fresh start. One or two instances will serve to illustrate the whole position. In A.D. 981 the Agrahāra Kañcagāra-Belgali in the Bellary District had its three ancient *Sthāna-mānyas* (tax-free lands for the maintenance of temple priests) and all its other *mānyas* renewed by Taila II as of old¹—a renewal rendered necessary by the recent Chālukya conquest of the territory in which the village stood. Another instance from Bāgali in the same district, an occurrence dated A.D. 991, also in the reign of Tailapa II,² is even more to the point. In the days of the Rāshtrakūṭa king Krishṇa III the *śunka* on a head-load of betel-leaf had been fixed at 2½ *paṇas*; Ādityavar-marasa, who was ruling Kogaḷi Five Hundred for the Chālukya monarch, increased the rate of *śunka* in an unjust manner (*anyāya perccideḍe*); thereupon the Fifty of Bālgulī, three *seṭṭis* representing the 1,000 *tambuligas* (betel-dealers), and the Five Hundred went in person to the emperor, prostrated themselves in due form at his feet (*śrīpādamaṅgalge sāshṭāṅgameragi*), and presented their petition, after which he ordered the restoration of the rate prevailing since the days of Krishṇa III. So far the inscription. Some things are not explicit; what the new rate levied by Ādityavarma was, who the Five Hundred mentioned at the end were, and whether any local efforts were made in the first instance to prevail upon Ādityavarma to give up his unjust demand, are not stated. We are also not told where the deputation in this case waited on the emperor. But when there was an unresolved difference between a high official and the people, the course of the latter was clear; they took the matter straight up to the emperor, and he listened to them and gave his decision. Notice the representation of the *tambuligas* by a small number from among them in the deputation, and the conservative outlook of the people and the emperor; they felt clearly that where it was not necessary to change any thing, it was necessary not to change it. In A.D. 1104³ the Mahājanas of the *agrahāra* (Brāhman village) of Gaṇḍarādityanahoḷa carried a complaint to the emperor against a certain Boppaya who had the *manneya* (headship) of the place, but who had abused his position by attacking the village, plundering its inhabitants and robbing them of all their possessions,

¹ *JII*, ix (i), 74.

² *Ibid.*, 76.

³ *Ibid.*, 169.

and even killing its Brāhmins; the emperor listened with attention to the complaint (*kēḍavadhārisi*), and in the presence of all his *pradhānas* (officials) he punished Boppaya and decreed the abolishment of the office of *manneya* of the *agrahāra*; further he commanded the *pradhānas* and Malayāḷapaṇḍitadevar and Somēśvara-bhaṭṭa to implement this decision by getting a deed from Boppaya renouncing the *manneya* on behalf of himself and all his descendants and having it confirmed by an oath, drinking water in the presence of the deity Tripurāntakadeva. This *āṇepatra* (agreement under oath) was duly taken, registered, and placed under the protection of the local authorities and the central government like any other 'dharma'. The people of the village had suffered great wrong in this instance, and the relief they got from the emperor was a permanent immunity from liability to such oppression as they had endured from Boppaya. Let us not omit to notice that the remedy was *ad hoc*, obviously a single act dependent on the will of the emperor, and not a decision following any coded procedure; it is clear therefore that such cases must have been of relatively rare occurrence if they could be dealt with in this way.

Law and Justice

The emperor was not only the supreme head of the executive administration, but also the highest Court of Justice, the Commander-in-Chief of the forces, and the fountain of honour. Legislative power as it is understood in modern politics he did not possess; but in cases of conflict or dispute he had the right, as head of the State, to declare, in the last resort and after due consultation with his jurisconsults, what rule or custom was to apply in a particular case, or even to make a limited new ruling if no precedent was discovered in existing law or practice. The same procedure must have been followed in the subordinate courts of the land, and there was perhaps a good deal of law-making in the form of decisions passing under the guise of law-declaring or exposition; so long as due regard was paid to the fundamental principles of justice and right as interpreted by the manuals of law (*smṛti*) and the general sense of the community and its *élite*, all was well. But we have very little information in our sources directly bearing on the administration of justice in the period. The law-books are full of schematic accounts which need not be reproduced here.

Priests of the King

Mention is made in inscriptions of a number of *rājagurus*, mostly Śaiva in their religious persuasion though a few Jains also bear the designation. Whether these filled the office of the purohita to whom the *smṛtis* give a very high place in the inner counsels of the king, or whether they were merely the ministrants to the personal spiritual needs of the royal family, cannot be decided.

Palace Officials

The administration of the imperial palace and of the empire was no longer the relatively simple affair which it had been in the Bādāmi period. The machinery of government had become much more complicated and offices had multiplied greatly, whilst able and experienced officials were often allowed to hold many of these offices at the same time. Prominent among the offices of the household were the *mane-vergaḍe* (chamberlain) and *bhāṇasa-vergaḍe* (steward, *bhāṇasa* lit. means kitchen), and both these offices were apparently held together by Anantapāla for many years under Vikramāditya VI and his successor.¹ There was an *antaḥpurādhyaksha* (superintendent of the harem) or *antaḥpurādhikāri*; the office was generally held by prominent generals and statesmen and the nature of their duties is by no means clear.² The office of *aḍapa* (betel-bag) is mentioned in an inscription of A.D. 1050 and again in A.D. 1135.³ The *kaḍita-vergaḍe* and *karaṇam*,⁴ to judge from their names, were more or less in constant attendance on the emperor when he was engaged on public business; they made notes of his oral orders and later put them into proper shape for official action; their functions were similar to those of a modern Chief Secretariat.⁵ Two *tantrapālas* and a *tantrada senabova* were present at the renewal of the local constitution of Pannāleya-kote in A.D. 1050 after the confusion caused by the Chōḷa invasion; the two terms have been interpreted as signifying councillors and secretary to the Council,⁶ and this suggestion may perhaps stand until we obtain more light on the nature of these offices. The *sāndhi-vigrahika*, as his name indicates, was employed in the conduct of diplomatic negotiations; the title literally means 'maker of peace and war'. But it may be doubted whether these duties were, exclusively, or even primarily, connected with the relations of the state to foreign powers as we might be led to believe by modern analogies; for in fact there were a considerable number of quasi-independent vassals within the empire; they belonged to ancient ruling families, cherished memories of past glory and hopes of future independence, and maintained private armies of their own; their relations with the suzerain power must have always given rise to a number of delicate problems which could be handled successfully only by the employment of diplomatic methods. The *Mānasollāsa*⁷ includes among the qualifications for a *sāndhi-vigrahika* a competent acquaintance with many languages and scripts and outstanding tact and skill in dealing with *sāmantas* and *maṇḍaleśas*, i.e. feudatories and vassals; he should besides be an expert in diplomacy and finance. The duties of the *sāndhi-vigrahika* were

¹ *JII*, ix (i), 153 (A.D. 1083), and 224 (A.D. 1130).

² *Ibid.*, 232, 240; *EC*, vii, Sk. 106; *EI*, xvi, 32-3 and 47.

³ *EI*, xv, 79; *JII*, ix (i), 232.

⁴ Means 'treasurer' according to Barnett, *EI*, xvi, 50.

⁵ *JII*, ix (i), 111, 232 and *HAS*, viii.

⁶ *EI*, xv, 79-80.

⁷ ii, 127-30.

then of the highest political importance and they spread over the whole range of imperial relations, internal as well as external; the empire seems to have been divided into spheres for this purpose—the northern half bearing the name of Lāṭa or Lālā, the southern being styled Kaṇṇāṭaka. We hear of both *kannaḍa-sāndhi-vigrahika*¹ and *lāḷa-sandhi-vigrahika*,² though indeed there are other instances where either only the simple title of *sāndhi-vigrahika* is employed³ or both *lāḷa* and *kannaḍa* are employed together as prefixes to the title.⁴ Another adjective, *heri*, is also prefixed to this office in some instances; on the strength of the form *hēriga* which occurs in a verse in a Lakshmeśvar inscription of A.D. 1147 the suggestion has been hazarded that the *heri-sāndhi-vigrahika* was a minister in charge of the secret intelligence department of foreign policy;⁵ it seems much simpler to suppose that *heri* merely implies the seniority of the particular officer above others doing similar work under him,⁶ since it seems unlikely that officers entrusted with so wide a range of important and delicate duties were left to face them without assistance from a number of responsible deputies and assistants. *Heri-sāndhi-vigrahika* may indeed well have been the Kannaḍa form of the expression *mahā-sāndhi-vigrahika* which occurs in a record of A.D. 1066.⁷

Revenue Terms

There were other offices carrying revenue duties and yet others of a military character. The great general Anantapāla is described as *pannāyada-dhishṭhāyaka*⁸ in an inscription of A.D. 1083, and twenty years later another officer Muddarasa is described as *accupannāyad-adhishṭhāyaka*,⁹ and a little earlier (A.D. 1102) Daṇḍanāyaka Bhīvaṇayya is said to have had among other duties the control (*āluttam-ire*) of the *accupannāya* of the entire Seven-and-a-half-lakh country;¹⁰ he had under him a Mādhava also called *accupannāyada-dhishṭhāyaka*. The study of the numerous technical terms found in these inscriptions has hardly begun, and the suggestions put forward here are tentative. Putting on one side the great number of local cesses and levies of various sorts which will come up for consideration later, it seems possible to recognize two types of revenue in the income of the Central Government, viz. *āya* and *ṣunka*, the latter being generally a contribution of some kind levied on goods, particularly those in transit. The *āya*, which comprised all other forms of income, fell into various classes, the most notable being *siddhāya*, *pannāya*, and *daṇḍāya*. *Siddhāya* was the name applied to the tradi-

¹ HAS, viii, p. 3, ll. 4-5; SII, ix (i), 223.

² SII, ix (i), 240.

³ EC, vii, Sk. 106.

⁴ Cf. Rice's translation of EC, vii, Sk. 106—the officer and titles being the same as in the Lakshmeśvar inscription.

⁵ SII, ix (i), 129, ll. 10-11.

⁶ Ibid., 168, l. 12.

⁷ EI, xvi, 33, ll. 14-15, 30-1.

⁸ Ibid., 111.

⁹ EI, xvi, 45.

¹⁰ Ibid., 153, ll. 66-7.

tional land tax, always taken for granted, and not in need of any fresh regulation or prescription. *Pannāya* was income from merchandise including octroi duties, levied at rates specified from time to time and collected either in kind or its equivalent in money as the case might be. The *daṇḍāya* was income from fines levied in court or in other ways as punishment for offences. The term *adhiṣṭhāyaka* in the phrases cited above obviously stands for head of the department concerned in any specified locality. It is equally clear that Bhīvaṇayya, who had the rule of the *accupannāya* of the entire kingdom together with Palasige Twelve Thousand, had been given an assignment of either the whole or part of the net proceeds of the tax together with charge of its entire administration with power to appoint subordinates. Whether *accupannāya* was the same as *pannāya* or a part of it, in other words what the exact force of the prefix *accu* is, cannot be determined; if *accu* means a coin as in the phrase *accinaṭankasāle*,¹ then *accupannāya* may stand for that part of the *pannāya* which was collected not in kind, but in cash. That *pannāya* was the broader term and included *śunka* of some types is clear from an expression like *pannayāda śunkadolage tingalinge paṇaveradu*,² i.e. two *paṇas* per month from the *śunka* of the *pannāya*; it may be that *śunka* is used here in the loose sense of general income; otherwise *pannāya* must be taken to have included the *śunka* collected in money. A *daṇḍāyada-verggaḍe* is mentioned in an inscription of A.D. 1138,³ and it is probable that there were others above and below him concerned in the administration of this by no means negligible source of income. Several levies of the *śunka* variety are also mentioned, such as *vaḍḍa-rāvuladaśunka*, *perijjunka*, and *manneya śunka*, and each of these *śunkas* was evidently collected and administered by district agencies; this becomes clear from an inscription of A.D. 1037 from Hoṭṭūr where the *śunkadavaru* (tax-collectors) of each class are separately mentioned, and are said to have met and acted together for a common purpose.⁴ The meaning of *vaddarāvula* is obscure,⁵ but considering its position by the side of the other two *śunkas* above-mentioned, the suggestion may be made that the *śunka* was collected in three parts—one going to the immediate local authority who had the *manneya* of the place, another going to his immediate superior who was intermediate between him and the emperor-*perijjunka* (higher *śunka*), and the last belonging to the suzerain king or emperor, *vaḍḍa-rāvula*, and therefore forming part of the central revenue system. Accordingly in A.D. 1127 a high minister of state, Bhōgabhaṭṭayya, was in charge of the administration of the *vaḍḍarāvula-śunka* of the whole country and had under him a number of officers including the *daṇḍanāyaka* who was in charge of the *accupannāya* of Noḷambavāḍi.⁶ Sometimes, when the *perijjunka* and *manneya śunka* remained

¹ *SII*, ix (i), 228.

² *Ibid.*, xi (i), 50, ll. 23-4.

³ *Ibid.*, 80, n. 5, and *KKI*, for other suggestions.

⁴ *SII*, ix (i), 223, ll. 9-10, 17-18.

² *Ibid.*, 223, l. 28.

⁴ *EI*, xvi, 79, ll. 37-41.

unassigned to particular officers, they were collected by the imperial staff; thus in A.D. 1106 the *vaddarāvula* and the *perjjunka* of Nolaṃbavāḍi Thirty-two Thousand were both administered by Aṇukapallavarāya-Daṇḍanayāka assisted by a number of subordinate officers of the *ṣunka* from the imperial staff (*devara sunkada verggaḍe*).¹

Military Offices

Among military offices the most common ones are those of *sēnādhipati*, *mahā* (*pracaṇḍa*) *daṇḍanāyaka*, *daṇḍanāyaka*, and *kari-turaga* (*paṭṭa*)-*sāhini*;² the first three titles are those of the higher offices in the army and the last belonged to the elephant corps and cavalry section; the combined title is perhaps an indication that divisions of the army other than the infantry usually comprised both elephants and horse.³ There is indeed mention of a separate *āneyasāhini*.⁴ The *Mānasollāsa* lays it down that the *sēnāpati* should be an expert in the riding of horses and elephants and in judging the capacities of persons serving him in the army.⁵ But we have in fact little authentic information on the details of military organization and equipment in this period.

Plurality of Offices Held

A number of other titles are borne by the highest officers of state, and most of them are indicative of official duties of some kind the nature of which we are seldom in a position to determine now; but they certainly deserve a passing notice in any account of the administrative system. At the same time some idea can be got of the extent to which offices and titles were held in plurality by the most distinguished ministers of state if we reproduce some of them exactly as they occur in the inscriptions before drawing particular attention to those which have not been accounted for already. In an inscription of A.D. 1060 from Sūḍi, the *daṇḍanāyaka* Nāgadevayya, who was *mane-verggaḍe*, is said to have been given by the emperor Trailokyamalla (Somēśvara I) the place of *amātya* in his own palace; he is said further to have been acknowledged as their chief by the company of the seventy-two officers in the capital of the Chālukya emperor—*Chālukya-chakreśvara-kaṭaka-bāhattara-niyogi-nivahārādhyānum*.⁶ This is one of the earliest references to the traditional *bāhattara-niyogas*; other references slightly later in date were noted by Fleet, and in an inscription from Nāgai in A.D. 1058 we have an earlier reference to the institution;⁷ the occurrence of this term here gives a measure of the com-

¹ *SII*, ix (i), 170, ll. 15-18.

² *Ibid.*, 50, ll. 23-4; 232, ll. 8-11; 240, ll. 5-7, &c.

³ Barnett translates: 'Master of stables of elephants & horses', *EI*, xvi, 50.

⁴ *SII*, ix (i), 206.

⁵ ii. 90-2.

⁶ *EI*, xv, 88, l. 18. Barnett translates *kaṭaka* into camp; I think in the context it means capital. *DKD*—index s.v. *Bāhattaraniyogā-dhipati*. Also *SII*, ix (i), 233, l. 35.

⁷ *HAS*, viii, p. 14, ll. 152-3.

plexity of the administrative organization of the palace, the court and the capital, of which no good contemporary account has survived and only faint glimpses are caught in the inscriptions accessible to us. A record of the reign of Somēśvara II from Soratūr (A.D. 1071) bestows on Baladevayya the epithet *śrīman mahāpradhānam herisandhivigrahi senādhipati kaṣṭitaverggaḍe daṇḍanāyaka Baladevayya*.¹ Earlier in the same inscription he is called *Kuntalā-dhīsa-hiṣopadeśa dhurandhara*, signifying 'foremost in offering wholesome advice to the Lord of the Kuntala country'. Here *Mahāpradhānam* seems rather a title indicative of high rank than of any particular office, and the last epithet cited proves that Baladevayya was among the trusted counsellors of the emperor. The remaining epithets are definitely all names of offices, whether all these offices were held by one person at the same time or whether they were taken up by him one after another, but all of them mentioned together for the glorification of the officer, we cannot decide; and it is interesting to note that even after the mention of the *Senādhipati* title, that of *daṇḍanāyaka* is retained. The phrase *sahavāsigaḷ-adhishthāyaka* occurs in two inscriptions,² and appears to be important. Barnett renders it into 'president of the intendants', while Rice makes it 'regulator of the companions' which is a more literal and at the same time a more pregnant title. The *sahavāsis* (lit. dwellers together) were indeed companions, companions of honour, a select band of devoted soldiers who were ever ready to lay down their lives in the service of the monarch. The existence of such companies in connexion with many Indian courts was noted by successive foreign travellers from the ninth century A.D. onwards.³ And this view gains confirmation from an inscription of A.D. 1127 which praises another Mahāpradhāna daṇḍanāyaka Indarāyaya as 'the mango tree full of juicy fruit for the parrots', the 'parrots' being the group of *sahavāsi-janas*,⁴ and, incidentally, Indarāyaya was also, like Bhīma, a native of Kashmir. '*Sahavāsigaḷ adhishthāyaka*' may therefore be taken as meaning 'the captain of the companions of honour'.

Our last example comes from a vassal's court and belongs to the year A.D. 1108. Under Vijaya Pāṇḍya-deva, ruling over Nolambavāḍi, there was a Hemmāḍi-daṇḍanāyaka who is introduced with the following epithets: *śrīman mahāpradhānam, śrīkaranam, sarvādhyaksham, tantrādhi-shthāyakam, mane-verggaḍe, mahāpasāyitam vijaya Hemmāḍi-daṇḍanāyakam*. Here is clear evidence that the feudatory courts and households were organized as almost exact replicas of the emperor's.

Court Procedure

A fragmentary inscription from Kollūr in the Guṇṭūr District⁵ contains

¹ *SII*, xi (i), 111, ll. 13-14; and 11.

² *EC*, vii, Sk. 106; *EI*, xvi, 33, ll. 12-14.

³ K. A. N. Sastri, *Foreign Notices of South India*, pp. 128-9, 165; and *Cōlas*, ii, 225-6.

⁴ *SII*, ix (i), 223, l. 16.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 193.

the significant statement that Tribhuvanamalladeva made a gift in the presence of *mantri*, *purohita*, *senāpati*, *dauvārika* (porter), *Yuvarāja*, *rāshtrakūta*, and *kuṭumbi*—which is most probably the conventional way of stating that the grant was made publicly in open court. The inscription is dated in the fortieth regnal year of Vikramāditya VI (A.D. 1115–16), and the gift in question was obviously of something in Kollūr, a territory which was then being ruled like the rest of the Telugu country by Anantapāla; but the emperor's order was obviously issued from the place where he was residing at the time, possibly the capital Kalyāṇī itself.

Under Vikramāditya VI the procedure of the Chālukya court appears indeed to have been elaborated to a complexity of pomp and ceremony not reached in the previous reigns, and it became a definite rule that petitions for grants by the emperor had to be presented to him by some responsible state official in his entourage, and that the details must be recorded in the charter embodying the grant. Thus we find that the Yewūr inscription (A.D. 1077) contains the statement that at the time when on account of a lunar eclipse the emperor was at Kalyāṇī making several great gifts (*mahādānas*), the *sāndhi-vigrahika* Raviyaṇabhaṭṭa petitioned (*binṇapadim*) that the temple of Svayambhu Deva erected by him at Ēhūr should be remembered as it was in need of funds for various purposes, and that the emperor gratified his wish by making a substantial donation of 412 *mattar* of land.¹ The same officer figures again as *binṇapa* (petitioner) on behalf of a temple of Keśavadeva built by his wife at Hūvina-Haḍagalli (Bellary); this was fifteen years later in 1092.² The Nīlgund plates of the Chālukya-Vikrama year 12 mention Palata Pāṇḍya as the *viññapti*; and again his grandson Rāya Pāṇḍya for another gift to the same parties thirty-six years later; Palata appeared before the emperor at Kalyāṇa, and his grandson at Vaijayanti (Banavāsi).³ On the other hand, the Kauthem plates (A.D. 1009) of Vikramāditya V, and the Daulatābād (1017) and Mīraj plates (1024) of Jayasimha II, mention no *binṇapa* or *viññapti*, but record direct gifts by the emperor. In other inscriptions petitions are indeed mentioned sometimes, but they appear to be recited more as explanations of particular courses of action followed in special cases by officers of the empire than as a form prescribed by the rules of court ceremonial. Thus in A.D. 1005 governor Sobhanarasa allotted some land under certain conditions to Revabbe-Goravi of the temple of Mūlasthāna (in Sīrūvūr) at the request (*binṇapamgeyya*) of eight *gāvunḍas* and sixty tenants (*okkalu*) of Sīrīvūra.⁴ Again in A.D. 1074, Lakshmarasa, who was then ruling Belvola and Puligeṛe, gave some land to the Arasara-basadi in Ponnugunḍa at the request of all the *pradhānas* (*intu samasta pradhānara binṇahadim*) under him, of whom one *śrīkaraṇa*, two *perggaḍes*, one *karaṇa*, and one *mapasāyita* are named—all of these being described in various forms of words as most pious Jainas.⁵

¹ EI, xii, 283.

² EI, xii, 154.

³ SII, xi (i), 50, ll. 16–17.

⁴ SII, ix (i), 158, ll. 60–1.

⁵ Ibid., 113.

Honours

The emperor was of course the supreme bestower of honours, and instances have already been noticed of titles conferred by him on particular persons in recognition of their distinguished services on the field of battle or in the council-chamber. This prerogative was apparently delegated to viceroys enjoying the confidence of the monarch, since we find that in the reign of Somēśvara I a certain Keśava Gāvūṇḍa of the Goḍuva family of Poṭṭiyūr (Hoṭṭūr) obtained the use of royal insignia from Hariga, that is to say from the Kadamba Harikeśin of Bankāpur, and again from Vikramāditya, who was then ruling over Gangavāḍi; the latter hailed Keśava as his son, conferred on him his own title of Chālukya Ganga-Vermādi, and allowed him to use the white umbrella, the double *chauris* of gold, the flag, the war-drum, the parasol of peacock-feathers, and other insignia; these points are detailed in an inscription of the Śaka year 988 (A.D. 1066-7) from Hoṭṭūr.¹ Such privileges, once obtained, were greatly cherished by those who enjoyed them, particularly if the recipients were permanent corporations. The sixteen *seṭṭis* of Dharmavola (Ḍambal) obtained the honours of *chhatra* (umbrella), *chāmara* (chauri) and *śāsana* (charter) from Jagadekamalladeva (Jayasimha II); these *seṭṭis* were doubtless the executive body of the Mahānagara of Ḍambal, and the fact of Jagadekamalla's recognition of their honourable position in the country formed a part of their *prasaṣti*, as is shown by an inscription of A.D. 1095-6.²

The above is a sketch of the Chālukya administrative system at the centre of its activities based primarily on the evidence of the inscriptions; there are many gaps in it, and some uncertainty even about the significance of the data which are accessible to us. Of the methods followed in recruiting officers and in their promotion from one grade to another we hear little. Of the tenure on which offices were generally held and the manner and scales of remuneration, again no definite information is forthcoming, though we see enough to infer that though transfers seem to have been quite common from one department or area to another, no officer was disturbed during good behaviour, and that offices seem to have been financed by assignments of specified revenues in given localities. Official positions tended to become hereditary in particular families, some of whom were immigrants from outside Kuntala.

Nature of the State

The administration was by no means strictly centralized, and the empire is best regarded as a loose confederation of numerous centres of power presided over by the emperor. His rule was indeed personal and autocratic in the sense that he was bound by no one's advice and was responsible to no human agency for the manner in which he exercised his sway; but he lived in a cultural *milieu* dominated by the belief that the monarch was part of a

¹ *EpI*, xvi, 84, ll. 23-6.

² *IA*, x, 186, l. 15.

divinely established order in which each had to fulfil the duties of his station in conformity with the principles of Dharma. As a matter of fact, the area of social life directly subject to the control of the king and his government was by no means extensive; the king only preserved order and adjudicated disputes which came before him, whilst he had also the disposal of the customary sources of public revenue, of which he spent only an inconsiderable portion on himself and his family, while the bulk was employed in maintaining the public services, including the various divisions of the army, and in making *dānas* intended for the support of learned men, and of temples, schools, tanks, irrigation, and other works of public utility. The king depended for his position of honoured precedence in the whole country largely on his own personal qualities, and he kept it only so long as these qualities ensured the loyal support and co-operation of his officials and feudatories. In so far as it is possible to contemplate the empire as a political institution, it would not be wrong to think of it as a system of mutual watch and ward among the public powers, that is to say the emperor, the other members of the royal family, including the *Yuvarāja*, who held high offices, the ministers and officials, and the *sāmantas* and *maṇḍalīkas*, each helping according to his ability and opportunity to maintain the benevolence and purity of the administration.

Rule of High Officials

Before taking up the details of provincial and local administration, some attempt at indicating the important role of the high officials in the imperial organization may be made by setting out the information available in some typical instances. The position of Dhalla under Taila II, the founder of the Kalyāṇī empire, is vividly described in an inscription of A.D. 1007 from Lakkuṇḍi.¹ A Brāhman by birth and a scion of the Vāji-kula, Dhalla bore the entire burden of the kingdom in his capacity as *Mahāmantrākṣapaṭalādhipati*, a rather unusual collocation of terms meant evidently to convey that he was the Chief Minister of Taila. Dhalla was, we are told, the arm of Taila and won victories in the field for his monarch in Konkaṇa, Vengī, and Mālava; there was in fact little difference between the actual functions of the king and of his minister except that the one occupied the throne while the other was in theory his subordinate. Dhalla's son was Nāgadeva, also a famous warrior and statesman who rose to power in the service of the successors of Taila. Madhuvarasa of the Vāṇasa family and the Vasiṣṭha *gotra* was an even greater warrior and statesman who was at the meridian of his career about A.D. 1058 during the reign of Āhavamalla Somēśvara I. The history of this great family of hereditary soldier-statesmen of Brāhman origin is narrated in considerable detail in the long inscriptions at Nāgavāvi, modern Nāgai, in the Hyderabad State.² That history cannot be followed here in all its detail, since our attention must be concentrated on Madhuvarasa, the most illustrious member of

¹ *SII*, xi (i), 52, ll. 6-11, 13, 16.

² *HAS*, viii.

a distinguished family. He was the third among six sons of Kālidāsa and Rebbaṇabbe. The father Kālidāsa is himself praised as the author of the rise and prosperity of the Chālukya rājya, whilst Bāchirāja, the elder brother of Madhuvarasa, is said to have secured for his king the glory of imperial sovereignty. But Madhuvarasa was Madhusūdāna (the god Viṣṇu) himself, born incarnate as the son of Kālidāsa to wipe out the stain of the age of Kali. His noble character and unrivalled skill in war were devoted to the service of Āhavamalla and brought him great fame. He shook the power of the Chōla and wiped the Andhra out of existence; the Lord of Dhārā he drove out of his capital, and other kings of even more distant regions felt the weight of his arm. His generosity was equal to his valour, and there were few places in the whole empire that had not benefited from some one of his numberless charities. The world knew no difference between him and his sovereign. He was the spring season that caused the creeper of *Kuntala rājya lakshmi* to sprout and blossom forth, and the potent spell for the destruction of the prosperity of rival monarchs who followed evil counsels. He was intent upon rooting out all sedition from the kingdom and took upon himself the entire burden of the State, being at the head of the imperial establishment. He had under him several youths from learned families, who had a perfect command of the languages of all the surrounding territories and whom he employed in difficult missions to troublesome provinces and countries. He was the great *sāndhi-vigrahika* bestowing favours upon the Aśvapati, Gajapati, and other kings. His lustre was increased by the position of *Yuvarāja* conferred on him by the grace of the emperor. He excelled Chāṇakya, Kāmandaka, and Brihaspati in wise counsel, and was the equal of Yaugandharāyaṇa in the efficient implementation of the seventy-two *niyogas* (offices) of the court. His shining intelligence manifested itself in ways that evoked the admiration of learned scholars. This picture is certainly overdrawn, but obviously Madhuva must have been a general and statesman of outstanding eminence, and this record of his service and position in the State was certainly indited with the knowledge and approval of his sovereign. Let us note before bidding farewell to Madhuvarasa that his son was yet another Kālidāsa (II) who distinguished himself greatly in the service of Vikramāditya VI.

General Ravideva's descent and career are set forth in great detail in the Yewūr inscription (A.D. 1077) of Vikramāditya VI and in another inscription of A.D. 1090 from the Bellary District.¹ Ravideva was a notable musician, and when he began to play, everyone present asked: 'is not this a downpour of fresh honey, or a river of nectar, that is falling upon us?' He was a master of many languages and scripts. He became *Lāla-Sandhivigrahi* under Āhavamalla (Somēśvara I), and obtained from him a grant of the three rich villages of Mukkunde, Gangāpura, and Ēhūr which he handed over to the Brāhmins of those places as tax-free holdings for all time. Subsequently, Somēśvara II

¹ *EI*, xii, 274 ff.; *SII*, ix (i), 158.

was pleased to appoint him as both *senādhipati* and *heri-sāndhi-vigrahika*. And further, when Vikramāditya became emperor he bestowed on Ravideva all the insignia of royalty such as the white umbrella, the great drum, and the fly-whisk. He had thus the distinction of having served three successive Chālukya monarchs 'like a mirror in their hands' (*kay-gannaḍiy-ādam*). The Yēwūr inscription devotes seven well-turned verses to the praise of the moral excellences of Ravideva, verses which are worth reading as a specimen of the Kannāḍa poetry of the time, but which will not bear abridgement or reproduction in another language. The Bellary inscription adds that Ravideva's policy and valour formed, so to say, the taproot of the entire Chālukya administration, and that he endowed throughout the land many charities such as drinking-water stalls, pastures, rest-houses, Viṣṇu temples, and feeding houses for *dvijas*. In this record the name of his wife is given as Rebbaṇabbe, and she forms the subject of a long *praśasti* in verse and prose, in which her beauty, learning and charm of manner, her winsome speech and mastery of the fine arts are highly extolled. She delighted to play on the vīṇā, and was in every way a fit companion for her exalted husband.

In Mahāpradhānam Daṇḍanāyakam Śrīmad Ayyamgaḷu Someśvarabhaṭṭopādhyāya, the Dharmādhikāri of Vikramāditya VI, we have another type of eminence in state service. The Gaḍag inscription¹ of the 23rd year of the Chālukya-Vikrama era (A.D. 1098) contains a full-length portrait of this illustrious scholar-statesman, developed in no fewer than thirty melodious verses alternating between Sanskrit and Kannāḍa according to the fancy of the composer, who indeed deserves to be remembered by the literary historian of either language. There follows a more summary *praśasti* in Kannāḍa prose which is reproduced exactly in another inscription of the same date from Kuḍitaṇi.² Somēśvara's rise was evidently unique in his family, which belonged to the Mauna *gotra*; his parents and his grandfather are mentioned to satisfy the *smṛti* rule about *praśastis*, but that is all. Somēśvara himself is the real and unique subject of this paean of praise, and our attention is riveted throughout on his person, his learning, his work, his character, and the way he behaved to others and others behaved to him. The most erudite scholars came to consult him before reaching a decision on points of law or on the *pada* and *krama* (words and word order) of the texts of the *Rig Veda*. He was a master of all branches of learning, sacred and secular (*vaidika* and *laukika*). Noticing his extraordinary efficiency in the development of the fiscal resources of the empire and the complete integrity of his character, Vikramāditya made him a *Mahāmātya* and bestowed on him all the insignia of royalty; he also put him in charge of *Dharmādhikāra*, the administration of grants and gifts, and placed all his material resources (*samastasampad*) at his disposal; these Somēśvara utilized for erecting halls of instruction in every city where discourses were held on *Veda*, *Sāstra*, and the lore of the Sun and the Moon

¹ EI, xv, 352-4.

² SII, ix (i), 164, ll. 8-16 = Gaḍag, ll. 47-50.

(*Sūryasiddhānta* and *Somasiddhānta*?). From his own means Somēśvara established a school at Lakkiguṇḍi for the teaching of *Prābhākara Mīmāṃsā*. Before him the king raised his palms in an *añjali* of devotion to him; all the ladies of the royal harem revered him as *guru*; the princes hailed him as a saint to whom they were dear; indeed, the right holy Somēśvarabhaṭṭa was a new Śākalya of his time, a springtime for the Lakshmī of the garden of eminent poets. That such a man should be described as *daṇḍanāyaka* should be sufficient proof that this term has little to do with military duties, but is more appropriately taken to apply to civil administration, particularly the judiciary function. In fact it would be much nearer truth to render *daṇḍanāyaka* as judge than as general. A *daṇḍanāyaka* was one who guided the application of *daṇḍa* to the particular issues at hand, thus a judge primarily, conceivably also a politician and statesman, rather than a general at the head of an army, though the term is indeed elastic enough to include this meaning also. We have seen that some *sēnāpatīs* (generals) are also called *daṇḍanāyakas*, and this was not without good reason. But the employment of *daṇḍanāyakas* as *danādhikāris* and *śāsanādhikāris* charged with the duty of composing inscriptions is in fact a tribute to their learning rather than their martial valour.¹

Several other instances of important officers who served the empire may be gathered from the inscriptions.² One of the most illustrious careers of Vikramāditya's reign, that of Anantapālayya, has been touched on in our account of the political history of that reign. He is perhaps the most conspicuous example of the limited class of very able generals and statesmen who stood in great favour with the emperor, and on whom he conferred the status and insignia which even the feudatories belonging to ancient ruling families did not always possess. For some years towards the close of Vikramāditya's reign Anantapāla ruled the Telugu Districts of the empire as viceroy; he had a prominent part in the conquest of the Vengi Kingdom for the empire, and was duly rewarded for his services. An inscription from Tripurāntakam dated right at the end of Vikrama's reign³ gives a long account of his pedigree and of the services of his relatives, including his sister's husband and sons, to the empire—one more instance of public service becoming the established profession of whole families for several successive generations.

Administrative Divisions

Turning now to provincial and local administration, the first question that comes up is that of the significance of the numbers attached to the names of particular divisions, the whole of the home territory of Kuntala being

¹ See the end of Daulatabad, Miraj, and Nilgund plates, *IIAS*, ii and *HI*, xii.

² There is scope for a systematic work on the official nobility of the times based on a study of all known inscriptions.

³ *SII*, ix (i), 213.

itself described as 'seven-and-a-half-lakh'. The inscriptions sometimes record clearly that a particular division with a given number forms part of a larger division with a correspondingly larger figure attached to it—for example, Mugunda Thirty within Mahārājavāḍi nāḍu, itself contained in Palasige Twelve Thousand.¹ The meaning of these numbers has often been discussed but always with inconclusive results. This method of attaching conventional numbers to particular territorial names was not known to the Chālukyas of Bādāmi. It seems to have come into vogue under the Rāshtrakūṭas, and we can only say that their meaning is by no means clear. Nor can it be said that they played any part in settling the subdivision of the country for administrative supervision and control; for there is no obvious principle to be traced in the manner in which the areas are grouped for this purpose.

Besides the proper names with conventional numbers attached to them, the most common territorial divisions were called *rāshṭra*, *vishaya*, *nāḍu*, *kampana*, and *thāṇa*. The first three terms among these appear to have been used indifferently for the major divisions, though *vishaya* and *nāḍu* were sometimes distinguished as divisions smaller than the *rāshṭra*. The usual formula proclaiming grants made in copper-plate charters is addressed, to the extent to which it concerns them, to all *rāshṭrapatis*, *vishayapatis*, *grāmakūṭakas*, *āyuktakas*, *niyuktakas*, *adhikārikas*, *mahattaras*, and others.² This conventional formula, probably a continuation of Rāshtrakūṭa form, and not in itself very illuminating, yet gives some idea of the types of agency concerned in local administration.

Village Headman, Elders

The *Grāmakūṭaka* was perhaps the village headman, the link between the government and the village throughout the whole of India's long history; he is the *grāmaṇi* of the vedic times, the *grāmasvāmi* of the *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭilya, and the *grāmbhōjaka* and *ūroḍeya* of the other Chālukya inscriptions. The *Mahattaras* were the elders, the *élite* of the village, and generally of the whole of the particular division in question, who commanded with the people and the representatives of the government influence commensurate with their personal ability and character, the extent of their property, and other factors. The further categories mentioned were officers of the central government belonging to various grades. The exact correlation between these vague Sanskrit terms and the more precise Kannaḍa designations which occur in the inscriptions of the period is not always clear, but the live Kannaḍa terms coming straight from the life of the time clearly deserve more attention than do the stale repetitions of ancient classical formulae.

The word *nāḍu* was applied to the larger territorial divisions with numbers

¹ *SII*, xi (i), 78, ll. 41-2.

² *EL*, xii, 154, 303.

attached to their names. Thus one inscription (A.D. 1079)¹ mentions Kanne Three Hundred, Peḍekal Eight Hundred, and Naṟavāḍi Three Hundred separately, and sums them up in the phrase *intī mūṟum nāḍumam*—these three *nāḍus*. Below the *nāḍu* was its subdivision called *kampana*; thus *Kogaḷi aynūrar kampanam Bikkiga-erppattar oḷagana Talavage*,² i.e. Talavage included in the *Kampana* Bikkiga Seventy which was part of Kogaḷi Five Hundred. The *thāna* was perhaps another minor territorial division, either the same as the *kampana* or smaller. An inscription of A.D. 1072 from Kuṇṭoji (Dharwar) calls the place the *thāna* of Kumtige Thirty and refers to the *ṣunkaverggaḍe* (octroi officer) of the place.³ Possibly the *thāna* was more nearly a fiscal division than a territorial area marked out for general administration.⁴

Nāḍarasa, Nālgāvunḍa

Each *nāḍu* was for general administration a separate charge under a *Nāḍarasa* assisted by a *Nālgāvunḍa*, and there are occasional references to a *mahā-nālprabhu*, a term in which *prabhu* seems to be the same as *arasa*, and *mahā* (great) only an honorific prefix—for there is no evidence that the *mahā-nāḍu* was a larger territorial division than the *nāḍu*. That the *nāḍarasa*'s duties were entirely general and all-embracing is easily shown; an inscription of A.D. 1045 from Morigeri⁵ records certain endowments in favour of a *maṭha* in the place, and adds that the *maṭha* was a *naishthikasthāna*, a place meant only for celibates; if any of its occupants swerved from the path of celibacy or became otherwise obnoxious to the institution, it would be the duty of the *arasa* who was ruling the *nāḍu*, acting with the *manneya*, the Twelve of Morigere and the *ūroḍeya* to expel them and install others, of the same families if possible, who would observe the vows correctly.⁶ Again the *nāḍarasa* and *nālgāvunḍa* were present together when in A.D. 1058–9 Āychagāvunḍa of Posavūr made the gift of an areca-garden and four house-sites to a *basadi* built by him in memory of his wife Kamchikabbe.⁷ The duties of the *nāḍarasa* and *nālgāvunḍa* and their mutual relations receive little elucidation from our sources. We may guess from their designations that while the *nālgāvunḍa* had duties relating to the collection of revenue, particularly land-revenue, the *nāḍarasa*, also called *nāl prabhu*, was the head of the district in charge of its general administration. It may be noted that Keśava-gāvunḍa (of Hoṭṭūr) held the *gāvundu* of Poṭṭiyūr together with the *nāl prabhutva*⁸—a rather interesting combination of offices the holding of which simultaneously by one person runs counter to modern notions of administrative propriety. A *nāl prabhu* Malla-Gāvunḍa of Nerilage is definitely described as a man of the fourth caste (A.D. 1147–8).⁹

¹ *SII*, ix (i), 147, ll. 11–13.

² *Ibid.*, 87 (A.D. 1034), ll. 13–14.

³ *Ibid.*, xi (i), 112, ll. 21–3.

⁴ Cf. N. Venkataramanayya—*Third Dynasty of Vijayanagar*, pp. 238–9.

⁵ *SII*, ix (i), 101, ll. 57–9.

⁶ *Ibid.*, ll. 56–9.

⁷ *SII*, xi (i), 65, l. 45.

⁸ *EL*, xvi, 84, l. 22.

⁹ *BK*, 61 of 1933–4.

Towns and Villages

When we come to the towns and villages, we reach the region where local autonomy prevails unchecked in almost everything that does not concern the imperial fisc, and so long as no irreconcilable differences arose among them, the people of each locality organized in different ways for various purposes were allowed to carry on affairs according to their own lights. Larger centres of population, the towns, were designated as *nagara*, *paṭṭaṇa*, or *pura*; though some of the *nagaras* like Aihole and Dambal are well known to have been large mercantile settlements, it is not clear that here, as in the Tamil country, the term *nagara* was reserved exclusively for mercantile centres and *paṭṭaṇa* for seaports. We hear casually of *paṭṭaṇasvāmis* and *nagara seṭṭis*, but get little light on even the outlines of the constitutions under which the administration of the cities was carried on in general. Some of the cities were clearly more important than others, being the residences of hereditary ruling princes subject to the empire and called for that reason *rājadhānis*. However from *rājadhāni* Puligeṛe (modern Lakshmeśvar in the Mīraj State) we do possess several inscriptions giving interesting details having to do with its administrative organization. An inscription of A.D. 1082 contains the record of a purchase of land from the Brāhmanas of the city by the Five Hundred headed by Śānti Seṭṭi.¹ Another dated A.D. 1111 records the purchase of land by *Daṇḍanāyaka* Anantamayya from the *mahājanas* of the *nagara*, the *gāvunḍas*, and others.² Yet another sale of land to *Daṇḍanāyaka* Nāgavarmaya by the 120 *mahājanas* of the Brahmeśvarageri of the *rājadhānipaṭṭana* Puligeṛe occurred in A.D. 1122.³ Seven or eight years later Jayakeśi endowed a college (*ghaṭige*) attached to a Śiva temple of the same place.⁴ Lastly, the *mahājanas* of the *rājadhānipaṭṭana* Purigeṛe were present with two *daṇḍanāyakas* and some others on the occasion when, in A.D. 1138, the Kadamba prince Jayakeśi made an important gift to the Śiva temple of the locality.⁵ We thus see clearly that this large city had three general assemblies each called *mahājanas*,⁶ one for the general concerns of the city as a whole, another comprising the Brāhman inhabitants and dealing with problems relating to their residential quarters, properties, and so on, while a third, which represented the mercantile community in the city, controlled and regulated matters affecting that body. The numbers, 120 for the Brāhman assembly and 500 for the *seṭṭis*, are perhaps only approximate and conventional; each of these assemblies had a corporate capacity, owned common property, and could buy and sell, sue and be sued, as we say now. Incidentally we learn that there was a college for advanced studies, a *ghaṭikā*, which doubtless was worthy of the large city and its place in the empire.

That other towns had separate constitutions of their own we may postulate

¹ BK, 12 of 1935-6.

² Ibid., 15.

⁴ Ibid., 3.

³ Ibid., 2.

⁵ Ibid., 1.

⁶ Fleet's remarks on the *mahājanas* at EI, v, 10-11 and n. hold good no longer.

from the ancient practice of the whole of India which distinguished urban from rural administration, and from the occurrence in inscriptions of the usual phrase indicating this distinction, viz. *paura-Jānapada*.¹ An inscription from Lakshmeśvar dated A.D. 1074 in the reign of Bhuvanaikamalla Somēśvara II states that Mahāsāmanta Jayakeśiyarasa, who was the Rāshtrakūṭaka of the Purigeṛe-300 district, visited Permāḍi-Basadi at Purigeṛe and made it into a *pura* at the request of Tribhuvanachandrapaṇḍita;² here is a clear indication that the name *pura* signified a definite constitutional status with certain specific privileges, that the *puras* had to be particularly recognized as such, and that it was within the competence of the heads of the executive government in the provinces to grant such recognition. Such a grant or charter certainly implied the enjoyment of a much more extensive autonomy than was general, and in the case of a *basadi* it may even have included a limited right of asylum. The urban assemblies certainly had executive committees whose numbers were fixed, though it is not known how the committees were formed or how vacancies in them were filled. On important occasions the executive acted together with the general body just as the sixteen *settis* of Dambal acted with the *Mahānagaram* in A.D. 1095/6,³ while the ordinary daily administration must have been carried on by the executive committee.

Village Economy

Of the villages and their administration we hear rather more though not nearly as much as in the contemporary Chōla inscriptions of the Tamil country. An inscription of A.D. 981 from Agrahāra Kamchagāra Belguḷi (Bellary District) records the confirmation by the new Chālukya conqueror of the old *mānyas* which had prevailed in the village before the conquest, and these include three *sthānamānyas* (lands free of taxes and earmarked for the priests) of 18 *mattar* for the Śiva temple, for the Pañchikeśvara temple, and for the Bhaṭārī temple; a *bhaṭṭageyi* or field for the village teacher, of 6 *mattar* in extent; a *chaṭṭageyi*, or field for pupils, of 6 *mattar*; a *perggaḍe geyi*, or field for the *perggaḍe* (clerk?), of 8 *mattar*; *ambigageyi* (for the boatman) of 8 *mattar*; and a *taḷārigeyi* of 12 *mattar*.⁴ The above grants give some idea of the internal economy of a moderate sized village, and of how the continuity of local institutions was largely undisturbed by big political changes occurring at the centre. The Sogal inscription of A.D. 980 records a land-gift for the benefit of the Suvarṇākshi temple and a feeding house for ascetics performing austerities in the Suvarṇākshi-tīrtha, and the record is interesting in several ways.⁵ It records a foundation legend relating to the shrine, according to which it was established by the Dānava kings Māli and Sumāli at the end of the Tertā-age, the name Soval or Sol of the place being derived from

¹ e.g. in Kharepatan plates of Raṭṭarāja (A.D. 1008), *EpI*, iii, 297.

³ *IA*, x, 186

⁴ *SII*, ix (i), 74.

² *BK*, 29 of 1935-6.

⁵ *EpI*, xvi, 1-9.

that of King Sumāli. The Thirty of Sol here take part in measuring out the land and marking it off as a separate estate which formed the subject of the endowment. The relative positions of the quarters of the barbers and the washermen, and a road passing through the town, are indicated incidentally in describing the exact location of the building where the ascetics were to be fed. Most interesting of all is the watch and ward arrangement for the continued maintenance and proper administration of the endowment; it is expressly stated that *Sthāna-āchāryas* (the priests of the temple) and the *ūr* (i.e. the Thirty) shall jointly guard it against assaults from princes (*bhūnāthar*) representative of the central government; the *sthāna-āchāryas* are to protect it from harm by the *ūr*; whilst the Thirty will guard it against the *sthāna-āchāryas*. Here the system of mutual checks, always tacitly understood, is for once stated in express terms and the existence of such a form of organization goes far to explain the stability of India's ancient institutions.

Bālgulī, modern Bāgali in the Bellary District, comes early under our notice and long retains our attention owing to the number and interest of its inscriptions. The success achieved by the Fifty of Bālgulī, acting in concert with the *tambulīgas* and the Five Hundred in invoking the aid of the emperor against an unjust enhancement of taxation by a governor, has been noted above. In A.D. 987¹ they made a gift of a garden for the service of a new Ādityadeva (Sun-god) shrine in the village, fixed the annual contribution from the garden to the temple at six *gadyāṇas* of *āneya-ponnu* and one *gadyāṇa* of *dharāṇa-ponnu*, and named the family of tenants who were to cultivate the garden in hereditary and remit to the temple the prescribed amount of gold; a gap in the record unfortunately obscures the exact extent of the garden which was a fraction of a *mattar*. The village is described as a gift of the Chālukya emperor in some inscriptions² and as a gift of Hariśchandra in some later epigraphs;³ the Fifty are called the constant worshippers of Nārāyaṇa in one record, and the worshippers of Svayambhu Kalideva and the favoured of Śrī Mahālakṣmī in another.⁴ Whatever their correct explanation, these divergences recorded in the *prāśastis* of the *mahājanas* at different dates deserve to be noted. Their meeting is once described as having been held in the temple of Kalidevasvāmi and attended by the whole of the population, young and old alike (*sabāla vrddhasahitavasēsham*).⁵ The phrase 'all *mahājanas* led by the *ūroḍeya*' seems once to be applied, however, to the Fifty themselves in a record of A.D. 1079 in the expression—*Bālguliy-ūroḍeya-pramukhav-aśēsha-mahājanangal-aivadiṃbar*.⁶ A long inscription of A.D. 1160 records a substantial grant of an areca-plantation by a Brāhman lady Dharmiyakka for the maintenance of a new temple of Lakṣmī-Nārāyaṇa built by

¹ *JII*, ix (i), 75.

² *Ibid.*, 80, ll. 22-3 (A.D. 1018).

³ *Ibid.*, 145 (A.D. 1079), l. 21; 168 (A.D. 1103), l. 18.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 132, ll. 18-19, and 145, ll. 20-1.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 145, ll. 21-2; 168, ll. 18-20.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 89, ll. 11-12.

her; 130 trees in the plantation of another named person were to be allowed water from the well belonging to the garden which was the subject of the gift—evidently the recognition of some prior right which the gift could not affect; the garden was placed in the hands of the Fifty after a *pādapūjā* had been performed to them; the garden was to be free of all obligations and to belong to the temple in absolute ownership: *sarvabādhāparihāramam sarvanamasyamam sarvamānyamam padedu*. The purposes for which the income from the garden was to be spent included the cost of conducting the worship of the deity in due form together with offerings (*nivedya*), repairs to the temple as and when necessary, a remuneration of seven Bāguḷi *gadyāṇas* yearly to a teacher (*upādhyāya*) who was to expound *śāstra* and *purāṇa* before the deity—*ā devaralli śāstra-byākhyānamam māḍalum purāṇamam helali-vorbbbar-upādhyāyargge*; and the feeding of the Brāhmans in the service of the deity—*ā devaragrāsanada brāhmaṇa bhōjanakkam*.¹ The institutions of several other villages may be studied in a similar way from the evidence of the inscriptions.²

From Ummachige (Mod. Kotavumachgi) comes an inscription of the reign of Vikramāditya V³ giving an account of the foundation of a new *agrahāra* in A.D. 1012, which is of unusual interest for its details regarding the internal economy of the settlement. Daṇḍanāyaka Keśavayya obtained the permission of the emperor to hand over the village of Ummachige to Maunara Śrīdhara-bhaṭṭa of Roṇa together with a charter (*śāsana*), a white umbrella, and an assembly-hall (*ghaṭige*) as a *sarvanamasya* with complete ownership of internal rights; after getting it on these terms, the *bhaṭṭa* conveyed it to the 104 *mahājanas* subject to regulations (*vyavasthā*) to be observed by himself and by the *mahājanas* and the other people (*prajegam*) of the village. The terms of these regulations comprised specifications of lands and houses set apart for particular charities and services to be maintained in the locality, and briefly they were the following: the income from 500 *mattar* of land and thirteen houses was earmarked for the support of charities and services auxiliary to them: of these, 50 *mattar* of land and four houses, divided among six shrines and a feeding-house for *elkoṭi* ascetics in the manner stated, were to be held and administered by celibates (*naishthikas*) of the line of Bendeyabhaṭṭā—perhaps the spiritual line to which the *elkoṭi* ascetics and Maunara Śrīdhara-bhaṭṭa himself belonged; next, a Bhaṭṭārī temple got 12 *mattar* and a house: 100 *mattar* and 2 houses were set apart for education in two stages—higher education comprising the study of *Nyāsa* and *Prābhākara* provided for by 50 *mattar* of land and a house for a teacher, and 25 *mattar* for pupils, and education of a more elementary character to be imparted by Nāgadēśiga who was an expert teacher of *gaṇita* (mathematics), *jōsiya* (astrology), *chanda* (prosody), and *alamkāra* (rhetoric), besides reading and writing; Nāgdēśiga was to feed his pupils once a day and supply each of them with one cloth every year, and

¹ *SII*, ix (i) 267, ll. 60-4.

² *EI*, xx, 67.

³ e.g. Kogaḷi, *ibid.*, 77 and 130.

he was to get 25 *mattar* of land and 1 house as *akkariga-vritti*. Then follow the endowments for auxiliary services comprising *kuruvagey* (black land) of 12 *mattar* and a house, to ensure a supply of tender coco-nuts (?), a *gaḷamtige* (?) *gey* of 6 *mattar* and a house for the supply of special vessels for *abhisheka*, 8 *mattar* and 1 house for a barber, 12 *mattar* and a house for a drummer, and lastly, 100 *mattar* and 2 houses for a free feeding-house where only men of good character were to be fed. So far charities. Following these the allotment (*mānya*) to the *ūroḍeya* (headman) comprised 200 *mattar* and 3 house-sites, each 8 hands broad and 25 hands long, besides which he was to receive as permanent contributions (*śāsvata śunka*) certain payments including, among others, 1 *gadyāṇa* for a vedic sacrifice (*yajña*), 2 *paṇas* for a marriage, 1 *paṇa* for an *upanayana*, and 1 *gadyāṇa* for *dīpālī* (though it is not stated who were to pay this last contribution), and some others like it. Several sources of income are then set apart for the maintenance of the tank called Deyimgeṛe which obviously supplied water for irrigating the village lands. These sources were: a fine of 2 *paṇas* from one who abused another, 12 *paṇas* for beating a man, 3 *gadyāṇas* for threatening with a drawn dagger (*surige gītade*), 12 *gadyāṇas* for stabbing—such amounts to be varied, however, in consideration of differences in caste:¹ a bachelor who commits rape is to pay a fine of 3 *gadyāṇas*, and to make another payment of equal amount when he undergoes religious expiation (*prāyaścitta*) for his offence. A bachelor who reaches the *maṇḍapa* (sanctuary) weapon in hand (after an offence) escapes unpunished. Houses are also to be specially set apart one each for a keeper of the cowpen, for the *gāmunḍas*, and for the chiefs of the lower castes (*Kiḷjāṭiya Mukhyarggam*). It is a pity that this interesting record omits to give the total extent of the cultivated land in the village, and says little of the other castes whose existence it apparently takes for granted. But even as it is, its value is very great for the light which it throws on the position of the *ūroḍeya*, on the educational system, on the religious and charitable establishment, and on the extent of local autonomy in the administration of justice and the disposal of judicial fines.

Mention is made in several inscriptions of the 32,000 Brāhmins of the primeval (*anādi*) *agrahāra* Sthānakundūra (Tālguṇḍa),² and they have a long *prasasti* stating that they came from Ahicchatra and that they obtained 144 villages as the sacrificial fees for the eighteen *āsvamedhas* of King Mayūra-varmma. These legends apart, the *prasasti* makes particular reference to the fact that the Thirty-two Thousand received the first honour in all Brāhman and royal assemblies—*Brahma-rāja-sabhā-pūjāgra-grāhigaḷ*, and this statement is of interest as suggesting the probable meaning of the phrase about the welcome according to the *samaya* of the Thirty-two-Thousand—which

¹ Fines for same offences on a lower scale were assigned to a tank in Mailam by the emperor in A.D. 1046. *SII*, ix (i), 102, ll. 44-7.

² *EC*, vii, Sk. 177-8.

indeed may be just nothing more than a conventional expression meaning the most honoured place. As the *agrahāra* of Ganj claimed also to be 32,000 *mahājanas*,¹ it seems probable that it was one of the 144 villages mentioned in the *praśasti*, and that each of the villages which belonged to the group described itself as comprising 32,000 *mahājanas*, irrespective of its actual size.

Three *gāvundās* of Siruvūr, the holders of the *Pañchamaṭhassthānas* (headship of the five *maṭhas*), and the 200 *Mahājanas* led by the *ūroḍeya* of Jentevāḍi were present on the occasion when a large gift of land was made in A.D. 1040 to a feeding-house, and the supervision of its administration was entrusted to the *gāvundās* and the heads of the *maṭhas*.² Puliūr (Huḷi) near Saundatti was a *Mahāagrahāra* which had an *ūroḍeya* and a thousand *mahājanas* who had the privileges of the golden pot, six white umbrellas, cauris, the five great sounds (*pañcamahāśabda*), the *ghaṭikā* (assembly hall), and the big drum; they were all of them learned in the *vedas*, *śāstras*, grammar, rhetoric, *purāṇa*, and *kāvya*, performers of *Sōma* sacrifices, regular in their daily routine of religious duties, and exemplary citizens of noble character; their settlement had been originally established as a *Brahmapurī-sthāna* by the Chālukya emperor.³ An inscription of A.D. 1049 from Hombaḷ mentions the 120 *mahājanas* of Pom-buḷcha and also its *aśeshabrahmasabhe*—the assembly of all the Brāhmins of the place—one of the few clear indications that the *mahājanas* of a place did not always comprise the entire body of its householders, and that the general body of inhabitants also met on important occasions, though not as regularly as did the *mahājanas*.⁴ Another record of the same date from Shirūr (Bijapur District) lays on the *grāmarājas* (the rulers of the village) the duty of expelling from the local *maṭha* ascetics who had turned aside from the path of celibacy;⁵ the vagueness of the expression used is perhaps intentional, for in the conditions contemplated, either the officers of the central government or the local authorities might take the initiative in putting matters right.

Religious Corporations

A record of A.D. 1058 from Nāgai mentions among other things a large gift of 1,000 *mattar* of wet land to the *māṇis* (bachelors) of the *parishad* (assembly) of the *śālā*, feeding-house, of the shrine of Traipurushadeva⁶—which shows that even charitable establishments of a quasi-religious character had corporate constitutions of their own, and that the inmates of our *maṭhas* and *śālās*, though they were ascetics and single men who had renounced the world and held no personal possessions, were quite able, and were trusted by the general public, to take care of the material interests of their establishments. They seem to have differed little from the monastic orders of medieval Europe in this respect.

¹ *EC*, vii, Sk. 50.

² *SII*, v, 849 (A.D. 1044).

³ *Ibid.*, 85, l. 39.

⁴ *EL*, xv, 335.

⁵ *Ibid.*, xi (i), 84, ll. 11–12.

⁶ *HAS*, viii, 16, ll. 199–202.

Growth of Towns

The purchase of some land and its gift to a *maṭha* attached to a temple in Mulgund in A.D. 1062¹ is witnessed to by the Three Hundred of the *ādipaṭṭana* (original town) Mulugunda headed by 4 *seṭṭis* whose names are recorded, the *gāvunḍas*, the 120 *mahājanas*, the 50 *sālīgas* (weavers), the 120 *telligas* (oil-mongers), and the 58 (?) *mālāgāras* (florists), besides the *pañchamaṭha-sthāna*; the reference to *ādipaṭṭana* throws light on the history of the growth of the city, which had obviously begun as a trade-centre. An inscription in Uchchangidurg dated A.D. 1064 places a *kālāmukha-sthāna*, a Śaiva religious centre, under the protection of the *nakara* (merchant guild) of the locality.² In A.D. 1071, when Vikramāditya was ruling at Govindavāḍi and was particularly happy over his victory against Daṇḍanāyaka Chiddaya (a general of Somēśvara II), the 120 *mahājanas* of Agrahāram Puvina-Ṣaṅgīlī came to him, praised him in verse and blessed him (*bamdu ślokarthamam pērdāśīrvādamam koṭṭeḍe*), and obtained gifts from him in return;³ this was clearly a political move on the part of the *mahājanas* intended to show their loyalty to Vikramāditya in his war with Somēśvara II. A long *prasaṣṭi* of these *mahājanas* occurs in two later inscriptions of A.D. 1090 and 1144.⁴ The deity Gavareśvara of Gaṇḍarāditya-Chaturvedimangalam (Bellary District) had gifts in 1074 from the 120 (*mahājanas*) of the place, the fifty *telliga* (oil-monger) families, the *mummuridaṇḍas*, and four *seṭṭi putras* who are mentioned by name; there is reference also to the Five Hundred and to sixty families of oil-mongers when the details of the gifts are enumerated immediately afterwards, the *mahājanas* are mentioned again in two later undated inscriptions.⁵

Co-operation in Local Affairs

From Niḍugundi (Dhārwar District) comes an inscription of the reign of Somēśvara II (A.D. 1076)⁶ which gives a good idea of the co-operation that existed among different authorities for providing for the common needs of a place; it contains a casual statement that the total royal revenue from the place was fixed by statute (*jāsana maryāde*) at 500 *gadyāṇas*—a remark which may well justify the assumption that such settlements were reached with all important places, subject, of course, to revision according to subsequent exigencies. The Four Hundred *mahājanas* of the village agreed to continue as of old (*pūrvasthitiyim*) the provision of 3 1/32 *pārikkhāyada pon* for honouring the visiting *mahājanas* from other places—*parasthānada mahājanadabhayāgata pūjege*; Singaṇṇadeva, the governor of the district in which the village was situated, allowed ten *gadyāṇas* out of the statutory income of 500 *gadyāṇas* from the village for the *pavittrārohaṇa* festival and the fee and food for the

¹ *SHI*, xi (i), 97, ll. 26–7 and 29.

² *Ibid.*, ix (i), 135, ll. 5–8.

³ *Ibid.*, 139, ll. 34–42; 285, 286.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 126, l. 18.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 118, ll. 41–6; 254, ll. 59–60.

⁶ *Ibid.*, xi (i), 117.

Brāhmins reciting the scriptures during the festival in the Svayambhu Kalidevasvāmi temple; and lastly, Suggaladevī, the sister of the emperor, who had the rule of the *agrahāra* with *tribhogā bhyantarāsiddhi*, obtained the permission of her brother, then encamped at Avagevādi, to make a grant of money and one oil-mill for repairs and a perpetual lamp in the same temple, and of another oil-mill for a perpetual lamp at the shrine of the village-goddess, Bhagavatī (*grāmādhī-devyam Bhagavatī*). An inscription from Niralgi of A.D. 1074 mentions that the 300 *mahājanas* of the place were summoned by a messenger being sent round.¹

Voluntary Levies

The four hundred *mahājanas* of Nāgavāvi (Nāgai) and all the merchants of the place (*alliya samasta nakaramum*) met in A.D. 1092 to make provision for the requirements of a subsidiary shrine in the Rāmeśvara temple and the repairs of the *gopura* in front of the main temple; they resolved that for the regular worship including offerings (*nivedya*) and periodical festivals in the shrine of Lakshmaṇa in front of the Rāma temple, a contribution of one-sixteenth of the proceeds of the sale of cloth (*śīre*) and areca-nuts should be paid in gold by the local merchants as well as by itinerant merchants visiting the village; and for effecting repairs to the *gōpura* were to be set apart all moneys including *mudrā paṇa* paid by those who fulfilled their vows before the deity. The proceeds from all these sources were to be entrusted to respectable merchants in the locality and drawn upon for the particular expenses mentioned to the extent necessary.² While throwing some light on the working of local institutions, an occasional resolution like this appears to raise several questions to which no immediate answer can be given. How, for instance, were the expenses now provided for on Lakshmaṇa's shrine met previously? Was no provision made earlier for the repairs to the *gopura*? And was the levy on the proceeds of the sale of cloth and areca-nuts a new one, and were these trades free of all such levies before? If we possessed the full record of the transactions of the local bodies of Nāgavāvi we should be in a position to find the answer to all such questions; as it is we get only cross-sections at particular points; but what we do get does not leave us altogether without guidance in framing plausible answers to such questions, though the detailed course of actual events must remain unknown in the absence of definite information from the inscriptions.

Changes in Tenure

The *agrahāra* Māngola was under the rule of Vikramāditya's queen Padmaladevī in A.D. 1116; the 200 *mahājanas* of the *agrahāra* made a petition to the queen, and in gracious response (*kārunyavacana*) to it she ordered that

¹ *EI*, xvi, 71, l. 33.

² *HAS*, viii, 3, ll. 6-11.

enough land should be set apart for the worship of Narasingadeva, and the order was implemented by Puliyama Nāyaka who provided eleven *mattar* of tax-free land for the purpose.¹ In 1124 the entire *agrahāra* of Muḍivēmu was handed over to its 108 *mahājanas* by Atyanachola, the feudatory of Vikramāditya VI, after he had obtained the emperor's permission on a *tribhoga* tenure—by which the income was shared equally by three parties, viz. the ruler, the Brāhmins and the gods of the locality;² this was evidently an important and permanent change in the revenue status of the village such as even a hereditary ruling prince did not feel free to effect without previous approval from his suzerain.

A village in the Banvasi area bore the name Paruvanapalli Sare, i.e. Sare which is the village of the Brāhmins. It desired to have its name changed to simple Sare, evidently because in course of time, owing to the accession of other elements to its population, the prefixed addition Paruvanapalli had become misleading; the change of name became the subject-matter of a *śāsana* (charter) granted by Brahmayyadeva, the governor of the province, in the presence of his house ministers—*maneya pradhānam*. The charter bears the date A.D. 1032.³

This survey of rural administration in the Chālukya empire has sought to give a rapid summary of the primary material arranged as far as possible chronologically. The time for a definitive study of this subject has not yet come, the texts of many inscriptions are still inaccessible, and experience warns us against too much reliance being placed on summaries in official reports, while even in the published records not everything is clear, and there is often scope for rival and contradictory interpretations. But the evidence cited is enough to show the strong tendency towards self-government which characterized the various forms of corporate activity that filled the whole area of social life; the emperor and his officers and vassals formed a more or less external authority capable of securing conformity to the laws and regulations of these corporate bodies. The stress was throughout more on duties than on rights; individuals found their proper places in the natural group or groups to which they belonged, and in these positions they did not lack freedom and opportunity for self-expression, each according to his ability. The concept of the organic unity of society and of the interdependence of its parts was the keynote of the whole system, and the impression left on the mind after a perusal of the numerous records of day-to-day transactions found in the inscriptions is in fact one of harmonious and well-articulated co-operation among different groups. The territorial assemblies of the village, town, and larger divisions were primary assemblies, each with cherished traditions and privileges of its own and comprising all the heads

¹ *SII*, ix (i), 195.

² *Ibid.*, 207; *IA*, xix, 271 for *Tribhoga*. But the interpretation is not free from doubt.

³ *EC*, viii, sb. 191.

of families in the area concerned: they had charge of everything, including justice, that was not the special province of any particular smaller group; they were confined to Brāhman only in *agrahāras*, i.e. Brāhman villages; the village staff was usually remunerated for its work by means of assignments from common village lands, and it generally included a village teacher. Guilds of artisans and merchants, of which more presently, seem to have come next in importance, owing to their financial position in the community and their readiness to endow and maintain public institutions like temples, schools, hospitals, irrigation tanks, and so on, either from the proceeds of voluntary levies of a periodical nature or with capital endowments in cash or land. There were many other corporations for the administration of temples, *sālas* (feeding-houses), *mathas*, and other public foundations. Such a large number of organizations working in close proximity to one another were able to carry on without much friction or disorder only because of their common allegiance to the principles of *dharma* in the conduct of their daily life; these principles included a certain readiness, in cases of persistent differences, to refer matters to the arbitration of third parties and to abide by the decision of the *élite* or, in the last resort, of the emperor and his advisers.

Among the village officials, the *ūroḍeya* (headman) was the chief, and to judge from the allotment he gets in the Ummachige inscription cited above, his position must have been a highly respected one. There are mentioned also the *perggade*, the *gāvunḍa*, the *senabova*, and the *kulakarṇi*—the two last being perhaps best described as accountant and clerk. No authentic information is available regarding the exact demarcation of duties among these officials. The corresponding feminine terms occurring in inscriptions like *gāvundigī*, *heggadīti*, or *gaudī*,¹ to which we may add *arasi*, *nāyakitti*, and *daṇḍanāyukiti*, should in most cases be understood as honorific descriptions of the wives of the officers concerned rather than as instances of women holding these positions in their own right, though some of the *arasis* certainly did do so.

Taxation

The taxes and levies, provincial and local, next claim our attention. Some of these have been mentioned incidentally in our discussion of other subjects and need not be repeated here. The king's government had no monopoly of the fiscal rights, for every local assembly and corporation could exercise these within its own sphere for purposes germane to its objects and duties. Our knowledge of the nature of the levies and rates in the few instances where they are mentioned is derived, not from any direct description of the system of taxation, but indirectly from a study of charters relating to gifts, exemptions, and so on. Any attempt therefore to determine the incidences of the fiscal system or to compare it with those of other times and countries is out of the question for the present. The regulation of the total burden laid

¹ *JII*, ix (i), 298; xi (i), 68.

on any class or group was a matter, so far as we can see, carried out in a rough and ready manner in the light of a general sense of fairness and equity. It must be noticed particularly that most of the minor levies were not general taxes paid by all, but only sectional dues; if this fact is not firmly grasped, the large number of the taxes named may give rise to a false impression regarding the general burden of imposts.

The subjects of gifts were of various kinds, all of which were liable to sundry levies and therefore eligible for exemptions from these. They comprised garden land (*tōṇṭa*), areca gardens (*aḍakeya tōṇṭu*), land under wet cultivation (*key*), and land under dry cultivation (*gaḷde*). Oil-mills (*gāṇa*) and houses and house-sites (*mane and mane nivēṣana*), and cash gifts in money in the form of golden *gudyāṇas* (*pon gadyāṇa*) occur frequently. Lastly, particular taxes and levies become themselves the subjects of gifts earmarked for specific purposes; voluntary cesses of an *ad hoc* character, particularly those allowed by mercantile associations, were also common. These general statements will receive ample illustration from the details of inscriptions to be set forth in the course of this study.

Exemptions

We may begin with a discussion of the *parihāras*, or exemptions accompanying gifts of land, and the allied subject of tenures before entering upon a study of the details of particular taxes properly so called. The Kharēpaṭan plates of the Silāra Maṇḍalika Raṭṭarāja dated A.D. 1008 record a gift of three villages with their boundaries marked out, inclusive of all the royal income arising from them (*sarva-rājakīya-āyābh-yantarasiḍdham*), which were not to be entered by *chāṭas* and *bhaṭas* (troops and retainers), and of which the said income was to be exclusive of prior gifts to gods and Brāhmins, and was placed in perpetuity under the control of a learned celibate *āchārya* of the spiritual descent (*samtati*) of Kārkarōṇi of the line (*amvaya*) of the *Mattamayūras*, a well-known group of Śaiva ascetics.¹ In the Mīraj plates² (A.D. 1024) and other charters of the eleventh century the formula of grant usually states that the village is given complete with its grain and gold income, its treasures and deposits; it is not to be pointed at (for any purpose) by the fingers of royal officials; the *śulka* is included in the gift, and no tax (*kara*) or impost (*bādhā*) of any kind is to be laid on the village, which is to be respected by all (*sarva namasya*), a phrase which seems to mean that what applies to the king's officials applies to all others and that no one was permitted to contemplate the raising of any contribution from the village on any account whatever. But sometimes a fixed assessment of a lump sum was prescribed as due from the lands in the enjoyment of these sweeping exemptions; thus in the Nilguṇḍ plates we read that when the gift of the village to the 300 Brāhmins from the Drāviḍadēśa was renewed in the year 48 of the

¹ *EI*, iii, 297 ff.

² *Ibid.*, xii, 303.

Chālukya-Vikrama era and the hamlet Krishṇapallikā was added to the gift, the emperor ordered that these Brāhmanas were to pay 400 gold pieces (*suvarṇas*) as consolidated revenue (*piṇḍadāna*) to the ruler of the dēśa (*dēśasvāmi*), and though it is not expressly stated, this has perhaps to be understood as an annual payment. Thus the term *sarvamānya* (*namasya*) does not always have its exact literal meaning, and sometimes implies, not total exemption from all dues, but exemption from all dues other than those named in the charter itself; thus we get some indication that a due regard for the stability of the public fisc was actually maintained, even when the desire to win fame and merit by means of *dānas* (gifts) on a large scale was being indulged. Instances of smaller gifts being likewise subject to obligations to the fisc are not unknown; thus an *aruvaṇa* of five *gadyāṇas* is prescribed for six *mattar* of land given by Sōbhanarasa to Revabbe Goravi of the temple of Mūlasthāna in Sirivūr in A.D. 1005, besides one *balli* (creeper) in the garden given on the same occasion—one *balli* meaning the produce of betel leaves growing on one creeper in the garden mentioned.¹ The nature of the *aruvaṇa* is not clear, but we find it mentioned in one instance as equally due from cultivated land (*key*), house (*mane*), and garden land (*tōṇṇa*).²

Land Tenure

Lands with varying degrees and kinds of immunities were held on different tenures by different classes of persons and institutions; temples, *maṭhas*, village-assemblies and other permanent corporations held them on a perpetual tenure, little liable to change except in extraordinary situations arising out of war, invasion, and so on, or by mutual agreement between the state and the corporation; the highest title for this class of holding was obviously the *parameśvaradatti*, the gift of the emperor, a term covering not only gifts directly made by the emperor, but all those made with his sanction.³ In one instance in A.D. 1037 a sale of land followed by a gift of the land to a temple is expressly declared to be irrevocable—*ā keyge bennirkkey-illa*, meaning 'of that field there is no resumption'.⁴

Tala-vṛitti

Gifts to temples for the maintenance of services in them are sometimes designated by the special term *tala-vṛitti*; the term *vṛitti* is usually employed to designate a service-tenure, and adjectives are prefixed to it calculated to give some idea of the nature of the services implied—thus we have terms already noticed such as *bhaṭṭa-vṛitti*—free land for the teacher of *Śāstras*, or *akkarika-vṛitti*—free land for the village teacher who taught the three R's. *Tala-vṛitti* obviously means free land for the maintenance of services in the

¹ *SII*, xi (i), 50, ll. 19–20; also *ibid.*, 52, ll. 58–9 (A.D. 1007).

² *Ibid.*, 78, l. 56 (A.D. 1045).

³ e.g. *HAS*, Nāgai Inscr., pp. 15, 22 n.

⁴ *EI*, xix, 219, l. 8.

tala (Skt. *sthala*) shrine, to which the gift is made. The village of Suruki was given as *tala-vṛitti* by Attimabbe to the Brāhma Jinālaya, a Jain *basadi* built by her at Lokkiguṇḍi in A.D. 1007.¹ The village Sivuṇūr was made into a *tala-vṛitti* for the Śiva temple of Nāgēśvara in Sūṇḍi erected by Nāgadeva;² Sivaṇūr is also called a *dēva-bhoga* and its boundaries are specified in detail; then occurs the statement that everything within the boundaries so laid down was constituted a *tala-vṛitti* divided among the various heads in the following manner: for sandal and other ingredients for the regular worship of the deity and repairs to the structure of the temple as and when required, 150 *mattar*; for feeding resident ascetics, 300 *mattar*; to the *bhaṭṭa* who dis-coursed to these ascetics, 30 *mattar*; to the teacher (*ṛjha*) engaged in instructing the young celibates (*māṇi*) in the *maṭha*, 8 *mattar*; to 2 Brāhmans who performed the *hōma*, 8 *mattar*; to the 4 *māṇis* of the *ghaṭiga* (assembly hall), 20 *mattar*; for the lake Nāga-gonḍa, 20 *mattar*; to 16 dancing-girls performing various specified duties—one getting 20 *mattar*, another 15, and the rest 12 each, total 203; to a drummer, 24 *mattar*; to the flutist, 12 *mattar*; to the Sūle-vāla (?), 12 *mattar*; to the stone-cutter Chandoja, 30 *mattar*. It must be added that the seigniorial dues from the village (*manneya sāmyada tereyam*) of Sivaṇūr were also surrendered to the temple in perpetuity by the three seigniors of the place on their own behalf and that of their descendants. The role of the temple in the economy of its neighbourhood is very well brought out in the dispositions made in this record, and in many others of a similar nature. An inscription dated A.D. 1148³ mentions that the village of Tohi was divided into 80 *vṛittis* distributed among several learned Brāhmans and institutions, including an expounder of the *Purāṇa*, a *veda* teacher, a *sāstra* teacher and a keeper of fire, the whole being handed over to the *mahājanas* as *tribhōgābhhyantara-sarvanamasya*. Incidentally we may note that several of the Brāhmans named in the record are called *arasas* and *nāyakas*, and that they were prepared on occasion to exchange their priestly ladles for swords; among them was one called Uyyakkonḍa-bhaṭṭa Sōmayāji, which sounds very much like a Tamil name. The expression *kumāra-vṛitti*, ‘the holding of the prince’, is employed to describe the relation of Vikramāditya to Banavase and Noḷambavāḍi in an inscription of A.D. 1057⁴ in the lifetime of his father; though not of frequent occurrence, the expression is definite proof that the princes of the royal family held definite assignments of the entire revenues of considerable areas and maintained themselves and their courts out of the proceeds. Similar assignments were made to the servants of the State either individually or in groups.⁵ The term *anuga-jīvita*, lit. the subsistence of a subordinate, describes the tenure on which Taila II himself held Tarddavāḍi of the Rāshṭrakūṭa king Krishṇa III in A.D. 965;⁶ it also applies to six villages

¹ *SII*, xi (i), 52, l. 56.

² *SII*, ix (i), 250.

³ *Ibid.*, 83, l. 15 (A.D. 1049).

⁴ *EI*, xv, 89.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 118, l. 22.

⁶ *Ibid.*, xi (i), 40.

held by the 1,000 *Leṅkas* (guards) in the middle of the eleventh century, the *jīvita* being held with rights of *tribhōgābhyanantara siddhi*.¹ A little later, in A.D. 1067, *mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* Jēmarasa held Poṭṭiyūr and some other towns as *aṇuga-jīvita*, and his son Jōyimarasa held Poṭṭiyūr itself from his father as his *kumāra-vṛitti*—a case of what we may perhaps call sub-infeudation.² Before leaving tenures we must note the term *dasavanda* or *dasabandha*, of which the best interpretation seems to be the earmarking for a specified public purpose of one-tenth of a given source of revenue;³ this interpretation is directly favoured by an inscription of A.D. 1108 cited by Fleet,⁴ and by another record dated more than a century later.⁵ Such an arrangement may be made regarding the rent of lands as in some of the Nāgai and Lakshmeśvar inscriptions,⁶ or may be attached to other sources of cash revenue as in further instances just mentioned.

Tax Rates

We may now consider some concrete instances of taxes and levies and their rates recorded either for specified purposes or as items from which exemption is granted in particular instances. Some of these have already been mentioned incidentally, as, for example, *aruvaṇa*, *balli*, and the *śunka* on betel leaves. The Lakkundi inscription of Attiyabbe (A.D. 1007)⁷ states that a garden and an oil-mill given to a *basadi* were each exempted from all dues like *karavanda*, *talabhoga*, and *masatu*; the nature of these apparently small cesses is by no means clear at present. An inscription of A.D. 1045 from the Bellary District⁸ records the grant by Udayāditya Sindarasa of all the taxes due to him for the *manneya* of the village of Doṇḍavaṭṭi, for the maintenance of an irrigation tank; though lacking details of the levies or their rates, this document is valuable as clearly establishing two things only vaguely hinted at by other records: that the *manneya* is the overlordship or seigniority of a village which carried certain fiscal rights with it, and that the total sum of these rights, together with the *manneya* itself, was transferable and could become the subject of a charitable gift; the question naturally arises whether such assignments could be made permanent or were valid only for the period during which the *manneya* vested in the donor; our inscription says that Udayāditya's gift was to last 'for all time'—*chandrārkatārambaram*, and there is no indication that the emperor's approval had been obtained. It is, however, possible that provincial governors had the power to dispose permanently of the *manneya* of particular places in this manner; the case of the perpetual suspension by the emperor of the *manneya* of Hoḷalu after the tyranny of Boppaya has been already noticed.⁹ An inscription of A.D. 1054

¹ *SII*, ix (i), 101, ll. 21-2; 104, ll. 4-5.

³ *IA*, xxx, 267, n. 2.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 107.

⁵ *HAS*, no. viii, p. 32, l. 268, and p. 33, l. 301; *LI*, xvi, 48, l. 52.

⁷ *SII*, xi (i), 52, ll. 74-5.

⁹ Above, pp. 386-7, *SII*, ix (i), 169.

² *LI*, xvi, 83, ll. 6, 8.

⁵ *SII*, ix (i), 239.

⁸ *Ibid.*, ix (i), l. 100.

mentions that four *dēvadāsīs* of a temple were exempted from the payment of house-tax (*mane-vaṇa*) and mirror tax (*kannaḍi-vaṇa*);¹ the house-tax was most likely a tax of a general nature which not only *dēvadāsīs* but all the inhabitants had to pay, as can be seen from other inscriptions;² but the mirror tax may well have been a special levy, of the nature of an occupation tax, levied only on the class of dancing-girls; we find it mentioned again in a record of twenty years later, this time as forming part of an endowment given to a temple,³ the other part of the gift comprising a levy on pandals erected during marriages among the seventy families of the locality—*elpattokkala maduveya pandara paṇam*. In all these instances the rates are not specified. A tax on barbers (*nāvida-vāriyam*) is mentioned in A.D. 1068 in an inscription from Bāgali in the Bellary District.⁴

Trade and traders were always deemed to be suitable objects for taxation and they had often to encounter the tax-gatherer at many points. Betel leaves and areca-nuts were articles of universal use and appear to have given employment to considerable numbers of growers and traders, and they are the articles of trade most frequently referred to in the inscriptions of the period. One from Bāgali dated A.D. 1103 gives the information that a head load of betel leaf paid a *śunka* of six *paṇas* in cash.⁵ A *baḷaṅgiyatere*, tax on merchants, is particularly mentioned along with a number of other levies in a record of A.D. 1106 from the Bellary District.⁶

General Nature of Chālukya Rule

What was the general nature of Chālukya rule in this period? Did it ensure internal peace and freedom from foreign invasion to the inhabitants of Kuntala? Our account of the political history of the period has shown that except for short intervals the country was on the whole and with small exceptions free from the ravages of foreign inroads for well over two centuries. The armies of the Chālukyas found employment more often outside Kuntala than within it, whilst internal conflict on a considerable scale occurred only once during the civil war between Sōmēśvara II and Vikramāditya. No contemporary traveller from abroad seems to have left any record of his impressions, while the literary and other works of Indian authors are little interested in the exact relation of actual facts. Bilhana, for instance, tells us that Vikramāditya revived the Rāma-rājya, and that none in the land felt it needful to lock the doors of their houses.⁷ Several inscriptions on the other hand attest breaches of law and of the peace and record crimes of violence against persons and property, particularly in districts adjoining mountains and forests. From the Shimoga District of Mysore come two inscriptions,

¹ *SII*, ix (i), 113, ll. 14-15.

² *EC*, vii, Sk. 295.

³ *Ibid.*, 168, ll. 25-6.

⁷ *Vik.* xvii, vv. 4, 6.

² *Ibid.*, 172, l. 18 on *mane-dere*.

⁴ *SII*, ix (i), 132, l. 27.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 172, ll. 17-20.

one relating the murder of Kallana, the son of a *gāvunḍa*, on a road where he was set upon by a band of robbers in A.D. 975, and the other mentioning the death of a bangle-seller in defending his village against a raid of brigands in A.D. 979.¹ The *talāri* of Hoṭṭūr lost his life in A.D. 1007–8 in saving the oxen of his village which were being carried away by robbers.² Another inscription of A.D. 1016 states that some women were carried away by force from the village of Mulgere and that Kammaṇa Barma, who attempted to rescue them, succeeded in doing so though at the cost of his own life.³ A cattle-lifting raid is recorded during the year 1032, also in the Shimoga District, which resulted in the loss of several lives as attested by hero-stones erected in memory of those killed.⁴ In the neighbourhood of Kogaḷi (Bellary District) a local chieftain, Udayāditya Echanāyaka, met his fate in attempting to overpower a band of thieves in 1047;⁵ a *Mādimayya* of Beṇṭūr died in a fight with cattle-raiders in 1049;⁶ there was an attempt to steal cows and women at Mudayangeri in the Shikarpur *tāluk* of Shimoga in 1058, and a brave called Māchalagāvunḍa lost his life in a brush with the robbers;⁷ similar incidents, mainly skirmishes with cattle-thieves, are recorded in other inscriptions of varying dates from Shimoga.⁸ More extensive loss of life and destruction of property were caused by the activities of numerous princelings and feudatories all over the empire, who were often responsible for local disturbances; but this type of law-breaking was evidently well under control during periods when the empire was strong, though it seems to have increased in the years following the death of Vikramāditya VI. In 1127 Udri in Shimoga had trouble with a Santara chieftain who rose in arms against Kadamba Tailapa, and the lands and women of the village suffered in consequence;⁹ in 1149 a certain Madhuvarasa, the brother-in-law of Kaṭakada Chandra *daṇḍanāyaka*, invaded the country of Kurumaṇi (Cuddapah District) with forty horsemen, and a free fight ensued between the invaders and the people in the area under Bhīmarasa, in which a number of men were killed.¹⁰ Next year (1150) Ekkalarasa of Uddhāre attacked the Brāhmins of Gumbase (Kumsi) in the Shimoga District, and the son of a blacksmith lost his life in defending them.¹¹ Doubtless there were many other cases of a similar nature, and it is clear that the course of daily life did not always run smoothly; but it is equally clear that the people were generally prepared to meet trouble when it came, for they knew that in the first instance the defence of their homes and property lay in their own hands; whilst popular opinion took just pride in the courage of those who were forward in the defence of their neighbours, their property, and the honour of their women. There was

¹ *EC*, viii, Sb. 445, 530.

² *EC*, vii, Sk. 307.

³ *SII*, ix (i), 106.

⁷ *EC*, vii, Sk. 83.

⁹ *Ibid.*, Sb. 141.

¹¹ *EC*, viii, Sb. 86.

² *El*, xvi, 74–5.

⁴ *Ibid.*, viii, Sb. 60–4.

⁶ *Ibid.*, xi (i), 81.

⁸ *Ibid.*, viii, Sb. 235, 236, &c.

¹⁰ *SII*, ix (i), 256 and 284.

indeed a small police staff in every village with a *talāri* at the head charged with the duty of keeping watch and ward; there were also troops, including cavalry, at the disposal of local governors, to help them in quelling local disturbances and maintaining order; but in an emergency the village staff was not adequate, and troops took some time to move to the spot; in such cases the ordinary inhabitants of the villages were always prepared to meet the situation and to take a hand themselves in the defence, even to the extent of risking their lives when necessary. A spirit of courage and self-reliance in such matters was much more widespread among the people then than it is today.

Army

Little direct information is forthcoming regarding the method of recruitment to the army and promotions in the regular forces, and there is no need to reproduce here the categorical divisions set forth in current schematic works on polity. There is no support from the inscriptions for the view that recruitment was confined to any class or classes in particular, and the general prevalence of the martial spirit among the population just noticed also points to the conclusion that the Kaṇṇaṭṭaka army of the time was a broad-based national force, not confined to any hereditary class such as the Kshatriyas. The presence of many noted Brāhman generals in the army and the readiness of artisans and merchants to take a share in fighting when circumstances required it both point to the same conclusion. A description of the Deccani army which occurs in the account of a military review given by Sōmadevasūri in his *Yaśastilaka Champū*¹ is of sufficient interest and chronologically near enough to our period for us to make a brief reference to it. The infantry wore, according to Sōmadēva, red pagaris tapering up to a horn-like point in the middle which made them look like a row of unicorns; they had closely shaven faces; they wore necklaces of three bands of multicoloured beads over their covered necks; their iron bracelets were shaped like snakes, and daggers adorned their waists; their clothes were tightly girded up at the loins; they wielded many weapons with skill, and were accompanied by bards who sang of their former deeds of valour and roused them to fresh endeavour and achievement. The soldier's ideal was a lofty one; it was to win or to die; to flee from the field was to incur indelible infamy. Two verses in Sanskrit often cited in our inscriptions enforce this ideal and attest its general acceptance; one ranks the soldier who dies in a frontal fight with a *yōgi*, and promises him a glorious entry into heaven through the disk of the sun, and the other applauds the soldiers' work in which fame is the reward of victory, while death ensures him the company of heavenly damsels, and declares that no one should shrink from death on the battlefield as life in any event is but short.² And an excellent example of the type of appreciation

¹ Pt. I Kāvya-mālā 70, pp. 461-3. I owe this reference to Dr. V. Raghavan.

² SII, xi (i), 57; EC, vii, Sk. 307 and so on.

which followed success in war is found in an undated inscription from the Bellary District in which a Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Barmadēvarasa is said to have first become the lord of the bride of prosperity, then the lover of the goddess of victory, and thus finally acceptable to the goddess of Bhārata (India)—*śrī vadhuḡśa-nāgi jayalakshmiḡe vallabhanāgi Bhāratadēviḡe nallanāgi*.¹ Special divisions of guards and retainers like Sāvāsigaḷ and Leṅkas have been noticed elsewhere.

Sport

A game of ball played on horseback is occasionally mentioned in the inscriptions; its exact nature is not known, but it seems to have been a kind of polo; and the title *kanduka purandara*, an Indra with the ball, is applied to two generals Nāgadēva and Madhusūdana in the inscriptions.² A detailed, though obscure, description of perhaps this very game occurs in an inscription from Śravaṇa Belgola dated in the reign of the Rāshtrakūṭa Indra IV (A.D. 972).³ And in the Chōḷa inscriptions Rājādhirāja is said to have played *Seṇḍu* at Ētagiri with some of the vanquished commanders and chieftains on the Chālukya side after the battle of Pūṇḍūr.⁴ These are practically the only references to martial games in this period which have yet come to light.

¹ *SII*, ix (i), 287, ll. 11–12.

³ *EC*, ii, 133 (57).

² *Ibid.*, xi (i), 52, l. 14, 92, l. 9.

⁴ *Ante*, p. 336, 92 of 1892.

IV

SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC CONDITIONS

SOCIAL IDEALS

SOCIAL life was carried on along traditional lines modified by the pressure of new factors and situations. Caste was universal and hereditary, but the connexion between caste and occupation was by no means unalterable. As usual, our sources have preserved more details about the higher strata of society, while information about the life of the common people finds comparatively little place in them. Among the *āśramas*, that is, the stages of life, that of the *grihastha* (householder) early acquired the highest recognition as the mainstay of social life, and it continued to retain this place up to our own times. One verse from an inscription at Nāgai in praise of general Kālidāsa as a householder is typical, and may be cited. 'His life as a householder was the purest in the world, and his dutiful soul was ever engaged in satisfying Brāhmins, performing sacrifices, worshipping gods, propitiating the line of his ancestors (*manes*), honouring the guests who came, and observing all the rites famous in the world and in scripture as daily duties or as those prescribed for particular occasions.'¹ This account is indeed conventionally worded, and comes from a *prāśasti*; but even so, so definite a statement about a particular person could not have been made unless the actual mode of his life had provided some justification for it. The sort of acts which in general were held in the highest esteem as causing social good and procuring religious merit for the doer becomes clear from the whole body of inscriptions, whilst some of these record details of actual occurrences which further illustrate the subject; one record of A.D. 987 mentions the feeding of a thousand Brāhmins at Prayāga and at Kurukshetra, and the gift at Benares of a cow about to calve (*ubhayamukha*—lit. with face at both ends) as the most meritorious acts imaginable;² another inscription (A.D. 1046) presents a still more extravagant ideal and mentions the performance of a thousand *āśvamedhas* at Benares, and the gift to Brāhmins and ascetics of a thousand cows adorned on the horns and hoofs with the five varieties of precious stones.³ The corresponding Jaina formula found in a Jaina inscription of A.D. 1059 from Dambal mentions the raising of a *mahā-dhvaja* (great banner) at a *tīrthasthāna*⁴—which sounds much more like a simple record of what took place. These are probably instances of extreme and exaggerated versions of the imagined ideal, since they are taken from

¹ *HAS*, viii, pp. 11–12, v. 31.

² *Ibid.*, 102, ll. 27–9.

³ *J I*, ix (i), 75, ll. 12–13.

⁴ *Ibid.*, xi (i), 94, l. 13.

formal passages of benediction set forth in order to secure the proper maintenance of particular charities endowed by donors and recorded in the inscriptions concerned. The bestowal of *dāna*, a charitable gift, was accepted as the primary duty of the well-to-do, and an inscription of 1067 from Hoṭṭūr¹ says that Kēsirāja, who was allowed the insignia of royalty by prince Vikramāditya, had pleased all great and good men by his numerous *dānas* of *udaka* (water), *suvarṇa* (gold), *anna* (food), *gō* (cows), *bhūmi* (land), *uksha* (oxen), *vividha vidyā* (knowledge of various kinds), and *kanyā* (maidens given away in marriage); he had also constructed a stone temple of Śiva with many shining lofty portals (*rājītōttungatōraṇavam*), and this temple was called Kēśavēśvara after its founder. To maintain a charity intact according to the intentions of the original donors was recognized as a difficult task, whilst failure in this respect was counted among the great sins entailing serious spiritual loss. An often-quoted verse affirms that temple property (*dēva-sva*) is the most deadly poison to be feared; for whereas ordinary poison kills only the person that takes it, *dēvasva* destroys the generations that come after the despoiler.² The same principle applied to fiscal arrangements which were often attached to gifts either directly or in the form of remissions (*parihāras*). The popular attitude on the question may be taken to find expression in a verse which says that he who levied a fresh tax where none was due before incurred the sin of killing a thousand kine, whereas he who lifted a tax had the merit of giving away a crore of kine.³ Spiritual merit was held to be transferable, and in one instance the sun, the moon, and the elements are solemnly invoked to witness the transfer of such merit,⁴ while in another we have a regular schedule of persons among whom and the ratios in which the merit (*puṇya*) accruing from particular endowments was to be shared.⁵

Memorial Monuments

Instances occur of memorials being erected to departed relatives, *gurus* or great men, and such memorials are described by the splendid expression—*parōkshavinaya*—‘humility out of sight’. In A.D. 1028⁶ the Śaiva priest Bhāvaśivadēva of Mulgund charged his chosen pupil Nāgasvāmin with the performance of certain acts as *parōkshavinaya* after his *mukti* (death), viz. bathing in the Ganges, the offering of oblations (*piṇḍa*) at Gangā, and the construction of a temple in Vārāṇasī; he is said to have known of his approaching end more than a week in advance, and to have made arrangements for the succession to his spiritual office as well as for the propitiatory acts mentioned. Nāgasvāmi, the pupil, was already well-known for his munificent benefactions such as *Kanyādāna*, the construction of a temple of

¹ *El*, xvi, pp. 84-5 and pp. 87-8, vv. 8-9.

² *El*, xvi, 5, v. 34; *SII*, ix (i), 130, ll. 24-5; xi, 65, 67, &c.

³ *SII*, ix (i), 187, l. 31.

⁵ *Ibid.*, ix (i), 258, ll. 30-5.

⁴ *Ibid.*, xi (i), 92, ll. 43-5 (A.D. 1054).

⁶ *SII*, xi (i), 64.

Traipurusha, and a *maṭha*, and other generous deeds, and he was the acknowledged chief of the Brāhman community of Mulgund—Brahmapurimukhyam. Nāgasvāmi immediately entered on the *tīrthayātrā* (pilgrimage) in fulfilment of his guru's behest after giving away to the temple, to the *maṭha*, and to education all the property that remained to him—sixty *gadyāṇas* in gold, twelve *maṭṭar* of agricultural land, and one house. Many other examples of such pious actions are recorded in the inscriptions.¹

Self-Immolation

The Emperor Somēśvara terminated his own life by *mahāyōga*, drowning himself ceremonially in the river Tungabhadra at Kuruvatti² in order to escape the long agonies of an incurable malady. There was besides the well-known Jaina rite of *Sallekhana*, starving oneself to death, which was sometimes adopted by the followers of that creed in circumstances in which it was allowed. Much more interesting are other instances of people giving up their lives for sundry reasons which appear puerile and superstitious to us. In one case a title to property was established by this absurd method of proof; an inscription from Donekallu (Anantapur District) of A.D. 1059–60³ states that the *umbali* land of three *gāvūṇḍas* was forcibly occupied and enjoyed by two Brāhmins, and that to prove their title the *gāvūṇḍas* resolved that one of them should die and that his sacrifice should be compensated by the grant of an additional share to his descendants when the land had been recovered by this plan; accordingly one of the *gāvūṇḍas* stabbed himself to death in the presence of the two Brāhmins, who then gave up the land in question, which was thereupon redistributed in accordance with the terms of the agreement—an instance of successful *satyāgraha*, to use the phrase by which it is most easily recognized today. Two other instances of self-immolation, both from the Shimoga District, may also be noted here; one of these a *śūlabrahma*, death by casting oneself on spear-points from a height (A.D. 1060),⁴ and the other the fulfilment of a *vēḷe-vākya* by Boppana, a vow (A.D. 1130)⁵ by the terms of which he had undertaken to go to heaven along with Tailapadeva, a Kadamba prince—*Boppana Vēḷe-vākiyam nilisi Tailapa-Devana kūḍe svargasthan āgalu*. Another instance is that of Boka, a *vēḷaikkāra* of Lachchhala Devi, the queen of Vīra Somēśvara IV, who had taken a vow to die with her and did so in the fifth year of the king's reign (A.D. 1185).⁶ The immolation of women as *satis* on the funeral pyres of their husbands, though not common, was not unknown. When Bēchirāja the minister of Sinda Rāchamalla I died about A.D. 1180, two of his wives, Bailiyakka and Malpaniyakka,

¹ Ibid., 65; ix (i) 105, 150, &c.

² I: C, vii, Sk. 136.

³ *SII*, ix (i), 123. My interpretation of this record differs from that of the Editors of *SII*.

⁴ *EC*, vii, Sk. 152.

⁵ Ibid., Hl. 47.

⁶ Ibid., vii, Sk. 249.

immolated themselves with his corpse,¹ and the *sati* performed by Dekabbe more than a century before this date is recorded in a very moving Kannaḍa inscription from Beḷatūru, which deserves a place in any study of the Kannaḍa literature of the period.

Role of Women

The role of women in Indian society has naturally varied in its importance at different times, in various places, and under changing circumstances. Under the Chālukyas of Kalyāṇī, as under their predecessors of the Bādāmi period, conditions seem to have been favourable for women to take part in public affairs when they were inclined to do so—at least in the higher strata of society. Some instances of prominent women and their achievements have found mention already, and the outstanding instance of the heroine Akkā-dēvī, who even ventured to command troops and to take part in wars and sieges, is perhaps the most celebrated of them all. An inscription of A.D. 1084 from Sūḍi describes Lakshmādēvī, the queen of Vikramāditya VI, as ruling the kingdom from Kalyāṇī exactly as the emperor himself had done;² but the long string of epithets preceding this statement imply that she was just the type of woman who possessed all the qualities required for success in a crowded harem, namely, those which enabled her to gain the first place in the affections of the monarch and to retain it as long as possible; beauty of person and the vitality of youth she had, and these were obviously essential for her role; she had also skill in all the fine arts, the inclination and capacity to endear herself to other people by a display of her devotion to religion and charity on appropriate occasions, and tenacious vigilance in keeping her rivals in their places; whether such women, who spent their lives in cultivating the essentially 'feminine' arts, had any influence on the conduct of public affairs, and if they had, what the nature and extent of such influence may have been, we shall never know. In any case the education of a typical Indian monarch seems to have included not a few lessons on the wiles of women! Another queen of Vikramāditya, Kētaladēvī, was noted for her learning and her musical attainments.³ In the subordinate court of the Hoysalas, Padmaladēvī, Chāvalidēvī, and Boppadēvī, the three wives of Ballāla I, were highly accomplished in singing and dancing, while Śāntaladēvī, one of the wives of Ballāla's son Vishnuvardhana, was known to be perfectly trained in song, in music, and in the dance.⁴ Sāvaladēvī, the queen of Kalachūrya Sōvidēva, was not only skilled in these arts, but used to display her accomplishments in public—an instance of feminine independence most unusual in those times!⁵ She is said to have performed to an audience of connoisseurs gathered from her own country and from abroad, and to have

¹ *EL*, xiv, 273, ll. 48–50.

³ 672 of 1922.

⁵ *JBBRAS*, xviii, 275.

² *Ibid.*, xv, 102, ll. 12–22.

⁴ *DKD*, p. 485, n. 1; *EC*, ii, 132 (56).

greatly pleased both her audience and her royal husband (A.D. 1174). Music was evidently an inherited gift in her family, since her brother Bhairava, it appears, was an expert on the beat and rhythm of the *brahmaviṇā*. To give one more example of a high-class lady and her accomplishments: Laksmādēvī, the queen of Tribhuvanamalla-Mallidēva-Chōḷamahārāja, who is said to have ruled in partnership with her husband as his *paṭṭa-mahādēvī* (chief queen),¹ was proficient in Kāvya literature as well as in the arts and sciences of vocal and instrumental music and the dance, and a constant devotee at the feet of Pārvatī; the ground about her was ever moist with the water poured by her hand in making *dānas*; she gave pleasure (by her presents) to poets, disputants, and minstrels; the pleasant tinkling of the jewels on her feet called up groups of *rājahamsas* as she moved about; she wore ornaments of well-set gems on her hands, arms, feet, and ankles; the stars were put to shame by the lustre of the pearls on the garlands adorning her rounded bosom; her forehead bore a *tilak* of scented scarlet; the smile on her face added sweetness to her soft speech, and the perfume of musk surrounded her exquisite person; such was this Sitā of the Kali age, the Lakshmī of Mallidēva's abode. Bilhaṇa's long-drawn-out descriptions of the manner in which his hero Vikramāditya whiled away his leisure in sporting with women by lotus ponds, in gardens, on swings and so on, cannot be taken as having any tangible relation to the facts of court life; even the hyperbolic statements of the inscriptions on the qualities and accomplishments of queens and other aristocratic ladies must not be accepted at their face value; but the evidence is enough to show that there was in existence a well-understood course of education and training in the fine arts for the gentler sex, and that this was regularly followed by some in each generation. Beside the ladies of high society, there was the by no means inconsiderable world of the courtesans, the *sūḷeyar*, who enlivened life in the larger cities, had duties assigned to them in temples during the daily worship and on the occasions of festivals, and were *par excellence* the custodians of the arts of music and the dance. They certainly enjoyed much wider latitude in society than other women, and their presence brought sunshine and delight wherever they went in a society that was not otherwise particularly noted for taking life easy.

Fine arts

Some of the other references to music and the allied arts may be briefly noticed at this point. A *nāṭakaśālā* (theatre) was constructed in the precincts of a Jain temple in Mugad about A.D. 1045.² A large endowment to a number of temples recorded in an inscription from Shirur (Bijapur District) in A.D. 1049 contains provision for *gītamtṛtyōpahāra*, the offering to the deity of music and dance, involving regular performances daily before the deity.³ A flutist,

¹ *SII*, ix (i), 273, ll. 36-36.

² *SII*, xi (i), 78, l. 86.

³ *Ibid.*, 85, l. 17.

two songsters, two *nautch* girls, four other courtesans, and a florist—all attached to a temple—get substantial endowments of land in an undated inscription from the Bijapur District.¹ One of the Nāgai inscriptions (A.D. 1086) mentions endowments of 80 *mattar* of land to two songstresses and four drummers who had to perform together in the temple three times a day; 60 *mattar* for two groups of choristers; 40 *mattar* for two danseuses, and 36 *mattar* for four dancing girls who are described as *kambhada-sūḷeyar* and probably carried silver staves before the deity in processions.² Songsters and songstresses, *nautch* girls and drummers, receive shares in endowments made to a temple at Chinnatumbalam in the Bellary District in A.D. 1086.³

The Temple

Next to the court, the temple was the great promoter of the fine arts. Not only in the encouragement of music and dancing, but in many other departments of social life, the temple served as the nucleus round which was gathered everything that was best in all the arts of civil life. But in offering these good things to the deity, they offered them also to themselves; this offering was done, however, in a somewhat roundabout way, a way that made everyone in society interested in the temple, and contributed to make it the powerful bond of social life which it remained for many centuries. The role of the temple in counteracting the social exclusiveness that was inherent in caste has not been adequately appreciated. The temple of Sangameśvara of Kūḍal (Bellary) obtained an endowment in A.D. 1073 for *pañcāmṛtasnāna* and *gandhānulēpa* on auspicious days (*punya-tithi*);⁴ now the *pañcāmṛta* (lit. nectar of five ingredients) is a kind of very delicious fruit salad which, when properly prepared, keeps for some days, and up to the present day some famous shrines specialize in this variety of the deity's *prasāda*; the idol is bathed in the preparation for a short while, and then it is all removed and distributed among the worshippers without regard to distinctions of birth, wealth, or occupation. So too the sandal (*gandha*), made into a fragrant paste, provides a very pleasant unguent for the skin, especially during the hot weather. Were these agreeable offerings really meant for the images of metal and stone to which they were presented in the first instance, or were they actually intended for the hundreds of worshippers who crowded to the temples eagerly claiming each his own share of them?

The importance of the temple in the social economy of medieval India can hardly be exaggerated, and though a good deal has already been said of it *en passant*, some attention may be given specifically at this point to this many-sided topic. The Sogal inscription of Taila's reign (A.D. 980)⁵ contains a special provision that the food in the *satra* attached to the temple shall be

¹ *SII*, xi (i), 103, third face.

³ *SII*, ix (i), 155, ll. 5-6.

⁵ *EL*, xvi, 1.

² *HAS*, viii, 34, ll. 324-7.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 138, ll. 16-17.

cooked by a Brāhman woman—an interesting detail testifying that ideas on such matters did not differ much then from what they are today. Large endowments to temples often embraced a variety of purposes for which the proceeds of the endowments were earmarked in stated proportions at the time of the gift; in 1018, the Kalidēvasvāmi temple at Bāgali (Bellary) received an endowment from which were to be met the expenses on the daily offerings (*nivedya*) to the deity, the perpetual lamp in the temple (*nandādivige*), the feeding of ascetics in a refectory (*satra*), the maintenance of twelve courtesans, a *sūlavāla*, a flutist, a drummer, and a danseuse (*pātra*), as also the feeding of pupils who came from outer districts (*dēsigachātra*).¹ Queen Suggaladēvi's gift to a Śiva temple in Dēvūr in 1029 provided, among other things, for the food, clothing, and medical treatment of ascetics and students belonging to the place.² Mention of medical treatment recalls to the mind the mention of a physician Vijaya Paṇḍita, called Kaliyuga-Dhanvantari, in an inscription of 1054 from Davānageṛe.³ Udayāditya's gift to the Bhōgeśvara temple of Talavāge (Bellary) in A.D. 1034 included, besides provision for the requisites of worship including sandal-wood, separate allotments for a *maṭha*, a drummer, a songster, one worshipping priest, and a stone-mason by name Māra-singhoja.⁴ The gift of Bijjaladeva to Nolaṃbēśvara temple in Guḍihalli was divided into three equal shares—one for the temple expenses, one for feeding ascetics, and one for education (*vidyādāna*).⁵ There are many other instances to be found in the inscriptions, but it is not possible or necessary to review them all here.⁶ Bāchaladevi's gift to the Kalidēva temple at Bāgali in 1079 contained a special allotment for the public reader of the *Purāṇa* in the temple,⁷ and it is well known that such recitals and expositions of well-known sacred texts in temples were among the most successful methods of popular education in former times.

Architecture and Sculpture

Architecture, sculpture in stone and metal, and painting were practised mainly in the temples and for them; while no palaces or dwelling houses have survived from those times, many stone temples are still extant, and these give a fairly correct idea of the state of these arts under the Chālukyas of Kalyāṇī. This subject is dealt with in detail in another chapter in this volume, but it will not be out of place to mention here some interesting facts gathered from the contemporary inscriptions. These sometimes give detailed, though naturally overdrawn, descriptions of the general appearance of particular temples soon after their construction, and one or two of them may be summarized. An inscription from Nāgai of A.D. 1062 describes the temple of

¹ *SII*, ix (i), 80, ll. 14-16.

² *EC*, xi, Dg. 74.

³ *Ibid.*, 128.

⁴ See particularly *SII*, ix (i), 133, 192; *EL*, xv, 82, 84 ff., 89; *i*bid., xiii, 171 2; *ibid.*, xvi, 331;

HAS, 7.

⁵ *Bk*, 25 of 1936-7.

⁶ *SII*, ix (i), 87.

⁷ *SII*, ix (i), 192, ll. 26-9.

Madhusūdana erected by the general of that name;¹ its lustrous golden finial was at such a height as to seem almost to touch the clouds; its numerous and spacious halls were adorned, at many points, with well-executed sculptures; it contained a theatre (*nāṭya-śālā*); there was a golden *garuḍa-stambha*; the tower at the entrance which rose up in three stories resembled the splendid *vimāna* of Indra; there was a chapel (*anushṭhāna-bhavana*) where ascetics belonging to various schools and scholars engaged in research practised their devotional exercises; there was also a *maṭha* where was pursued the study of all the *Vēdas* in their numerous recensions (*śākhā*) together with the auxiliary sciences (*Vēdāṅgas*); there were finally numerous *tōraṇas* (gateways) and *prāsādas* (terraced structures) and *prākāras* (enclosed walls). The temple of Bālēśvara built by Chāvūṇḍarasa at Halagondi about A.D. 1090 is said to have resembled the *vimāna* of Dēvēndra,² which perhaps means that the whole structure was designed as a flying car complete with wheels and horses. In 1119 Mārttāṇḍayya-Nāyaka built at Kuḍitaṇi a Śiva temple called Mārttāṇḍēśvara after himself, together with subsidiary shrines dedicated to Sarasvatī and Vināyaka, and a very spacious *sabhāmaṇḍapa* capable of accommodating a large concourse of people, and so beautifully wrought as to look like a *latā-maṇḍapa* and to be counted among the best of its kind in the whole world.³ In 1147 the incomparable Mecharasa is said to have presented a *kalāśa* (finial) of solid gold to be set on the temple of Dakṣiṇa-Sōmēśvara in Lakshmēśvara.⁴ A Belagāmve record of A.D. 1159 states that in the construction of a Kēśava temple the general Kēsirāja had the timber, stone, and other building materials carved and painted in all manner of ingenious ways, striving, as it were, to add to the variety of beautiful forms present in creation; and in front of that superb structure he built a town filled with commodious houses, having cots in each chamber containing the softest beds, and all manner of vessels, which he gave away to a band of learned Brāhmans.⁵ This account is clearly too general and hyperbolic to be accepted at its face value as a picture of reality; but its stress on the fact that the ornamentation of buildings was carried out to a cloying excess of complicated patterns is true to what we know of the sculpture of the period, and its indication that dwelling houses, even those built for being given away in *dāna*, were marked by a certain modicum of comfort must be accepted as in the main correct.

Now to some matters of technical interest. A *sirivāgilu* gate of fortune—main gate—was constructed at Sirūr in A.D. 1042 by a Kuñchavaḍuga Dāsayya.⁶ The fine temple of Nāgēśvara at Sūṇḍi was built by the celebrated Śankarārya, whose learning and good qualities are praised in two full verses in the inscription recording the construction (A.D. 1060); Śankara is called a

¹ HAS, viii, pp. 30-1, ll. 231-9.

² Ibid., 197, ll. 35-8.

³ EC, vii, Sk. 123.

⁴ SII, ix (i), 163, ll. 19-20.

⁵ EI, xvi, 48, l. 48.

⁶ SII, xi (i), 75, ll. 15-16.

mine of learning, and *vakrokti vācaspati*, i.e. a past-master in the use of allusive words and phrases; in particular he is said to have completed the temple and to have set up the finial in a manner so magnificent as no one could have imagined who had not seen it.¹ An inscription from Nāgai (A.D. 1085) mentions time-keepers of the watch—*kāpina ghaṭiyāṇaru*—which is interesting as an indication that some time-measuring instrument was in use in temples and elsewhere;² the same inscription reveals the name of a great sculptor (*kalkuṭiga*), Nāgōja, who is called *Kaṇḍarana-Vidyādhirājam*, the master of the art of engraving, who must be taken to have engraved the long inscription and possibly also took part in the construction of the temple of Madhusūdana.³ We hear in an inscription from Chitaldoorg *tāluk* of a sculptor (*rūvāri*) Mahākāla who could make the shapes of elephant, lion, parrot, and many other natural forms stand out from the midst of letters engraved by him.⁴ Another skilful engraver, Ikkuḍōja, is mentioned in a record of 1113 from Davāṇageṛe.⁵ Many other inscriptions give the names of their respective engravers at the end, and all over the country there was doubtless no dearth of men, usually stone-masons and sculptors, who could perform the work of engraving inscriptions with competence and efficiency, though perhaps few could have laid claim to the exceptional skill of a Mahākāla.⁶

Jeweller's Craft

The jeweller's art was one of the luxury trades which must have depended on the temple and the palace for encouragement. The Shirūr inscription of Mārasingha Prabhu gives a list of the jewels that he presented in 1049 to the temple of Viṣṇu in that place. *Kaṅkaṇa* (bracelet), *kaṭisūtra* (waist-band), *bāhupūrṇa* (?), *nūpura* (anklet), *maṭṭa* (crown), *kuṇḍala* (ear-ring), *kēyūra* (armlet), and *hārādi padakam trikam*—three sets of necklaces with suitable pendants, are particularly mentioned.⁷ The insignia of Viṣṇu such as the conch, the discus, the club, and the lotus, were all artistically set with various kinds of precious stones. Such detailed references to the type of ornaments worn are as rare in Chālukya inscriptions as they are frequent in the contemporary Chōla records, particularly in those of Tanjore. We have had occasion to notice the *kaṇṭhika* (necklace), the symbol of the office of *Yama-rāja*; in the few instances where individual women are described in detail they are generally said to have been adorned with ornaments of all kinds. A merchant Sōvi Seṭṭi who supplied precious stones to the emperor and to general Barmmadēva finds mention in an inscription of A.D. 1147.⁸

¹ *EI*, xv, 90, vv. 15-16.

² *HAS*, viii, 34, ll. 323-4.

³ *Ibid.*, l. 341.

⁴ *EC*, xi, Cd. 47.

⁵ *Ibid.*, Dg. 149.

⁶ *SII*, ix (i), 101, l. 68; 112, ll. 26-8; 187, l. 32; 207, l. 58; 231, ll. 15-17; xi (i), 81, l. 21; 116, l. 53 and so on.

⁷ *SII*, xi (i), 85, ll. 30-1.

⁸ *BK*, 100 of 1929-30, *INKK*, 9 (a).

Education

It goes without saying that training in these technical arts was mostly hereditary and domestic; the finer types of work often involved processes which were treasured carefully as esoteric knowledge in which certain individuals and families wished to retain their monopoly, only occasionally letting particularly competent and trusted apprentices into the secret. The actual performance of the work by the pupil combined with observation of the master's methods were obviously the most common ways of learning these crafts, and there was little if any teaching of a purely theoretical character with the aid of books such as we now find.

General education, elementary as well as higher, was carried on in regular schools; provision was made for elementary instruction in the three R's in almost every village, and we may assume that the custom of *akkariga-vṛitti*, or supplying free land for the schoolmaster, was a very widespread if not universal element of rural economy in these times. We hear in the inscriptions rather more of endowments for the reading of the *purāṇa*, a generic term for the *Rāmāyaṇa*, *Mahābhārata* and the *purāṇas* proper, generally in temples for the edification of the people; some of these instances have been noticed above and to them may now be added the provision at Nāgai in 1085 of 40 *matṭar* of land for the *purāṇa-bhaṭṭa* who was to expound the traditional writings before the deity in the temple and in the *maṭha*;¹ the modest provision of 1 *paṇa* per month for *purāṇa* at the Kallēśvara temple at Bāgali in 1103,² which was increased four years later by a gift of 60 *kammas* of garden land to the *purāṇa* reader Iśvarabhaṭṭōpādhyāya,³ to which a house was added in 1126;⁴ another money endowment, undated, at Bāgali providing 6 *honnus* for the reader of the *purāṇa* and four *honnus* for the reciter of the *Aindra* hymns in the Chennakēśvara temple;⁵ a gift of land and house-sites in A.D. 1112 as *bhaṭṭavṛitti* for reciting the *purāṇa* in *mahāgrahāra* Sindige;⁶ and an endowment for a *purāṇa-khaṇḍika* at Ingleśvar in A.D. 1129 when Hemmāḍi Kalachurya was ruling Tarḍdavaḍi.⁷ About the maintenance of institutions for higher studies which were mostly in Sanskrit and related to the *Veda*, philosophy and grammar, and about the tangible results of the working of these colleges, we have fairly detailed accounts preserved in many inscriptions found all over the country, and only a selection from these can be offered to the reader. All general statements about endowments for *vidyādāna*, gifts for education, without more details, have necessarily to be left on one side,⁸ and some of the instances which would naturally find a place here, like

¹ *HAS*, viii, 34, ll. 312-13.

² *Ibid.*, 192.

³ *Ibid.*, 260.

⁴ *BK*, 8 of 1930-1.

⁵ e.g. *SII*, xi (i), 47, 48, 62. Also *IA*, xviii, 270-5 provision for 500 pupils at Belūr (near Bādāmi) by Akkādēvi.

⁶ *SII*, ix (i), 168, l. 39.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 211.

⁸ *BK*, 93 of 1936-7.

the educational arrangements at Ummachige, have been mentioned already in other contexts. The *ghaṭikā* (college), also called a *sāle* (hall)—*ghaṭikāsthānam enipa sāle*—founded by Madhuva in the temple of Madhusūdāna at Nāgai in A.D. 1058,¹ made provision for 200 students of the *Vēda*, fifty students of the *śāstras*, three teachers of *śāstras* (here particularly applied to schools of *Mīmāṃsā*), being one each for the *Bhāṭṭa*, *Nyāsa* and *Prābhākara* schools, and three teachers of the *Vēdas*, besides one librarian, in all 257 persons;² they were all to be fed and clothed out of the proceeds of the endowment. The salaries of the teachers, librarian, and time-keeper were provided by separate allotments of land to the extent of 35 *matṭar* for the teacher of *Bhāṭṭadarśana*, 30 for the *Nyāsa* teacher, 45 for the teacher of *Prābhākara*, 30 each for the librarian and time-keeper. Nothing is said of remuneration for the teachers of the *Vēdas*, probably because these came from the rents of a whole village of 400 Brāhmans, a new *Brahmaloka* as it were, brought into existence and endowed on the same occasion by Madhuva. At Chinna-Tumbalam in the Bellary District, in A.D. 1107, Queen Malayamati-dēvī sanctioned the following grants out of the revenues (*siddhāyada pon*) of the village³ which was under her direct rule (*āṭke*)—8 *gadyāṇas* to the expounder of the commentaries (*vyākhyānadupādhyāya*), 8 *gadyāṇas* to the reader of the *purāṇa*, 12 *gadyāṇas* to 2 teachers of *khaṇḍikas* in the *Rigveda* and the *Yajurveda*, and 2 *gadyāṇas* for the Brāhmaṇa tending the sacred fire (*agniśṭhāgeya brāhmaṇa*)—30 *gadyāṇas* in all. The part of Sōmēśvara Bhāṭṭopādhyāya in the promotion of educational institutions has already been noticed in some detail,⁴ but deserves to be recalled here. Lastly, an inscription of 1111 from Ron (Dharwar District) makes particular mention of a *vakkhāṇa-śālā*, lecture hall, where *tarka* (logic) was expounded,⁵ and the teaching of *Kumāra Vyākaraṇa* received a special endowment at Puḷigere in 1124.⁶

The results of the systematic promotion of Sanskrit learning were seen in the numerous settlements of Brāhmans in the various *Brahmapuris* scattered all over the country. We have already come across several instances of general praise of the learning, character, and skill in arms of some of these communities, and to these may now be added some further examples of a typical nature. A record of 1024 from Marol⁷ describes the learning of the Jaina teacher Anantavīrya-muni as having comprised all *vyākaraṇa* (grammar), *nighaṇṭu* (lexicon), *gaṇita* (mathematics), *vātsyāyana* (erotics), *jyotiṣha* (astrology), *śakuna* (augury), *chhandas* (prosody), *manu* (law), *gāndharva* (music), *alamkāra* (rhetoric), *mahākāvya-nāṭaka* (poetry and drama), *ādhyātmika* (philosophy), *arthaśāstra* (politics), and *siddhānta* and *pramāṇas*—a formidable list giving an indication of the wide variety of subjects and writings in which an

¹ HAS, viii, 15-16.

² In l. 196 I read *sarasvatibhāṇḍāriḡar-orrvarggam*, not *ogārārvarggam* as in the published reading.

³ SII, ix (i), 175, ll. 21-5.

⁴ BK, 172 of 1926-7.

⁵ BK, 27 of 1935-6.

⁶ SII, xi (i), 61, ll. 21-6.

⁷ Ante, p. 397.

industrious polyhistor of the times could spread himself. The learned men of Pombulcha pursued the study of the *Vedas*, the *Vedāngas* (auxiliary sciences, *Vedānta* (philosophy), *Purāṇa*, *Nyāya*, *Mīmāṃsā*, and many other *āgamas*.¹ The fifty *Mahājanas* of Bālguli, an *agrahāra* of whose affairs a fairly detailed summary has been given already, are said to have been ever ready to hold disputations with rival scholars of other places in subjects like *bharata*, *vyākaraṇa*, *āgama*, *smṛiti*, *purāṇa*, and the *śaṭtarka* (six types of logical disputation).² An inscription of A.D. 1060 from Sūḍi celebrates the world-renowned Śaiva teacher and scholar Someśvara-panḍita-dēva in two long Kannaḍa verses;³ Someśvara was great in every respect—in his *tapas*, in his *charita* (conduct), and in his learning, which included a mastery of *vaiśeṣika*, *nyāya*, *sāmkhya*, *śabda-jñāna* (grammar), and *mīmāṃsā*; many princes came to pay homage at his feet. In view of the recurring emphasis on grammar in these inscriptions, it is worthy of note that several systems of the science of words, in which the Sanskrit language attained a perfection unknown to any other tongue in former times, appear to have been assiduously cultivated side by side in those days; about the middle of the eleventh century an inscription from Mulgund⁴ mentions two Jaina grammarians Narendrasena and his pupil Nayasena, both proficient in many systems; the names particularly mentioned are the Chandra, Kātantra, Jainendra, Śabdānuśāsana of Śakatāyana, Pāṇiniya, Aindra, and Kaumāra. Narendrasena must be held to have gained equal distinction in logic if he may be identified with the author of the *Pramāṇa-prameya-kalikā*.⁵ From Sindigeri in the Bellary District comes a record⁶ of A.D. 1141 praising the learning and attainments of a Kālāmukha teacher at some length. This teacher is said to have had command of *vyākaraṇa*, *tarka*, *siddhānta*, *kāvya*, *nāṭaka*, *nāṭikā*, *vedābhidhāna* (?), *alamkāra*, *pratiśruti* (?), *purāṇa*, *itihāsa*, *mīmāṃsā*, *nītiśāstra*, and many other sciences; he was ever ready to meet rival logicians in debate, and did a great deal to restore the Kālāmukha faith to its proper place; and, what is noteworthy as a rare instance of the specific and express mention of this quality, his lectures in Sanskrit flowed easily in surging waves of rhetorical brilliance.

This brief survey of education and educational institutions, and of the spread of learning, has demonstrated one fact which deserves special mention. Though the pursuit of higher education was then as now necessarily concentrated in particular centres which commanded the resources in men and material required for it, the results of such study were evenly spread all over the country; men possessed of the highest learning to which they had access at the time, the most cultured and refined intellectuals, went to live in villages all over the countryside where they took an active and constant part in guiding the daily lives of their less enlightened countrymen. Education

¹ *SII*, xi (i), 84, ll. 9-10 (A.D. 1049).

² *E.I.*, xv, 88-9, vv. 10-11.

³ *Ibid.*, 54.

⁴ *Ibid.*, ix (i), 267, ll. 32-3 (A.D. 1160).

⁵ *Ibid.*, xvi, 55, ll. 24-8.

⁶ *SII*, ix (i), 235, ll. 22-8.

in all its stages was vitally connected with all social life and institutions, and was productive of more abiding and tangible benefit to the people than appears in our own days.

Agriculture

To turn now for awhile to a consideration of general economic conditions, and of the industry and trade of the country. Agriculture was then as now the chief industry and the backbone of the entire economy. Cultivation depended on a good supply of water; and water had to be impounded and stored in tanks at convenient points in a country where the rainfall was unevenly distributed through the year, since perennial rivers were few, and major irrigation works and canal systems were rare, if not altogether unknown. No wonder then that a great amount of attention was devoted to the creation and proper maintenance of irrigation tanks—a subject which ranks in its importance second only to the temples in the inscriptions of the time. The *Kemgere* (red tank) in the neighbourhood of Hoṭṭūr was to get for its maintenance from A.D. 1037 onwards all the taxes due on six loads of betel leaves to the central and local authorities, and the *tambuliḡas* (betel-traders) numbering a thousand, were to contribute in addition one *vīsa* (of a *paṇa*?) on each load without fail.¹ At Maṇṭūr in the Bijapur District certain specified incomes from taxes and fines were set apart in A.D. 1041 for digging a tank called Raṭṭasamudra after the Raṭṭa governor of the locality.² In 1052 the Kadamba prince Harikesarin presented to the *mahājanas* of Nirili (Niralgi in Dharwar) the entire house-tax of the place for the maintenance of the Piriyaḡeḡe, the big tank in it,³ and the 300 *mahājanas* were summoned by a special messenger to attend and receive this gift. Land was endowed in the same year for the maintenance of a tank Guṇḡiyaḡeḡe at Talakallu in the Bellary District,⁴ extensive repairs to which had been effected just before. A tank at Kelavāḡi (Bādāmi *tāluk*) got for its maintenance twenty *mattar* of wet land and a house in 1053.⁵ A successful scheme for bringing fresh land under cultivation by the digging of a new tank Seṭṭikaḡeḡe, and an endowment for the maintenance of this tank, are mentioned in an inscription of A.D. 1071 from the Sorab *tāluk* in the Shimoga District.⁶ The assignment of tolls in 1106 for the maintenance of a *hiriyaḡeḡe* at Ammele⁷ (Bellary), endowments in favour of two tanks at Bālguli (also in the Bellary District), one in 1107⁸ and the other in 1188,⁹ the construction of a new tank at Chilamakūru (Cuddapah) in 1132,¹⁰ and the assignment in 1157 of a definite cash income by the Karaṇas of Hāvēri (Dharwar) for the tank *hiriyaḡeḡe* said to have been constructed

¹ *L.I.*, xvi, 79, ll. 41-2.

² *L.I.*, xvi, 67, ll. 13-14.

³ *E.I.*, iv, 259.

⁴ *S.II*, ix (i), 170.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 281.

⁶ *S.II*, xi (i), 174.

⁷ *S.II*, ix (i), 109.

⁸ *EC*, viii, Sb. 317.

⁹ *Ibid.*, 173.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 227.

originally by Nala-Chakravarti,¹ these are other notable instances of the promotion of what modern engineers would call minor irrigation and tank restoration works. By no means exhaustive, this list is enough to demonstrate the general realization of the importance of irrigation in land economy.

Commercial Crops

Beside the cultivation of food grains and pulses, on both wet and dry land, intensive cultivation of garden produce and the raising of commercial crops like cotton were also extensively practised. Black land, red land, wet land, garden land, waste land are all particularly specified in the inscriptions. Betel and areca-nuts and fresh fruits and flowers are the items of garden produce most frequently mentioned. But when all is said and done, our information about the produce of land cannot be considered adequate by any means. And the Sitābaldi (Nagpur) inscription belonging to the reign of Vikramāditya VI which records that Daṇḍanāyaka Vāsudēva bought and gave away twelve *nivartanas* of land for the grazing of cows (*gopracāra*) and five more for a shepherd (*vāhaka*) who tended the cattle,² serves merely to remind one of the many problems relating to cattle-farming and dairy produce of which again there is little information forthcoming from any other source.

Industries

Of the other industries we can form only indirect estimates from references to them in inscriptions relating to trading corporations; two of the most comprehensive records from this point of view belong to the Silāhāras of Karhad, come from Kolhāpūr and Mīraj, and are dated in the years A.D. 1135 and 1142.³ The first record affords a list of the revenues assigned by the merchants to a Jaina shrine, and from the details there given we learn that areca-nuts and betel leaves were measured by the load, half-load and *hasara*; *ghee* and oil by the *koḍa*, *siddige* and (its double) *sangadi*; cotton was weighed by *maḷave*; *lanikas* (carpenters?) made stools, tripods, and *maravi* (bowls) and bedsteads (*mañcha*), among other things; green ginger, turmeric, dry ginger, garlic, *bāje*, and *bhadramuste* were sold by weight and the terms load, half-load, and *hasara* applied to them as also to cummin and black pepper; salt and the eighteen kinds of grain were measured in cart-loads and head-loads; so also were dry and fresh fruits; flowers were reckoned by the basketful; cloth-merchants, goldsmiths, and potters were required to make their contributions by the individual shop as the fiscal unit. The second inscription is an endowment of a similar character in favour of a Śiva-temple and gives the following further details: shoulder-bag, ass-load, and bullock-load figure as other measures of areca-nuts; the *bhaṇḍi-goḍa* (lit. cart-pot) as an additional liquid measure for oil and *ghee*; goldsmiths charged assaying fees for testing

¹ BK, 103 of 1932-3.

² EI, iii, 303-6.

³ EI, xix, 30 ff.

gold coins, and cobblers made *pāda-rakshes* (sandals). The daily economy was thus on the whole simple; we shall see, however, that the formal *prastastis* of the merchant guilds make pointed mention of many luxury articles of value, and we must naturally assume that there was a corresponding development in the industries which catered for the exclusive requirements of the well-to-do, though we hear little directly about these.

Trade

That there must have been some trade with foreign countries across the seas we may safely assume, and it is not a little disappointing that direct references to such trade, as also to a mercantile marine, or a navy protecting it, are even scantier in this period than they are under the Chālukyas of Bādāmi. Almost the only notable reference to overseas trade in the inscriptions occurs in the Kharēpaṭān plates of Raṭṭarāja¹ (A.D. 1008) which include among the gifts to the Avvēśvara temple a contribution of one *gadyāṇa* of gold by every ship coming from *dvīpāntara*, a term usually interpreted as foreign lands across the ocean, but probably meaning Malaya according to the results of recent research.² The same inscription makes the further provision that the temple should get a *gharaṇa* of gold on each cart³ from the territory of Kandamūliya, those from Chemulya and Chandrapura being exempted from this levy. Roads, both trunk and auxiliary, are frequently referred to in the inscriptions,⁴ and internal trade must have been carried on by transporting merchandise in carts or on the backs of pack-animals. Merchants moved about in caravans to avoid the risk from robbers, and they timed their visits to particular places in accordance with the festivals which took place at the temples of the various localities. Traders, like manufacturers, were organized in a number of autonomous guilds, with traditions and insignia and *prastastis* of their own.

Guilds

The most celebrated among the merchant guilds of the time were the Five Hundred Svāmis of Ayyavōlepura, who seem to be mentioned in quite a number of inscriptions under various names, all generally keeping the figure 500 but differing slightly from one another; these differences are, however, easily understood in the light of the full form of their *prastasti* which occurs in an inscription of A.D. 1054 from Shikarpur *tāluk* in the Shimoga District.⁵ Here is recounted the whole body of myth and legend together with facts of undoubted historical importance. From this *prastasti* we learn, among other things, that this body of men were the protectors of the *Vīra-Baṇaṇju-dharma*, i.e. of 'the law of the noble merchants', *Baṇaṇju* being a *tadbhava* form of the

¹ EI, iii, 297

² JGIS, ix, 1-4.

³ This is how I understand the word *pravahana* which Kielhorn took to mean ships.

⁴ *Rājapatha* of Bagadaga, *SII*, xi (i), 85, l. 22.

⁵ EC, vii, Sk. 118.

Sanskrit word *Vanik* or *Vanija* meaning merchant. This *dharma* was embodied in 500 *vīra-sāsanas*—edicts of heroes. They had the picture of a hill on their flag and were noted for their daring in enterprise throughout the world; they claimed descent from the lines of Vāsudeva, Khandali, and Mūlabhadra, and were followers of the creeds of Viṣṇu and Mahēśvara; among the countries they visited were Chēra, Chōla, Pāṇḍya, Maleya, Magadha, Kausala, Saurāshṭra, Dhānuṣṭra, Kurumba, Kāmbhōja, Gaulla, Lāla, Barvvara, Parasa (Persia), Nēpāla, Ēkapāda, Lamba-karṇa, Strī-rājya, and Gholāmukha—the last four names being apparently legendary and hence unfortunately casting some doubt on accuracy of all the preceding names. They travelled by both land routes and water routes, penetrating all the countries of the six continents; they traded in magnificent elephants, horses of the finest breeds, large sapphires, moonstones, pearls, rubies, diamonds, lapis-lazuli, onyx, topaz, carbuncles, emeralds, and other precious articles; and in cardomums, cloves, bdellium, sandal, camphor, musk, saffron, *male-gaja*, and other spices and perfumes. They sold these wholesale or hawked them about on their shoulders; they paid the *ṣunka* regularly, filled the royal treasury with gold and jewels, and replenished the armoury; they bestowed gifts on pandits and sages fully versed in the 4 *saṁayas* and 6 *darśanas*. There were among them the 16 (*seṭṭis*) of the eight-*nāḍas*, who used as carriers asses and buffaloes, and many other classes of merchants and soldiers, viz. *gavares*, *gātrigas*, *seṭṭis*, *seṭṭiguttas*, *aṅkakāras*, *bīras*, *bīraavanijas*, *gandigas*, *gāvūṇḍas*, and *gāvūṇḍasvāmis*. The best among them all were the Five Hundred Svāmis of Ayyavōle, who, among their many other accomplishments, boasted a perfect mastery of the mysterious *Guḍḍasāstra*, and who were equal to any emergency encountered in the exercise of their profession.

The mercantile community thus appears to have formed a vast confederation of groups spread over all lands and cherishing their own particular legends and myths. They are often mentioned in the inscriptions of the Tamil country as *Nānādēsis* and the *Five Hundred of the Thousand Quarters*—*tiṣai-yāyirattu aiññūrruvar*; this last expression is found in a fragmentary Tamil inscription bearing the date A.D. 1088 and discovered in L. oboe Toewa on the island of Sumatra.¹ The effects of trade in promoting the mingling of peoples and the rise of a liberal and cosmopolitan outlook even in those remote times deserve to be stressed rather more than has been done so far. We have several instances, particularly from the Bellary District, of important merchants from Malabar who had business connexions with Karnāṭaka, if indeed they were not actually settled there. A Maleyala Vaddabevahāri, Komara Mūrka by name, endowed 5 *gadyāṇas* for a perpetual lamp in Bāgali in A.D. 1108,² and another, Ponmūrkhaseṭṭi, gave 14 *gadyāṇas* in 1113 for a similar purpose,³ in 1126 a third merchant of the same class Nambigaṇṇi

¹ TBG, 1932, *A Tamil Merchant Guild in Sumatra*, by K. A. N. Sastri.

² SII, ix (i), 177.

³ Ibid., 189.

seṭṭi made an endowment at Duggati of which he held the seignory (*mēlālke*).¹ From Ākūr, a *brahmadeya* to the south of the Kāvērī river in the Chōla country, came Periyālūvasēṭṭi who set up the Dēśiśvara in Heñjēṟu (Anantapur District) after obtaining the permission of the *Samastadēśīyas*, doubtless the *nānādēśi* mercantile corporation; this was in A.D. 1162.² We may also cite the mention of a Tamil priest Uyyakkonḍa-bhaṭṭar in a record of 1146 from the Bellary District,³ and of Vīrarājēndra Caturvēdimangalam, and Kāraikāl Ammai, the Śaiva woman devotee, in an inscription of 1124 from Devānagere,⁴ as further evidence of the presence of Tamil elements in the Karṇāṭaka of the Chālūkyas. A second stream of influence from Kashmir, affecting both the army and men of letters, has been noticed elsewhere; and there may well have been others of which we have no knowledge at present. As befitted its historical position, the culture of the Kalyāṇī period was broad-based in its character and was ready to welcome wholesome influences from any other part of India.

To return to the merchant-guilds. Mention of these occurs, as already stated, in various forms in different inscriptions; thus a document of A.D. 1057 from Hire-Haḍagalli calls them the 500 *Vīra Baṇaṇṭīyas* and gives portions of the long *prasaṣti* in identical terms with numerous irrelevant additions;⁵ we find also the sixteen of eight *nāḍs* and the 500 *svāmīs* of Ayyavōle in a record of A.D. 1074 from Hoḷal;⁶ the 500 *Baṇaṇṭīyas* in another dated A.D. 1079 from Nilaguṇḍa;⁷ the *Baṇaṇṭīyas* and *Nānādēśis* in A.D. 1106 at Peddatumbalam;⁸ the *Nānādēśis* with a brief *prasaṣti* in A.D. 1127 at Rāgimasalavāḍa;⁹ all these records come from the modern Bellary District. The Mummuridaṇḍas were another corporation of merchants who claimed to come from the line of the Five Hundred Chiefs of Āryyapura, i.e. Ayyavōle, but had their headquarters at first in Dvāravatīpura (Halebid) and subsequently at Kurugōḍu in the Bellary District which was like a second Dvāravatīpura to them. Their *prasaṣtis* occur in two inscriptions from Kurugōḍu with dates in A.D. 1176 and 1177¹⁰ and resemble that of the *Vīra Baṇaṇṭīyas*. Probably the *Seṭṭis* of the Jaina and Bauddha persuasions also formed sections of the guild and not separate organizations; at any rate they use the same *prasaṣti* as the main body, as may be seen from inscriptions at Kolhāpur, Mīraj,¹¹ and Ḍambal. The modern Ḍambal in the Dhārwar District bears a name which is derived from the original designation of the place, Dharmavolal, which occurs in an inscription found there dated in A.D. 1059;¹² this inscription speaks of the *nagara jinālaya* and the *mahānagara samudāya* comprising sixteen *seṭṭis*; the *jinālaya* referred to may have been a Jain or a

¹ *SII*, ix (i), 215.

² *Ibid.*, 268.

³ *Ibid.*, 245.

⁴ *EC*, xi, Dg. 155.

⁵ *SII*, ix (i), 118, ll. 52 ff.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 139, ll. 31-2.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 141, ll. 30-1.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 172, l. 31.

⁹ *Ibid.*, 223, ll. 41-3.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 296, ll. 20-6; 297, ll. 30-40.

¹¹ *EI*, cix, 30 (A.D. 1135 and 1142).

¹² *SII*, xi (i), 94.

Bauddha temple, but considering that there is no mention of *syādvāda*, and also the clearly Buddhist character of another inscription of A.D. 1095-6, it was more probably the latter. This latter document¹ gives a fairly long *praśasti* of *ubhaya-nānādēśis*, and records endowments to a Bauddhavihāra and a temple of Tārādēvī, both recent constructions; the gifts were made in the presence of the sixteen *seṭṭhis* of Dharma-Voḷal and the *mahānagara*, exactly as in the previous instance.

Urban Life

It may not be without interest to refer here to a description of urban life which occurs in an inscription of A.D. 1123 from Terdāl (Sangli state), a strong Jaina centre with a shrine of Nēminātha in it which received gifts from the *Virabhaṇṇjas* in A.D. 1182.² Tēridāla, for this is the form of the name in the record, was situated in the heart of the Kūṇḍi District; there were there twelve *gāvunḍas* for the protection of the place and it was called Tēridāla—‘twelve’—which fact suggests a possible way of explaining the numbers attached to the geographical names, a point deserving more attention than it has yet received. Tēridāla, says the inscription, is adorned with colourful and fragrant rice-fields, and enriched with gardens, lakes, and reservoirs; it includes groups of fortifications placed on hills, on rocky islands and amid broad acres, and a deep moat surrounding temples of Buddha, Mādhava, Arka (the Sun), Śankara, and Jina, and it is traversed by wide bazaar roads. Even Brahmā finds it difficult to praise sufficiently the beauty of Tēridāla. The city counted its fine dwellings belonging to all classes by the thousand; there were regiments of well-trained soldiers, the terror of their enemies, and hundreds of learned and cultured men occupying high positions, who were like the Tree of Paradise to their dependants and vassals. The civic administration under the *gāvunḍas* promoted the study of philosophy and the six observances (of Jainism). The town was filled with the produce of the fields and of human skill, with corn and milk, with newly devised ornaments and various kinds of textile fabrics, with heaped-up jewels made of gold and precious stones; and there were present also numerous money-changers to facilitate the flow of trade between people from different parts of the country. The city seemed to laugh at Kubēra (the god of wealth) saying, ‘who is Kubēra after all?’ The description is rhetorical and does not furnish us with exact detailed information; all the same it may be of use as an aid to our guesses at the actual state of affairs.

Interest Rates and Currency

Unlike the Chōḷa inscriptions, the Chālukya records furnish few data for estimating the level of prices and wages about which we have only the vaguest indications, though we are a little better informed about the rate of

¹ *I.A.*, x, 185 ff., esp. ll. 10-16 and 26-32.

² *Ibid.*, xiv, 14 ff.

interest on capital investments in money. An inscription of A.D. 1054 from Tambraguṇḍi (Dhārwar)¹ gives only the capital set apart with the particular items of expenditure to be met from the interest (*vṛiddhi*)—15 *gadyāṇas* for a perpetual lamp, *nivēdya* (food offering), sandal and incense; 25 *gadyāṇas* for feeding 8 *pravāsis* (tourists), and 2 *gadyāṇas* for the wages of a cook. An inscription of 1062-3 from Shirūr (Bijapur)² mentions large cash endowments with their interest yield—1,000 *gadyāṇas*, giving 150 *gadyāṇas* per annum working out at 15 per cent.; 200 *gadyāṇas* with the *mahājanas* of Āyuvāḍaka on the basis of *akshoṇīsthiti* yielding 40 *gadyāṇas* per annum, that is, 20 per cent.; another endowment also on the same basis of 1,000 *gadyāṇas* yielding 100 per annum—10 per cent.—all endowments by Prabhu Mārasimha. The term *akshoṇīsthiti* reminds one of the similar terms in earlier North Indian inscriptions, viz. *akshyanivī* and *bhūmichhidra vidhānēna*, and should be interpreted accordingly. *Bhūmi-chhidra* has been interpreted as meaning waste land, not liable to tax when brought under cultivation,³ and our term *akshoṇī*, not-earth, stands semantically in close relation to that word. The whole idea was that the annual interest accruing on such endowments was not to be liable to any deduction by way of taxes or levies; and the term *akshayanivī* (fund that is inexhaustible) bears the same sense. An undated inscription from Bāgali⁴ describes an endowment for Purāṇavṛitti and Aindra as consisting of 50 *gadyāṇas* invested at a rate of 2 *paṇas* per *pon*, and from the interest 6 *hons* went to the *Purāṇa* reader, and 4 to the Aindra; it seems correct to infer that *gadyāṇa* and *hon* were interchangeable terms, and that each *hon-gadyāṇa* was equal to ten *paṇas*;⁵ the rate of interest on this endowment was thus 20 per cent. per annum, a rate mentioned also in another record from Rangapuram (Guntur) of A.D. 1116,⁶ and yet another investment of 173 *gadyāṇas* at Bāgali in A.D. 1153.⁷ This last inscription contains a detailed statement of the items of expenditure to be met from the interest including the menu for thirteen persons who were to be fed daily; and further, beside the term *vṛiddhi* which is usual in the records of the time, it gives also the form *baḍḍi* (*vaḍḍi*),⁸ doubtless the more popular form of the same word.

South India, as is well known, is as poor in its numismatic evidence as it is rich in its epigraphy, and our knowledge of the currency system of the Chālukyas is thus both vague and meagre. We have seen that the *pon* or *gadyāṇa* was a gold coin and that the lower unit of a *paṇa* was a tenth of it in value; this may have been a silver coin. Still lower units were the *paga* or

¹ *SII*, xi (i), 92, ll. 33 ff.

² *Ibid.*, 99.

³ *JRAS*, 1926, 488-9.

⁴ *SII*, ix (i), 260. See also ll. 40-3 of 145 for same relation, g = 10 *paṇas*, there expressed by symbol *ma*.

⁵ I suspect some errors of reading in ll. 38-40 of ix (i) 168, and omit the record.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 195, l. 29.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 258, l. 23.

⁸ *Ibid.*, l. 24.

haga ($\frac{1}{4}$ of a *paṇa*); the *visa*, being $\frac{1}{5}$ of a *paṇa*; and the *kāṇi*, $\frac{1}{4}$ of a *visa*.¹ Coins definitely assignable to Jayasirṃha, Jagadēkamalla, and Trailōkyamalla of the eleventh and twelfth centuries are known, and these are cup-shaped and minted in gold and silver, bearing legends in old Kannaḍa characters.² The inscriptions mention an *āneya pon*³ which brings to mind the *ānai achchu* of Tamil inscriptions, but the exact significance of the term has not yet been discovered. An inscription of A.D. 1098⁴ referring to the conversion of Lokki *gadyāṇas* into Mayūra *gadyāṇas* shows that the coins varied in their weight and fineness from place to place, and thus money-changers were able to conduct a thriving trade. Mints in provincial cities are referred to here and there, see for instance the *accinaṭankasāle* of Tambala-bīḍu of Mallideva in an inscription of A.D. 1133.⁵

Measures

Land was measured in *matṭar* and *kammas*, and it would appear that 900 *kammas* went to the *matṭar*.⁶ One record mentions a *matṭar* of seventy-six rods (*kōls*),⁷ and it seems possible that the definition of the unit varied from place to place. But the *kōl* (measuring rod) was itself no fixed unit, and numerous types of rod occur in the inscriptions such as *piriya kōl*,⁸ *kuṛita-kunteya*⁹ *kōl*, *bhērunḍa gaḷe*—this last an interesting name bearing on the antiquity of the *gaṇḍa bhērunḍa*¹⁰—and so on. Little attempt was made to standardize these confusing units of measurement unless indeed the stray references to *rājamāna* (royal measurement) are to be accepted as evidence of such an attempt; but if the attempt was in fact made, it was certainly not conspicuously successful, and people must have had to spend a good deal of time, and to draw very much on local knowledge, before concluding any business transaction. We have really no means whatever for determining the modern equivalent of a *matṭar*. The *nivartana* and *khaṇḍuga*¹¹ are other measures of land employed on occasions, the latter being a term indicating sowing capacity equal, at least in modern Mysore, to 133 $\frac{1}{3}$ Madras measures. Such data as we can gather from the inscriptions regarding weights and liquid measures are in like manner of little value to us in attempting to estimate their equivalents today.

Religion

When we turn to a consideration of the religious conditions of the age, the first thing that strikes us is the general atmosphere of spiritual conciliation in which many creeds lived together on a basis of mutual tolerance, if

¹ The *Vyavahāraraṇita* of Rājādhirāja has the following: Podavida kāni nālkarēḷu visamantadu pāgamṭadu pāgu nālku paṇam viditam paṇam pattāge ponnumadakkum.

² Smith, *IMC*, i, pp. 313–14; Brown, *The Coins of India*, pp. 59–60.

³ *SII*, ix (i), 75, ll. 10–11.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 164.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 228.

⁶ *SII*, xi (i), 88.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 165, ll. 53–8, and 276, ll. 45–50.

⁸ *SII*, ix (i), 105, l. 11.

⁹ *Ibid.*, xi (i), 81, l. 17.

¹⁰ *EC*, vii, Sk. 120.

¹¹ *SII*, xi (i), 85, ll. 18 ff. and ix (i), 99, l. 21.

not of regard, and alike enjoyed the impartial patronage of monarchs and nobles. Śaivism and Vaiṣṇavism were the major creeds in Brahmanical Hinduism, the former obviously being the more important faith judging by the number of its adherents; the worship of Kollāpura Mahālakṣmī which was connected with Śākta rites, and that of Kārttikēya, which had a strong centre at Kuḍitani in the Bellary District, came next in order. For the rest, Jainism was much more widespread and commanded a larger volume of support than did Buddhism. Under the Kalachūryas occurred a strong revival of Śaivism in the form of the Lingāyata creed initiated by Basava, but the history of this movement is heavily overlaid with contradictory legends from rival sources; it was perhaps even more important because of its output in Kannaḍa prose literature than as a stage in the evolution of Śaivism as a religious influence in Karṇāṭaka, and in this regard the literature of Vīra-Śaivism, another name for Lingāyatism, will claim our attention later.

As evidence of the general atmosphere of religious peace that seems to have prevailed in spite of occasional references to disputations between rival faiths, we may cite the eclectic invocations with which some of the inscriptions begin. An inscription of A.D. 1119 from Kuḍitani¹ opens with invocations to Śambhu, Varāha, Subrahmaṇya, and Vighnēśa and records the construction of a Śiva temple with a garden, subsidiary shrines to Sarasvatī and Vināyaka, and a *sabhāmaṇḍapa*. Gaṇapati precedes Śambhu in the invocation at the commencement of a Peddatumbalam inscription of A.D. 1148.² Brahmā, Śiva, Gaṇapati, and Viṣṇu in the form of Varāha are invoked as the preface to a record from Bāgali of A.D. 1153.³ On the other hand we also note the clear though mildly sectarian character of the invocation of Tārādēvī in a Bauddha record from Ḍambal (A.D. 1095-6);⁴ of Lakṣmīnārāyaṇa in a record of A.D. 1160 from the Sūryanārāyaṇa temple at Bāgali;⁵ and of Śambhu in eight continuous verses in an inscription of A.D. 1173-4 from Kurugōḍu.⁶ An inscription of A.D. 1022 from Bēlūr near Bādāmi tells us⁷ that Akkādēvī, the elder sister of Jayasimha II, performed all the *dharma*s (charitable works) mentioned in the *āgamas* of Jina, Buddha, Ananta (Viṣṇu), and Rudra (Śiva). And this assertion is supported by other inscriptions recording her charities at Arasabīḍi and Sūḍi, which included gifts to the Guṇadabedangi Jinālaya and its monks and nuns in the former city, and to the Śiva temple of Sūḍi.⁸ An inscription of A.D. 1028 from Hosur⁹ contains both Jaina and Vaiṣṇava invocations, and records the construction of a memorial *basadi* (*parōkṣha vinaya*) by a *gāvunda* as a memento of his wife; such funerary shrines were, as is well known, much commoner in Śaivism than they were

¹ *SII*, ix (i), 197.

² *Ibid.*, 258.

³ *SII*, ix (i), 267.

⁴ *IA*, xviii, 270-5.

⁵ *EI*, xvii, 122; xv, 82 and 84 ff. A.D. 1047.

⁶ *SII*, xi (i), 65.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 250.

⁸ *IA*, x, 185.

⁹ *EI*, xiv, 270.

with any other sect in historical times in South India. About A.D. 1037¹ a Perggaḍe Dhōyipayya constructed the temples of Traipurusha Dēva and the Bāraha Nārāyaṇa and set up a *garuḍa-stambha* at Lökkiguṇḍi, whereas his wife Guṇābbe was described as *Jinadāna-dharmāmṛte*, a lady who found happiness in making gifts to Jaina institutions. Another record of A.D. 1048² registers a general order of Somēśvara I to Nāgavarma to build in the Banavāsenād temples to Jina, Viṣṇu, Īśvara, and the *munigaṇa* (a group of sages). The celebrated city of Balligāve had temples dedicated to Jina, Rudra, Buddha, and Hari, besides the *pañchamaḥasthāna*, as stated in a speech made in open court by Śāntinātha to Lakshmanṛipa.³

This eclectic form of piety was no new development, but rather the continuance of a long established tradition, since there is evidence of the same tendency from much earlier times. An inscription from Kurhatti (Dhārwar District) of A.D. 980⁴ mentions a family of local chieftains descended from Revanta; one of these, who flourished several generations before the date of the record, was Piriya Kōṭi-Gāvuṇḍa, who had built both a Śiva temple and a Jainaśāla. The same inscription states that Eṇcyama-Dīkshita, the brother of the grandee responsible for the record, was well versed in the *Lākuḷa Siddhānta*, was himself a Śākta, and also performed many sacrifices. In A.D. 981,⁵ Rēvaḷadēvī, the queen of Vīra Nolaṃba Pallava Permāṇaḍi-dēva, endowed at the same time both the temple of Kālapriyadeva and the Viṣṇu temples in Kañchagāra-Belgali.

These are not merely instances of toleration due to the policy of monarchs set to rule over a people professing divergent creeds, though such a policy may indeed have had its own share in strengthening and spreading this wise attitude to one another among the votaries of differing sects; but a genuine belief that salvation might be sought along various routes, and that Hinduism in its widest sense was a house of many mansions, which had no difficulty in embracing within its fold even systems like nihilism, Buddhism, and Jainism, which appeared to differ radically from the rest both in denying the revealed authority of the Veda and in other ways. We have seen that the emperors adopted *dāna*, the bestowal of charitable gifts, as the most obvious and realistic method of evincing their devotion alike to religion and to the welfare of their subjects; Vikramāditya VI is said to have made many *mahādānas* during the year A.D. 1092 including the *viśvachakra*—which is a golden wheel representing the entire universe;⁶ this reference to the *mahādānas* is valuable as an indication that some of them had already come into vogue in the Deccan well before Hemādri's systematic treatment of them in his *Dānakhaṇḍa*.

¹ *Ell*, xix, 220, l. 23, and *SII*, xi (i), 72.

² *I.C.*, vii, Sk. 120—verse at end.

³ *F.C.*, vii, Sk. 136.

⁴ *SII*, xi (i), 45.

⁵ *SII*, ix (i), 74.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 158, l. 60.

Śaivism

Though we have of course only general impressions to go by, Śaivism does seem to have been the dominant creed in the country as well as in the royal family. Śrīśaila was a favourite shrine often visited by the members of the royal family,¹ including the king and queen, and an undated inscription from Bāgavādi records a gift from Mailaladēvi, queen of Śōmēśvara I, to a *pāśupata* Jñānarāśi on the occasion of *lakshahoma*.² In fact the *pāśupata āgama* and several groups of ascetics belonging to it fill the most prominent place in inscriptions, and there is scope for a detailed study of all the references to them such as we have no room to attempt here. The *āgama* of Lakulīśa is praised with great elaboration in several inscriptions, and the several lines of priests and scholars belonging to that school are also traced in detail.³ The *pāśupatas* were also called *kālāmukhas*, and they had an important centre of their faith in the great city of Balligāve; this centre is said to have been the spearhead of the opposition to Bauddha, Mīmāṃsaka, Lokāyata, Sāṃkhya, Advaita, and other rival *āgamas*, and debates and lectures were part of the regular duty of the teachers belonging to this *sthāna* as can be seen from a record of A.D. 1035;⁴ the record closes with a verse⁵ which is a striking challenge to all opponents of the superiority of Mahādēva and of the social order (*varṇāśrama*) prescribed by the Vedas. An Abbalūr inscription⁶ of a generation earlier (A.D. 1101) mentions a Śōmēśvara, a logician and *kālāmukha*, who carried on debates against other systems including Buddhism. As has been noted elsewhere, the Kharēpaṭān grant of Silāhāra Raṭṭarāja (A.D. 1008) mentions the Karkarōṇi branch of the Mattamayūra ascetics who were also *pāśupatas*. Great emphasis is laid in all these records on the strict observance of celibacy by the priests, whose places of residence are called *naiṣṭhika-sthānas*, and those of them whose conduct became suspect in this matter were liable to be unceremoniously dismissed from their office by any authority, local or central, secular or spiritual, whose attention was called to such delinquencies.⁷

Closely allied to the *pāśupatas* was the *Śākta* cult which centred round the worship of Kollāpura-mahālakshmi and other feminine deities; an ample *praśasti* of Mahālakshmi is mentioned in a record of A.D. 1049,⁸ in which she is said to have had seventy *tīrthas* consecrated to her with Śrī Viśālā as the foremost of them and to have been mounted on the Lion worshipped by Brahmā. Prabhu Rājavarman, an ancestor of Prabhu Mārasingha, was

¹ *SII*, ix (i), 119, 121, 134.

² *SII*, xi (i), 83.

³ *Āgama* in *SII*, ix (i), 101, ll. 30 ff.; 119, ll. 14-24; Teachers, ix (i), 163, 165.

⁴ *EC*, vii, Sk. 126.

⁵ Rice's information that the verse is a citation from Kumārila, *EC*, vii, *Intr.*, p. 19, seems to be wrong.

⁶ *EL*, v, 219-20.

⁷ *EL*, xvi, 3, v. 14; *SII*, ix (i), 102; 128, l. 29; xi (i), 185, ll. 38-9; 97, l. 40, &c.

⁸ *SII*, xi (i), 85, ll. 1-5.

a devotee of this goddess. The worship in her shrine was conducted by *pāśupatāchāryas*. The mention of the presiding deity of the village, *grāmādhidaivam* Bhagavati at Niḍuguṇḍi, for whom a perpetual lamp is endowed in A.D. 1076,¹ and the consecration at Malavalli of the images of Bhagavati and the seven mothers by some *gāmuṇḍas* in 1147,² bring into view other aspects of the role of female divinities in popular religion. Bhagavati is mentioned also in a record of Kuḍitani in 1099.³

The inscription recording Prabhu Mārasingha's endowments is valuable not only for its reference to Mahālakshmi, but for its enumeration of the members of the pantheon honoured by him; the list includes Viṣṇu, Vināyaka, Chaṇḍī, Hanumān, Hāṭakēśvara, Mallikārjuna, Nandi, Mahākāla Bhairava, Durgā, Āditya, and Chandra.⁴ A shrine of Āditya was consecrated by a Duggimayya at Bāgali in A.D. 987,⁵ and other shrines to the Sun are mentioned elsewhere in the inscriptions.

Though shrines dedicated to Kārttikeya or Subrahmaṇya are recorded in some other places, Kuḍitani in Bellary was obviously the most celebrated centre of his cult during this period, the same place being called *Svāmīdēvara-paṭṭaṇa*, the city of Svāmī-dēva, Koṭṭidōṇi, in a record of A.D. 1099;⁶ Svāmī-dēva is a name of Kārttikēya, and the Chālukyas claimed from the earliest times to have owed much of their prosperity to his special care and protection. There was a celebrated Kārttikeya-tapōvana presided over by a regular succession of celibate *āchāryas*, which received many valuable donations from its numerous followers and benefactors. The *five vargas* of Koṭṭidōṇi are also usually mentioned in connexion with these *āchāryas*, but the significance of the term is not clear.⁷ The *tapovana* of Kuḍitani is spoken of as early as A.D. 976. Earlier still we find from Rāshtrakūṭa records that a certain Gadādhara of Varendri (E. Bengal) came south and became chief of a Kārttikeya-tapōvana at Kolegala, about twenty miles east of Kuḍitani; he is described as the head of a considerable territory belonging to the *tapōvana* during the time of the Rāshtrakūṭa kings Krishṇa III and Khoṭṭiga; he installed the images of Sūrya, Brahmā, Viṣṇu, Mahēśvara, Pārvatī, Vināyaka, and Kārttikeya, and founded a *maṭha* at Kolegala.⁸ What the relation was, if any, between these two *tapōvanas* situated so close to one another is not known; one is almost tempted to assume that the apparent two were in fact but one *tapōvana* which had changed its position, but there is no proof of this; we have evidence that Gadādhara also set up an image of Kārttikeya in Kuḍitani,⁹ so that possibly both the *tapōvanas* may have been coeval and have had a common origin.

¹ *SII*, xi (i), 117, ll. 19-20.

² *SII*, ix (i), 166, l. 17.

³ *SII*, xi (i), 85, ll. 28-30.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 166, ll. 16-17.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 73, 164, 197, 252.

⁶ *ARE*, 44 of 1904.

⁷ *EC*, vii, Sk. 267.

⁸ *SII*, ix (i), 75.

⁹ *LI*, xxi, pp. 260-4.

Vaishnavism

Of Vaishnavism in particular there is not much to be said in addition to what has been stated by implication or expressly in the course of our study so far. The temple of Traipurusha and the Twelve Nārāyanas at Gaḍag (A.D. 1037) has been mentioned above.¹ A temple of Viṣṇu at Pombuḷḷa (Hombal) in the Gaḍag *tāluk* of Dhārwar) was renovated in 1049 by the Brāhman Jakkimayya whose ancestors had erected the original building, and he took advantage of the occasion to endow a *satra* attached to the temple.² The construction of the Kēśava temple at Hūvina Haḍagalli in A.D. 1090 by Rebbaladēvī, the wife of General Ravidēva, is another notable event in the history of this faith.³

From Mailara in Bellary we get an interesting inscription placing a *Śivālaya* (Śiva temple) in the particular charge of the Two Hundred Vaishṇava *mahājanas* of the place⁴ (A.D. 1046). The temple of Madhusūdana in Nāgavāvi was, as we have seen, another large Vaishṇava centre, and the inscription records the grant of forty-eight *mattar* of land to two *dehāris* (i.e. *pūjāris*) who were required to observe celibacy, have only an evening meal (*nakta bhōjana*), and to sleep on the floor (*adhaḥ-sayana*).⁵

Jainism and Buddhism

This sketch of the religious conditions of the age may be concluded with a brief reference to some of the important Jaina and Bauddha institutions. The Jaina inscriptions are some of them long records which give interesting particulars of individual teachers belonging to different *amavas* and *gachchas*, and these are of great interest to students of Jaina doctrine and literature.⁶ Attimabbe, the daughter-in-law of Dhalla and wife of Nāgadeva, is a celebrated name in the annals of Jainism; she was known as Dānacintāmaṇi, and her spiritual merits which wrought miracles and her construction of many *basadis*, including a very large one, Lokkiguṇḍi, for which she received a golden *kalāśa* from the emperor himself, are described in great detail.⁷ The record also mentions the laics of Jainism under the title *sāgāra-sūmārga-niratar*, i.e. householders delighting in going on the holy path. The Chōla armies which overran the Chālukya country for a time seem to have directed their fury specially against the Jaina shrines, which suffered great damage and required extensive reconstruction after the war, as we learn from the Gawarwad inscription of A.D. 1071.⁸ Buddhism is known to have flourished at this time in Beḷagāve and Dambal. In the former, Daṇḍanāyaka

¹ *SII*, xi (i), 72.

² *SII*, ix (i), 158.

³ *HAS*, viii, 34, ll. 321-2.

⁴ *SII*, xi (i), 111 Chitrakūṭānvaya; *EI*, xv, 53 ff. Candrakavāṭānvaya, &c.

⁵ *SII*, xi (i), 52.

² *Ibid.*, 84.

⁴ *SII*, xi (i), 102, ll. 31-2.

⁸ *EI*, xv, 337.

Rūpabhaṭṭayya and a number of other officers established in A.D. 1065 a Jayanti-Buddhavihāra, and made grants for the support of the worship of Tārā Bhagavati, Kēśava Lokēśvara, the Buddha, and other deities—a proof that Mahāyāna Buddhism with all the syncretic accretions which it had gathered in the course of centuries was well known there; it should be noted that this foundation and these gifts had the emperor's sanction (*paramēśvara datti*) and that a *pañcha maṭha* is also mentioned in the inscription.¹ Another gift to the same group by the wife of the Nāḍ-perggaḍe, Sahavāsi Hampa Chaṭṭa, is recorded two years later in A.D. 1067.² In Ḍambaḷ, as we learn from an inscription of A.D. 1095–6, there was a Buddha-vihāra built by the sixteen *seṭṭhis* who were the governing body of the locality, and a large *vihāra* of Ārya-Tārā-dēvi which Seṭṭi Saṃgavayya, a *vaḍḍa-vyavahārī* of Lokkiguṇḍi, had caused to be made.³

Kannāḍa Literature

Under the Chāḷukyas of Kalyāṇī Kannāḍa literature not only continued to maintain the high quality which it had attained under the Rāshṭrakūṭas, but reached even greater perfection of form, whilst Sanskrit literature in its different branches was cultivated with assiduity since it was clearly recognized that without constant and live contact with Sanskrit, Kannāḍa would soon cease to be the idiom of literary culture and would drop to the level of a *patois*. For its grammar, its prosody, and its literary models, as well as for the subject-matter, Kannāḍa, like any other vernacular language in India, looked to Sanskrit for guidance and gained greatly by doing so. It was the boast of many eminent *litterateurs* of the time that they could compose poems with equal facility in both languages, and we have several bilingual inscriptions of considerable length which strikingly confirm the truth of this claim; in them Sanskrit and Kannāḍa verse and prose mingle in an amiable and pleasant confusion without the reader feeling the slightest break in the sequence of thought or flow of expression. Indeed of some authors we have no other knowledge than what the inscriptions composed by them tell us, and the curious reader may be referred to R. Narasimachar's *Karṇāṭaka Kavacarite* for details which need not be reproduced here. A few prominent names may, however, be noted before proceeding to the study of literature proper.

Of very great interest is the Beḷatūru inscription (A.D. 1057)⁴ composed by Malla, poet and friend of poets, on the death of Dēkabbe when her husband Ēcha was sentenced to death and the sentence was carried out at Taḷakāḍ; she entered the fire pit, doing so regardless of the protests of his parents and relatives; the verses in the poem are of high quality, simple and direct, and full of pathos; metrically also the composition is interesting because of the use of the metres *akkharam* and *lalitavrittam*. Strictly this is a Chōḷa inscription,

¹ *EC*, vii, Sk. 170.

³ *IA*, x, 186, l. 21.

² *Ibid.*, Sk. 169.

⁴ *EI*, vi, 213–19.

for it is dated in the reign of Rājendra II, and he was the king who ordered the execution of Ēcha; but Gangavādi was constantly changing hands at this time, and in fact no survey of Kannaḍa language and literature in the eleventh century should omit to notice this fascinating inscription.

Śāntinātha, a famous Jaina controversialist and author, finds prominent mention in an inscription from Shikarpur¹ dated in A.D. 1068 at the beginning of the reign of Bhuvanaikamalla Somēśvara II; he held the place of *arthādhi-kāri* of Banavase under Lakshmaṇa-bhūpa, the loyal and efficient general of Somēśvara; he was the pupil of Vardhamāna Vratī, an able judge, a devout Jain who purified the doctrine by eliminating the accretions due to heretical speculation, and a natural born poet (*sahajakavi*). He was the author of *Sukumāra-charitra*, a *champū* available now only in incomplete manuscripts, but which appears to have originally given the story of the renunciation of a prince in twelve *āśvāsas*. The author of the *Chandrachūdāmaṇi-śataka*, a century of verses in easy style in the *mattebha* metre treating of the ethics of renunciation, was Nāgavarmācharya, who states in his work that he was a *sandhivigrahi* under Udayāditya, and that his elder brother Bhāskara was *rāyabhāri* under the same prince; this author and his patron were doubtless identical with the Nāgavarmācharya who bore the title *advaiti-guṇa-galla*, and the Ganga Udayāditya, feudatory of Somēśvara II ruling Banavāse, Santalige, and Maṇḍali in A.D. 1070, both mentioned in another inscription from Shikarpur.²

To turn now to Kannaḍa literature proper. The period may be said to open with the work of Ranna, who completes with Pampa and Ponna the celebrated triad of great poets who usher in Kannaḍa literature in its full glory. We have the authority of Ranna himself for placing Pampa and Ponna in the age of the Rāshtrakūṭas, while he flourished under the Chālukyas.³ In his *Kavirājamārga* (the Royal Road of Poets), the Rāshtrakūṭa monarch Amoghavarsha I (A.D. 815-77) is said to have marked off the whole of the Western Deccan between the Kāvērī and the Gōdāvarī as the region of Kannaḍa speech, and to have declared that the district comprising Kisuvolal, Kopana, Puligere, and Onkunda was the well of pure Kannaḍa undefiled.⁴ Pampa and Ranna agree in this judgement regarding the excellence of the Kannaḍa speech of Puligere (and Belvola) and claim with pride that their works were composed in that limpid idiom. Born in A.D. 949 in the family of a bangle-maker in Maduvolal (Jamkhaṇḍi 70), Ranna rose to the rank of *karichakravarti* (Poet Laureate) in Tailapa's Court, and enjoyed the honours of the golden rod, the *chaurī*, the elephant, the umbrella, and the rest. His *Ajitapurāṇa*, written in A.D. 993, is a *champū*, mixed prose and verse, of twelve *āśvāsas*, and treats at length of the life of the Second Jaina *tīrthankara*. The poet describes his work as *kāvya-ratna* and *purāṇatilaka*. In the colophons it is said

¹ FC, vii, Sk. 136.

² KKC, i, 63.

³ Ibid., Sk. 129.

⁴ Ibid., iii, p. xxii.

to have been written at the request of the *dāna-chintāmaṇi*, a title of Attimabbe, the pious wife of general Nāgavarmma, who survived her husband for some years and devoted herself to sacred works in the cause of Jainism.¹ The *Sāhasabhimavijaya* or *Gadāyuddha* (fight with clubs) is also a *champū* which in its ten *āśvāsas* contrives to review the story of the *Mahābhārata* with particular reference to the last fight between Bhīma and Duryodhana, as well as the wars and achievements of Iṣivabeḍanga Satyāśraya, on whom the poet confers the title *Sāhasa-bhīma*. The work is naturally dominated by *vīra-rasa*, and the poet suits his style to the dominant *rasa*. The date of its composition has been fixed with some likelihood about A.D. 982, some years earlier than that of the *Ajītapurāṇa*.² A *nighaṇṭu* (lexicon) called *Ranna Kanda* in which the verses generally end with *kaviratna* may well also be his work. The *Ajītapurāṇa* gives the names of two other works of the poet, apparently no longer extant—*Paraśurāmacarite* and *Cakreśvaracarite*. It has been suggested that the last named was a biography of one of the poet's patrons, Chāvuṇḍarāya, a Ganga general who attained eminence both in war and in literature. Chāvuṇḍarāya was a Brahma-kshatriya by birth and a feudatory of Ganga Rāchamalla who conferred on him the title *rāya* after he had set up the colossus of Gommateśvara at Śravaṇa-Belgola. He composed the *purāṇa* called after him *Chāvuṇḍarāyapurāṇa* in A.D. 978. It is the earliest extant prose work in Kannaḍa and treats of the lives of the 24 *tīrthankaras* of Jainism, 12 *chakravartis*, 9 *balabhadras*, 9 *narāyaṇas*, and 9 *prati-narāyaṇas*—63 in all, giving the alternative name *Trishashtīlakṣhaṇa-mahāparṇaṇa* to the work.

Nāgavarma I was another protégé of Chāvuṇḍarāya, and like him a pupil of Ajitasena. He was a Kaundinya Brāhman, tracing his ancestral home to Vengipāḷu, like the great poet Pampa. He was the author of *Chandōmbudhi*, the ocean of prosody, the earliest work on the subject in Kannaḍa. The substance of the work is said to have been taught first of all by Íśvara to Umā, and then brought to earth by Pingala; now Nāgavarma repeats it to his wife. The *Karṇāṭaka-kādambarī* was another work by the same author; it is based on Bāṇa's celebrated romance in Sanskrit, but is written in *champū* form; its sweet and flowing style has sufficient distinction to gain a high place for its author among Kannaḍa poets. He is to be clearly distinguished from a namesake of his who lived a century and a half later and with whom he has sometimes been quite unjustifiably confused.

The next writer of note was Durgasimha, a Brāhman Śaiva minister *mahāsandhivigrahi* under Jayasimha II Jagadekamalla. His *Pañcatantra* is a *champū* work in five sections entitled respectively *bheda*, *parīkṣhā*, *viśvāsa*, *vañcanā*, and *mitrakārya*. The author gives a legend of its origin which connects it with the celebrated *Bṛhatkathā* of Guṇāḍhya. It is a mature work, probably too learned and too full of syllabic jingles (*prāsa*) to suit modern taste. Durgasimha mentions several poets who preceded him or were his

¹ *SII*, xi (i), 52.

² *KKC*, i, 70.

contemporaries. A certain Mādirājamuni read and corrected the *Pañcatantra*; a Karṇapārya (Kannamayya) composed *Malavīmādhava*; Kavitāvilāsa was the author of a work on politics (*nīti*); while Chandrarāja wrote the *Madanatilaka*, a work on erotics. Chandrarāja was a Brāhman polyhistor of the Vājigotra. He modestly claimed acquaintance with all grammar, *arthaśāstra*, *ganita* (mathematics), *alamkāra* (rhetoric), *kāvya* and *nāṭaka* (poetry and drama), *vātsyāyana* (erotics), *nṛtta* (dance), *gīta* (music), *hayaśāstra* (horse lore), *advaita*, *gāndharva*, *tarka*, *kavindrāgama*, *vaidya* (medicine), and *śakuna* (omens). He was supported by Mācha, a *sāmanta* of Jayasimha II; and his *Madanatilaka* takes the form of a dialogue between his patron and the latter's wife. It is a *champū* work in eighteen *adhikaraṇas*, and contains 500 verses, composed in very artificial ways, but withal easy to make out and making extremely fascinating reading. The author used, as he himself declares, the most up-to-date language of his time (*ṣosa-Kannada*), and in the course of the poem he discusses and reconciles the rival views prevailing among authors on the various topics touched on in his work.

In Śrīdharāchārya we have a Jaina Brāhman poet whose compositions were written in the early years of the reign of Āhavamalla Somēśvara I. The author claims to be the first writer in Kannada on *jyotiṣa* (astrology) and dates his work *Jātakatilaka* in A.D. 1049; it treats of astronomy as well as astrology and is proof of the author's capacity for scientific writing (*śāstra-kavitva*); he demonstrated his *kāvya kavitva*, capacity in belles lettres, in the *Chandraprabhacharite*, a work no longer extant. The *Jātakatilaka* is arranged in twenty-four *adhikāras*, all in the *kanda* metre. The poet held the title *gadya-padya-vidyādhara*, testifying to his eminence in both prose and poetry.

Nāgachandra

The next great writer was Nāgachandra or Abhinava Pampa, the new Pampa. Little is known of his family and connexions. He was evidently a man of means since he is said to have built the Mallināthajinālaya in Vijayapura (Bijapur). He wrote the *Mallināthapurāṇa* on the life of the nineteenth *tīrthankara* to whom the shrine was dedicated; the *purāṇa* is a *champū* in fourteen *āśvāsas*, which are in themselves evidence of the high descriptive power of the author. His *guru* was Bālachandramuni, and there is a tradition that he had literary contests with Kanti, a Jaina poetess at the court of Hoysala Ballāla I. Nāgachandra is best known as the writer of the *Rāma-chandra-carita-purāṇa* or *Pampa-rāmāyaṇa* which gives the Jaina version of the Rāma-legend in a *champū* of sixteen sections, the story proper beginning only with the third section (*āśvāsa*). The poem was a necessary complement to the *Bhārata* of Pampa, and earned the title *Abhinava Pampa* for its author. The composition is of high quality and flowing style, easy and pleasant to read. In this version of the story Rāma acquires the *Jinadikshā*, becomes a Jaina ascetic, and finally attains *nirvāṇa*. Other Jaina versions of the Rāmāyaṇa

are known, but none from our period, though according to Narasimhachar there is some reason to think that Vādi Kumudachandra, a Jaina scholiast,¹ also wrote a *Rāmāyaṇa* perhaps a little earlier than Nāgachandra's well-known work. He may have also been the composer of a Bijapur inscription² which contains some verses known to be from his works.

Nayasena

Nayasena completed his *Dharmāmṛta* in Mulgund in the Saka year 1034 (A.D. 1112). This work expounds the essential teaching of Jainism and its ethics in an easy and flowing style; it comprises fourteen chapters (*āśvāsas*)—one for each of the eight virtues (*guṇas*), and five *anuvṛtats*, the last being devoted to the lives of Mahāpurushas as illustrating the theory of the preceding chapters. Nayasena was among the earliest to raise his voice in protest against the introduction of an undue proportion of Sanskrit words into Kannaḍa works, and to demand a proper standard of Śuddha-Kannaḍa, as he calls it. In the *Bhāṣābhūṣaṇa* of Nāgavarma II references are found to the views of a Nayasena on points of Kannaḍa grammar, and if the references in question are in fact to this author, he must be held to have written some work on the grammar of Kannaḍa which has not come down to us.

Round about A.D. 1145 Karṇapārya wrote the life of the twenty-second tīrthankara in his *Nemināthapurāṇa*, a work in *champū* form in fourteen *āśvāsas* into which the story of Kṛṣṇa and the *Mahābhārata* is also cleverly included and made part of the whole; the patron of the author was a certain Lakshmīdhara whose identity is not quite certain; the *purāṇa* is replete with splendid passages of colourful description and takes a high place for its literary quality. To the middle of the twelfth century must also be assigned the celebrated Nāgavarma, the author of the *Kavyāvalōkana*, an important work on the grammar and rhetoric of Kannaḍa in five *adhikaraṇas*; this book is written in the form of *sūtras* in verse illustrated by examples from literature. Another work on grammar by the same author is the *Karṇāṭaka-bhāṣābhūṣaṇa*; here the *sūtras* and a short explanation of them are given in Sanskrit while the illustrations are taken from Kannaḍa literature. The *Vastukośa* is a third work by Nāgavarma II, a relatively short lexicon of 800 *granthas*, giving Kannaḍa equivalents of Sanskrit terms. Nāgavarma was the teacher (Kāṭakōpādhyaya) of Jagadekamalla II whom he survived for many years, becoming also later the teacher of the poet Janna (c. A.D. 1209). Janna further ascribes a Jaina purāṇa to Nāgavarma, but this does not seem to have survived. *Udayādityāṭlankāra* (c. A.D. 1150) is a short work on poetics by a Chola prince Udayāditya; it translates the *Kāvyaḍarśa* of Daṇḍin in several places and mentions a number of Sanskrit poets but no Kannaḍa author. A

¹ KKC, 114.

² Bijapur Museum Stone Inscr. A. 23, KKC, i, 449-50.

work on medicine in Kannaḍa, called *Karṇāṭaka-Kalyāṇakāraka*, being a translation of Pūjyapāda's *Kalyāṇakāraka* by Jagaddala Somanātha, a Jain author, was also composed about the same time or a little later; this is the oldest extant treatise on medicine in the Kannaḍa language. 'The treatment it prescribes', we are told, 'is entirely vegetarian and non-alcoholic.'¹

Vīraśaiva Prose

Next to the Jinas, the Vīraśaivas count as the largest factor contributing to the development of the Kannaḍa language and literature, particularly the prose literature, for they wrote almost all their religious works in Kannaḍa and evinced a distinct preference for the prose medium. Basava and his contemporaries brought into existence the *vachana* literature written in simple prose easily understood by the common folk and well calculated to popularize the new creed. There were over 200 writers, many women among them with Mahādeviyakka at their head, who belonged to this class, and it is not possible or necessary to give here a complete list of the names of the authors or of their works. We may, however, cite the following characterization of this literature by Rice.² 'In form, the *vachanas* are brief disconnected paragraphs, each ending with one or another of the numerous local names under which Śiva is worshipped. In style, they are epigrammatical, parallelistic and allusive. They dwell on the vanity of riches, the valuelessness of mere rites or book-learning, the uncertainty of life, and the spiritual privileges of the Śivabhakta. They call men to give up the desire for worldly wealth and ease, to live lives of sobriety and detachment from the world, and to turn to Śiva for refuge. They are seldom controversial, but almost entirely hortatory, devotional, and expository. They are still recited by Lingāyat *āchāryas* for the instruction of their followers.' Some of the *vachanas* have a section called *kālajñāna*, a messianic forecast of the future. The *vachanas* often bear the particular *mudrās* (marks in set phrases) of their authors. Beside Basava himself, and his nephew Chenna-Basava, special mention should be made of two groups of specially honoured teachers and writers. First, the three Paṇḍitas (*paṇḍitatraya*), viz. Mañchanna known as Śivalenka (the guard of Śiva), Śrīpati Paṇḍita, and Mallikārjuna Paṇḍitārādhya; secondly, the five *āchāryas* of Vīraśaivism, viz. Revaṇa Siddha or Rēṇukāchārya of Kollipāka, Maruḷa Siddha of Kollāpura, Paṇḍitārādhya already mentioned among the three *paṇḍitas*, Ēkōrāmi Tande, and Viśvēśvarāchārya. Most of these writers were contemporaries of Basava or lived a little before or after him.

Transition

This period is marked by a definite transition in Kannaḍa language and literature. The letter *ḷa* tends to disappear giving place to *ḷa* or the half-letter

¹ Rice, p. 37.

² p. 56.

r, while *pa* in special positions changes to *ha*. The *champū* form of composition falls gradually into disuse and new metres distinctive of Kannaḍa like *shatpadī* and *tripadī*, and the *ragaḷes*, lyrical poems with refrains, come into vogue. We may now notice briefly the Lingāyat writers of importance other than the authors of *vachanas*. The first of these is Hariśvara who came of a family of Karaṇikas (accountants) of Halebid and was a contemporary of Narasimha Ballāla (A.D. 1141-73). He spent several years at Hampi, and among his works is a *Pampāsataka*, a centum of verses in praise of Virūpāksha of that city. His *Girijā Kalyāṇa* is still in the old style of Jaina works, a *champū* of ten *āśvāsas*, easy and elevated writing, the subject-matter being the marriage of Śiva and Pārvatī. His later composition, *Śiva-gaṇada-Raga-ḷeḷu*, however, has all the characteristics of the new school which he initiated; this work treats of the lives of the sixty-three saints of early Śaivism and other devotees. A nephew and disciple of Hariśvara was Rāghavāṅka, the next great Vira-Śaiva poet, who was born and lived all his life at Hampi. He was the first to use the *shatpadī* metre; his *Hariśchandra Kāvya* sets forth the story of Hariśchandra's inflexible devotion to truth; the work, though very good as poetry, contains several *deśya* words and occasionally violates the strict rules of standard grammars. The *Sōmanātha-charite*, giving the life of Somayya of Puligeṛe, and the *Siddharāma purāṇa* on the life of Siddharāma of Sonnalige, are works of Lingāyat hagiology. The *Hariharamahatva* is written in praise of Hariśvara of Hampi. Other works attributed to him are the *Vireśvara-charite* and the *Śarabhacharitra*. Keṛeya Padmarasa came of a family of officials under the Hoysalas and in his early life himself held office; he was called from his retirement to confront and confute a Telugu Brāhman who came preaching Vaishṇavism to Narasimha Ballāla, and the result of the contest was entirely in favour of Padmarasa, his opponent being finally compelled to accept the Śaiva creed. Padmarasa wrote the *Dikṣā-bodhe*, a work of *ragaḷes* in dialogue form in which a *guru* instructs his disciple on the faith, and which cites Sanskrit verses in support of the true doctrine. Padmarasa is the hero of a *Padmarājapurāṇa* (c. A.D. 1385). It must be observed that there is some uncertainty as to the dates of Hariśvara, Rāghavāṅka, and Padmarasa, for though according to Narasimhachar's date (c. A.D. 1165) they were contemporaries of Narasimha I and of Basava, none of them makes any reference to Basava as might have been expected if they were really his contemporaries. Pāḷkuriki Sōmanātha, c. A.D. 1195, born at Pāḷkurike in the Godāvāri District, was the author of several Telugu and Kannaḍa works on Vira-Śaivism. Legend credits him with victory in many contests with other sectarians, particularly Vaishṇavas, and with the final attainment of *mukti* at Kailās. His life became the subject of a *Purāṇa* by Tōṇṭadārya (c. A.D. 1560). He was a great admirer of Basava, and composed a Telugu *Basavapurāṇa* which was used by Bhīma Kavi when he wrote (A.D. 1369) the Kannaḍa work of the same name. His chief works in Kannaḍa are the *Śilasampādane*,

the *Sahasragāṇanāma*, and the *Pañcharatna*, besides several *ragales* and *vachanas*. A *Somesvaraśataka*, a popular work on moral subjects, of no particular literary merit and faulty in its diction, may not be his work, but that of a contemporary namesake.

Among other authors deserving a place in this brief account is Rājāditya (c. A.D. 1190), author of several *gāṇita* works, *Vyavahāragaṇita*, *Kshetra-gāṇita*, *Līlāvati*, and so on. He was a Jaina writer from Pūvinabāge in Koṇḍimaṇḍala; his skill in reducing to easy verse the categories of the technical subjects with which he dealt is remarkable, and his works are regarded as the most celebrated of their kind in the language.

Sanskrit

Again in the domain of Sanskrit literature, the first important work of the period happens to be that of a Jaina writer, the *Pārśvanāthacarita* of Vādirāja, who lived at the Court of Jayasimha II—Jagadekamalla, and completed his *Kāvya* on a day corresponding to 27 October, A.D. 1025.¹ Vādirāja was a pupil of Somadevasūri, a contemporary of Rāshtrakūṭa—Krishṇa III, of whom mention has been made above. Like his *guru*, Vādirāja also wrote a *Yaśodharacaritra* in which he mentions the *Pārśvanāthacaritra* as an earlier work of his. There is an *Ēkibhāvastōtra* which also passes under the name of Vādirāja, but the identity of the author of this production is not above doubt.² Vādirāja seems besides to mention a Dhanañjaya, author of a *dviśandhāna kāvya*, whom Venktatasubbiah identifies with Hemasena Vidyā Dhanañjaya, ascribing to him the *Rāghava-Pāṇḍaviya*, a work which corresponds to the description of a *dviśandhāna kāvya*.³ Another *Rāghava Pāṇḍaviya*, also in Sanskrit, was composed soon after by Śrutakīrti, and it is mentioned with praise by Abhinavapampa.⁴

The *Udayasundarikathā* of Soddhala, a Kāyastha of Lāṭa, was written about A.D. 1000 under the patronage of Mummuṇirāja of Thāna; the author had Bāṇa's *Harshacarita* for his model, but his composition is far from reaching the level of its prototype.

Bilhaṇa

The *Vikramāṅkadevacarita* of Bilhaṇa is a *mahākāvya* which takes high rank and only just falls short of being classed among the best poems in Sanskrit. Written fairly early in the reign of Vikramāditya VI by his Kashmirian *vidyāpati*, this poem, composed in eighteen cantos, purports to narrate the life-story of the Chāḷukya emperor whose name it bears. The poet was an old man by the time he became a member of the court of Vikramāditya, and he devotes the last canto of his poem to a narration of the main stages in his own journey through life, a feature which his work shares with other

¹ JBBRAS (1928), p. 140.

³ JBBRAS (1928), p. 141.

² ZDMG, lxviii, 698.

⁴ Ibid., p. 141.

caritas of a quasi-historical nature. Bilhaṇa's love of his native land of Kashmir and the pride that he took in the achievements of its sovereigns in his time are evident from the sixty-odd verses which he devotes to a description of both before he embarks on the narration of his own life-story.

Bilhaṇa came of a family of learned Brahmins from Madhyadeśa who had been invited to Kashmir by Gopāditya. Like his brothers, he was well versed in the *Veda* and *Śāstras*, and beside this he was a poet whose fame was soon established in many countries which he visited for pleasure and to take part in disputations. Mathurā and its precincts, Kānyakubja (Kanauj), Prayāga (Allahabad), Benares, Dāhala, Ayodhyā, Dhārā, Somanātha, are particularly mentioned among the places which he visited; after passing through some unnamed countries in the south, Bilhaṇa finally found himself established in a good position as the chief pandit of Vikramāditya's court in Kalyāṇī towards the evening of his life. A blue parasol and a *masth* elephant were now the emblems of his office. The grateful poet composed his poem as a mark of his affection for the ruler of Kārṇāṭaka. Bühler has calculated that Bilhaṇa left his home country between A.D. 1062 and 1065 and that he wrote his *Vikramāṅkadevacarita* about 1085. That Bilhaṇa wrote many other works is clear from the numerous citations from them which have survived in anthologies and other places; but there is no proof that the *Panchāśikā*, a moving though somewhat outspoken portrayal of the pleasures of illicit love, can properly be attributed to him. His diction is good, and his fluent and easy style offers a good example of the Vaidarbhī form of writing of which Kālidāsa was the greatest exponent.

Vijñāneśvara

The great jurist Vijñāneśvara also adorned the court of Vikramāditya, and wrote his famous *Mitāksharā* on Yājñavalkya's *smṛiti*; this is by no means a mere commentary on the text, but a more or less independent treatise which discusses the rival views of almost all important *smṛiti*-writers and reaches conclusions of its own on every topic. It is the precursor of the later *nibandhas* and much superior to them in the erudition, sanity of judgement, and compactness of expression that mark every line of the work, and it is not without reason that it is still the leading source-work on Hindu Law accepted in many parts of India. Another commentary, even more extensive in its scope, but by no means so influential as the *Mitāksharā*, was written on the same *smṛiti* by Aparārka, a Śilāhāra prince of Konkan (A.D. 1115-30). He was also a logician and wrote a commentary called *Nyāyamuktāvali* on the *Nyāyasāra* of Bhāsarvajña.

Mānasollāsa

Lastly, the *Mānasollāsa*, also called *Abhilashitārthacintāmaṇi*, purports to have been composed by Bhūlokamalla Someśvara III for the benefit of all

classes in the state. As Someśvara is himself held up in the body of the work¹ as the ideal to be followed by kings, the suggestion has been made that the real author of the work must have been some court-poet rather than the king himself; but we can hardly be sure that the standards of taste and propriety in such matters in the medieval Deccan were the same as ours. A verse in the second chapter of the work² mentions the Śaka year 1051, A.D. 1129-30, as ending, and this gives us a fairly exact idea regarding the date of the composition of the work.

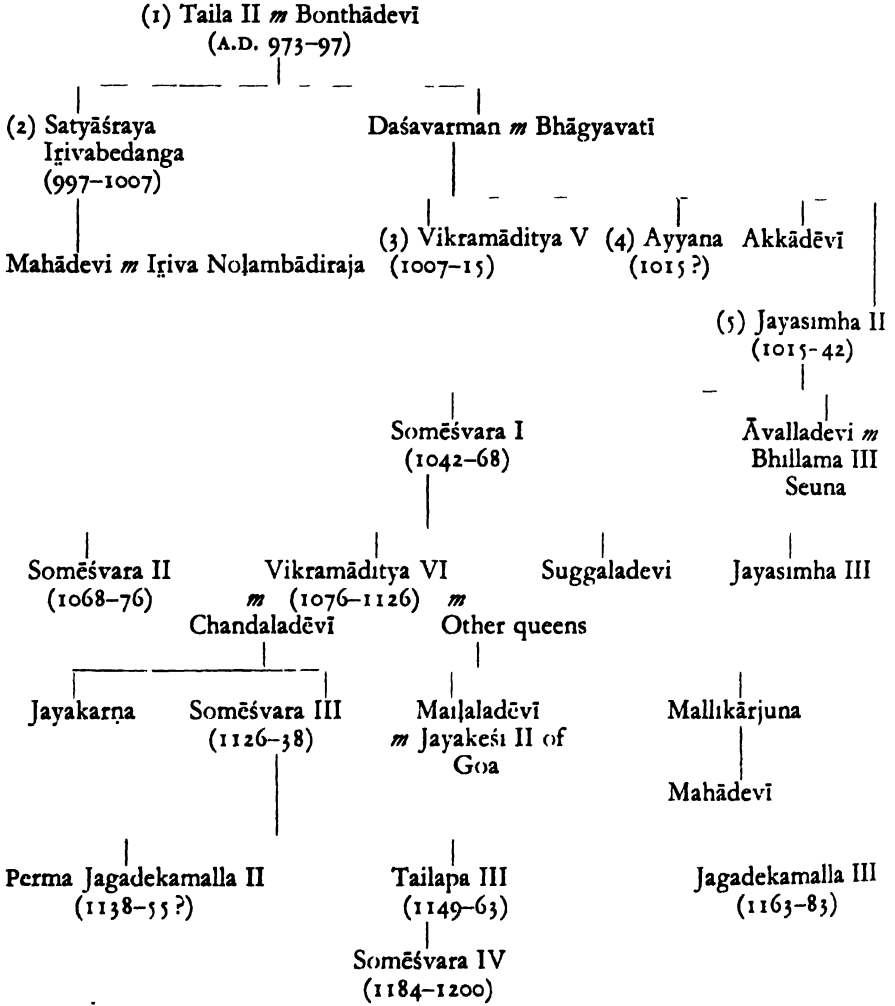
The work comprises 100 chapters grouped into five books of twenty each: the first book deals with the factors involved in the attainment of the kingdom by the king, the second with those making for stability after attainment, the third describes the pleasures of royalty; the last two books are devoted to the games and amusements suitable for the recreation of the monarch during his leisure hours. The work is encyclopaedic in its range and lays under contribution many older treatises on the technical subjects touched upon, such as medicine, magic, veterinary science, the valuation of jewels, pearls, &c., the construction of fortifications, and so on. No great merit is visible in the choice of topics or the sequence in which they are treated, and their handling is by no means original or stimulating. Its primary value lies in the glimpse it gives into the intellectual equipment and personal tastes of a ruling king and in the data on technical matters it preserves from earlier works which are no longer available to us.

¹ i, 6 & colophons.

² No. 62.

APPENDIX A

GENEALOGY OF THE CHAŁUKYAS OF KALYANI



APPENDIX B

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APPENDIX C

THE KALACHURIS OF KALYĀṆĪ

SOME account of the usurpation by the Kalachuris of the Chālukya throne of Kalyāṇī and of the rise of the Lingāyat form of Śaivism during the period of their rule has been given in the section on the Chālukyas of Kalyāṇī, in particular in that part dealing with the reigns of Taila III and Somēśvara IV. This Appendix is devoted to a more detailed study of these events.

The name of the dynasty is written in many ways in inscriptions spread over a vast area and covering several centuries. While Kalachuri is the most usual style, and that most familiar to modern historians, Kaṭachuri, Kalatsuri, Kalachuṭi, Kālachchuri, Kalachurya, Kalichuri, and other forms are known as variants. In later times the family claimed descent from the Purāṇic King Kārtavīrya Arjuna, the Haihaya King of Māhiṣmatī, and called themselves Haihayas as well as Kalachuris. The name Kalachuri does not appear to be Sanskritic, and has indeed been connected with the Turkish word Kuluchur, indicating an office of high rank.¹ This, if correct, would point to a foreign origin for the dynasty, and they may well have entered India with the Hūnas and Gurjaras. We first hear of them in Gujarāt in the latter half of the sixth century A.D. Three kings, Kṛishṇarāja, his son Śaṅkaragaṇa, and the latter's son Buddharāja, are named in copper-plate grants; the last came into conflict with the early Chālukya ruler Mangaleśa of Bādāmi. Another Bādāmi Chālukya ruler, Vinayāditya (A.D. 681-96), asserts that he defeated the Haihayas; we know that his grandson Vikramāditya II married two Haihaya princesses. These Haihayas, however, seem to have ruled in the well-known Chedi kingdom of Dāhala in Central India, a state which included the district of Jubbulpore in the upper Narmadā valley and the now extinct states of Maihar and Nagode, with parts of Rewa and Panna, and had for its capital Tripurī (the modern Tewar in the Jubbulpore District). They ruled there for several centuries and their alternate alliances and conflicts with the Rāshtrakūṭas and the Eastern Chālukyas have been mentioned elsewhere in this book.

The Kalachuris of Kalyāṇī were obviously scions of the same family or clan, but the exact lines of connexion are no longer traceable. The Kalyāṇī branch developed its own traditions, and these are found embodied in a Kannaḍa inscription found at Harihar.² The founder of the family is said to have been a certain Kṛishṇa, an incarnation born of a Brāhmin girl who conceived by Śiva in a dream. Passing himself off as a barber, he contrived to kill at Kālāñjara an evil-minded king who practised cannibalism, and to take possession of the nine-lakh Dāhala country. He thus became an ornament of the 'Kalachuri' family, *kaḷa* (*kaḷi*) meaning 'to kill' and *churi* (*surige*) meaning 'a razor' in Kannaḍa, as Fleet pointed out³—one of the many obvious instances of euhemerism in Indian legends. Many kings of his line followed one another on the throne; finally arose Kannama-Deva who had two sons, Bijjaḷa, the elder, who succeeded him in the sovereignty, and Sandarāja, to whom were born four sons: Ammugi, Śaṅkhavarman, Kannara, and Jogama; of these Ammugi ruled

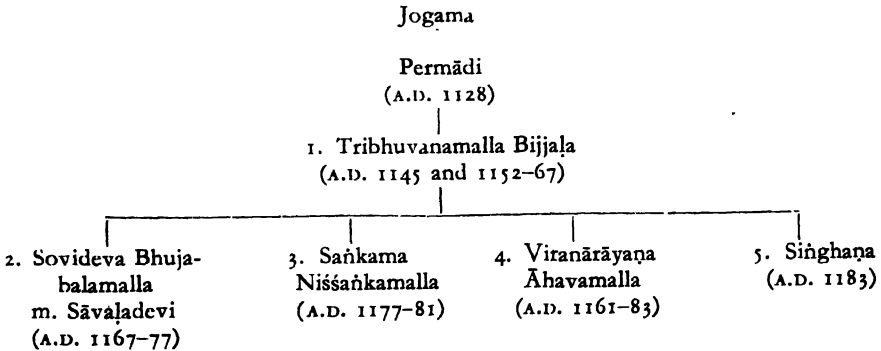
¹ *Proceedings, Indian History Congress*, 1943, p. 44.

² *EC*, xi, Dg. 42.

³ *DKD*, 468, n. 2.

first and was followed by Jogama. To Jogama's son Permādi was born BijjaĻa, the reigning king at the time when the record was drawn up. There are other accounts, equally fictitious and with names differing from those given above, of the early kings; these are found in the inscriptions of BijjaĻa's sons, and need not be reproduced here. But it is worth noting that some of these later accounts are simpler and closer to the facts than those earlier in actual date. Thus, as Fleet points out,¹ two grants of Sovideva and Siṅghaṇa dated respectively A.D. 1174 and 1183 simply state that Jogama was the son of a certain Kṛishṇa of the Kalachuri family, and say nothing at all about any antecedents; while an inscription of BijjaĻa's second son, Saṅkama, dated in A.D. 1178 at Kukkanur in the Hyderabad State, merely says that in the lineage of the Kalachuris, who were believed to be descended from the God Īśvara (Śiva), there was a 'certain king Kannama. His sons were BijjaĻa and Rājala. And the son of Rājala was the Jogama of the other accounts.'

The first names that occur in all the accounts alike, and can thus be considered authentic, are those of Jogama and his descendants of the Kalyāṇi branch, and may be set forth as follows:



The banner of the Kalachuris was a golden bull (*śvarṇavarīṣabha-dhvaja*), and they were heralded in public by the sounding of the *ḍamaruka* or double-drum of the shape of an hour-glass. Their crest is not particularized in any of our sources. They are generally styled *Kālaṅjara-purwarādhīśvara*. Kālaṅjara, the scene of the legendary achievement of the barber-founder of the line, is a well-known hill-fort in the Banda District (Uttar Pradesh) in Bundelkhand, the heart of the ancient Kalachuri territory proper. The Kalachuris of Dāhala regularly used the mysterious Traikūṭaka era beginning in A.D. 248-9, and the era is on that account often called the Kalachuri or Chedi era, Chedi being another name for the Dāhala country.

Of Jogama we have no historical details. Permādi, also called Hemmādiyarasa and Paramardi, is found ruling as a feudatory of Chālukya Somēśvara III in Tardavādināḍu in the Bijapur District in 1128.²

Permādi's son was BijjaĻa, whose correct name appears to have been Vijayāditya,³ as would appear from a record of A.D. 1149. It occurs also as Bijja, Bijjaṇa, Vijjala, and Vijjaṇa. In the course of his ambitious and eventful career he assumed the

¹ DKD, 468-9.

² LA, xii, p. 12, no. 57; BK, 8 of 1930-1; also 95 of 1936-7.

MAR, 79 of 1928.

biruda of Tribhuvanamalla and the titles *Bhujabalachakravartin*, 'the emperor of the strong arm', and *Kalachurya-chakravartin*, 'the Kalachurya emperor', which were sometimes combined into *Kalachurya-bhujabala-chakravartin*. Among his other designations may be noted *Śanivāra-siddhi* and *Giridurga-malla*, apparently adopted from the Hoysalas, and *Niṣṣaṅkamalla*.¹ As Bijjala ended his career by usurping the sovereignty of the Chālukyas, it will be interesting to trace the successive steps by which he reached this final goal of his ambition.

'The earliest reliable mention that we have of Bijjala', said Fleet,² 'is in an inscription at Harihar in Mysore: the photograph does not show the date; but the record itself is of the time of the Western Chālukya king Jagadekamalla II, and therefore belongs to the period A.D. 1138-9 to 1149; and it may be placed approximately in A.D. 1145. This record does not expressly state that Bijjala—to whom no titles of any kind, subordinate or otherwise, are allotted in it—was a feudatory of Jagadekamalla II; it simply says that, in the time of that king, there was Bijjala, whose servant Vijaya-Pāṇḍya was ruling the Nolambavādi thirty-two thousand.' Inscriptions of Jagadekamalla's reign dated in A.D. 1147 mention two generals Barmadaṇḍādhipa and Keśirāja-daṇḍanātha, whom we find again under Bijjala in charge of important offices.³ The fact that in this early inscription Bijjala is not clearly described as a feudatory of the Chālukya ruler deserves to be noticed as evidence suggesting at least that even at this early date he was contemplating plans for his eventual usurpation. But the date is not beyond doubt, and there is the possibility that Jagadekamalla, like Jayasimha and Jagadekamalla in another record of 1149 noted above, is a mere symbol for the Chālukyas.

In some early inscriptions of the reign of Taila III the same doubtful formula 'in the time of Taila III there was Bijjala' is also followed. For the first time in an inscription of the third year of Taila III (A.D. 1151) from Bijapur there is a formal preamble which expressly refers to the paramountcy of Taila, then reigning at Kalyāṇi;⁴ Bijjala is here shown as a *mahāmaṇḍaleśvara* under the Chālukya emperor. But he is already styled Bijjala-kṣaṇipāla and credited with successful campaigns against Mālava, Lāla, Nepāla, and Ghurjara; whether this is an historical or merely a rhetorical statement is not easy to decide. Bijjala here has also under him the celebrated general Mailāra who was then Governor, assisted by other officers of the Tarddavādi thousand (*karaṇas*) in the heart of the Chālukya empire.

The feudatory position of Bijjala indicated by the designation *mahāmaṇḍaleśvara* is mentioned in records as late as A.D. 1156-7,⁵ but this fact does not preclude his being described also as the ruler of 'all the provinces'—*sakala deśaṅgaḷam āluttu mire*.⁶ There is in addition another inscription in which only the contemporaneity of the two rulers is noted with no indication of their political relationship.⁷ But the trend of Bijjala's activities is clearly seen from two facts. The inscription from Baḷagamve just cited, which describes him as ruling all the provinces, also records that his *daṇḍanāyaka* Mahādevaṛasa had charge of the Banavase province together

¹ EC, viii, Sk. 123.

² Ante—under Jagadekamalla II.

³ BK, 124 of 1933-4; INKK, 10; also BK, 10 of 1935-6 n.d.

⁴ BK, 130 of 1933-4.

⁵ EC, vii, Sk. 104, 108—*mahāmaṇḍaleśvara* in both; 'ruling all the provinces' in 104; Fleet dates it in December 1155, DKD, 473. But his statement that this is 'the latest record which expressly admits Taila III as the paramount sovereign of Bijjala' (ibid. 473-4) is no longer true at the present time.

⁶ EC, viii, Sb. 277, 328, &c.

⁷ DKD, 471-2.

with some others who are described as the mind of BijjaĀ incarnate—*antahkaraṇa-rūpa*. Is it too far-fetched to see here some indication of widespread secret designs entertained by BijjaĀ against his suzerain—designs which involved the co-operation of many assistants in different parts of the Chālukya empire, as it still was? And again, shortly after the date of the Balagamve inscription, 'BijjaĀ introduced a reckoning of his own of which the first year was the Dhātu Samvat-sara, Śaka Samvat 1079 current—A.D. 1156–7—and assumed the *biruda* of Tribhuva-namalla and the designations of *Bhujabala-Chakravartin* and *Kalachurya-Chakravartin*'; the *mahāmāṇḍaleśvara* title is sometimes retained, but the other designations are set forth in a formal preamble of the style customarily employed only in the case of paramount sovereigns.¹ It is clear therefore that BijjaĀ threw off the yoke of subordination to Taila III in 1156 and set himself up on equal terms with the latter in at least a part of his dominions. An inscription at Hāvēri, although dated as early as the eighth year of Taila III (Dec. 1157), gives BijjaĀ the full imperial titles, describing him as Mahārājādhirāja Bhujabala Chakravartin Kalachurya BijjaĀdeva.² About the same time an inscription from Annigere is dated in the second year of BijjaĀ without any mention of Taila III.³ The completion of the process of usurpation is seen from inscriptions which give to BijjaĀ all the imperial titles employed by any of the Chālukya emperors and proclaim him as ruling from Kalyāṇī; these titles include *Samastabhuvanāśraya*, *Śrīprthivīvalabha*, *Mahārājādhirāja*, *Parameśvara*, and *Parama-bhaṭṭāraka*. Among the earliest of such records must be counted one⁴ dated in his seventh year (Chitrabhānu) on a day corresponding to 16 May 1162.

The exact steps by which BijjaĀ built up this imperial position for himself, and finally for a time displaced the Chālukyas of Kalyāṇī, are not now traceable. The stray hints gained from the inscriptions suggest that he made as much use of diplomacy as of force in the process of his advancement. He seems to have succeeded in detaching several feudatories from their allegiance to the suzerain and to have persuaded them to co-operate with him in his plans. He must have been himself a good soldier and a statesman who inspired confidence in his followers. Inscriptions of BijjaĀ dated in 1162 mention the expedition of his forces against Tāgarte and the encampment of BijjaĀ himself at Balligave when he marched out on his campaign for the subjugation of the south.⁵ Another inscription dated the very next year states that BijjaĀ had extended his sway to the shore of the ocean (*ambudhi-sīme-varam*),⁶ and yet another record from about the same time or even earlier tells us that he subdued the country from the ocean in the south to the Chālukya capital in the north—*tenikabdhīye badage-sīme Chālukya kṛṣṭakav ene*.⁷ An inscription of A.D. 1163 from Kadlevād in the Bijapur District gives him the title, among others, of *Tribhuvanamalla-nijabhūja-vīra-malladeva*;⁸ this title expatiates on the strength of BijjaĀ's own arm which made him the unrivalled wrestler of the

¹ The inscr. of 1149 (79 of 1928 MAR) also gives the *Mahārājādhirāja* title besides the name Vijayāditya; was this a case of late engraving of an early transaction?

² BK, 103 of 1932–3.

³ 201 of 1928–9; DKD, 474.

⁴ 14 of 1937–8; for others see DKD, 474–5.

⁵ EC, vii, Sk. 56, 102.

⁷ *Ibid.*, Sk. 123; Rice, *Mysore and Coorg*, 81.

⁸ BK, 33 of 1936–7.

⁶ *Ibid.*, Sk. 242; also xi, Dg. 35.

three worlds. Similarly, another inscription from Muttage (A.D. 1170)¹ informs us that all the kings of the Kalachuri line were famous emperors; but some, lacking ability, were reduced to the status of *maṇḍalīkas*; being a strong man Bijjala considered the status of *maṇḍalīka* as quite below his rightful position and raised himself, by the power of his army, to that of universal emperor.

The names of the allies who aided Bijjala in his enterprise occur in inscriptions of various dates. Thus the Śilāhāras are particularly praised at the end of one inscription engraved by command of Bijjala himself,² while a Śilāhāra copper-plate grant of A.D. 1191 affirms that it was through the friendship of Vijayāditya of that family that Bijjala reached the emperor's throne.³ Another general, Recha-daṇḍādhipa, a Jaina by faith, is praised highly for having gained the imperial crown for Bijjala.⁴ The same record states that the *Rājya-lakṣmī* of the Chālukyas determined to assist King Bijjala, the *tilaka* of the Kalachuris, with her aid and companionship; it also contains an exaggerated eulogium of Bijjala's position, saying that the king of Simhala carried his tray, the Nepāla king was his perfumer, Kerala was his betel-bearer, Gurjara was his artificer, Turuṣka was his groom, Lāla was his valet, Pāṇḍya was his crutch, and Kalinga was the attendant on his elephant. It is true that just such laudatory exaggerations occur in many other inscriptions, even those of Bijjala's successors, and so perhaps no special emphasis need be laid on their presence here. We have already mentioned the two generals Barmma and Keśirāja, who rose into prominence under Jagadekamalla but transferred their loyalty to Bijjala. Keśirāja or Keśava-deva was Governor of the Banavase region under Bijjala and also under his son Āhavamalla.⁵ The inscriptions of Bijjala's reign make it clear that he became the ruler of a considerable part of the Chālukya empire and won over to his side the majority of its feudatory chieftains. Among his subordinate rulers figure Soma or Somideva of the Kadamba family of Hangal, Vijayāditya of the Śilāhāra family of Karād, Kārtavīrya of the Raṭṭa family of Saundatti, Īśvara of the Sinda family with the hereditary title of 'lord of Karahātaka the best of towns', Kaliyammaraśa of the Jīmūtavāhana lineage and Khacara race, and others.⁶

Bijjala is said in several inscriptions of the time to have ruled from Mangalivedha,⁷ as well as from Kalyāṇī; the former is a place 12 miles from Pandarpur, and not the same as Kalyāṇī as has been sometimes suggested. Mangalivedha is mentioned even more often in the records of Bijjala's successors,⁸ together with other *nelivāḍas* such as Modiganur,⁹ Seleyahalli,¹⁰ and so on. It is not easy to decide whether or not this reference to several capitals is an indication of the unsettled state of the country necessitating much movement on the part of its ruler and continual shifting of the centre of administration. In any event the Chālukyas were by no means completely extinguished; not only were they able to regain their power some time after the death of Bijjala, when all his sons had in turn proved their incapacity to make use of their opportunities, but even in Bijjala's own time they

¹ 101 of 1929-30; INKK, 31, v. 27.

² BK, 101 of 1929-30; INKK, 33, l. 46.

³ DKD, 475 and 548.

⁴ EC, vii, Sk. 123.

⁵ BK, 68 of 1937-8; 110 of 1940-1, &c.

⁶ BK, 184 of 1933-4; 101 of 1929-30.

¹⁰ BK, 42 of 1936-7.

⁴ EC, vii, Sk. 197.

⁶ DKD, 475-6.

⁸ BK, 37 of 1936-7.

continued to retain their hold on parts of their former extensive empire. Thus in the decade A.D. 1160-70 Mallideva Chola Mahārāja is seen ruling in the region of the Madaksira *tāluk* of the Anantapur District as feudatory to the Chālukya Tailapa III, and when for a time he changes his allegiance it is not to the Kalachuris but to the Chola Kulottunga III that he turns.¹ On the other hand, Vīra Pāṇḍya of Uccangi is clearly seen to have definitely transferred his loyalty from the Chālukya to the Kalachuri in the same period.² There is evidence of much fighting and many petty local raids and disturbances; the maintenance of law and order was evidently by no means easy, and there seems to have been a great deal of unauthorized warfare in the outlying districts. Exact details are not forthcoming in most instances, and it is neither possible nor necessary to bring in review all these disorders, though mention may be made of a few outstanding cases. A battle at Kuppatūr,³ battles at Gutti, i.e. Chandragutti, in Banavase, an investment of that place lasting for many years (1158-64),⁴ and a siege of Ginnalagundi in 1166 marking a failure of the Kalachuri forces against a Hoysala *maṇḍalika*,⁵ are the most conspicuous examples of conflict at this time of which we have knowledge.

The period of Bijjaḷa's rule was remarkable for the revival of Śaivism in the form of Vīra-Śaivism or Lingāyatism. Of this revival Fleet writes:⁶ 'The new sect of Śivabhaktas or worshippers of Śiva (were) technically called Vīra-Śaivas, i.e. "brave, fierce or strict Śaivas" or "Śaiva champions", and popularly Lingāyats or Lingawants, i.e. "those who have the *linga* or phallic emblem". The Lingāyats—using the appellation by which all average members of the sect would describe themselves—are outwardly distinguished from ordinary Śaivas by their practice of carrying about with them a miniature *linga*, usually in a silver box suspended from the neck and hanging about the waist. And the chief characteristics of their faith and practices are adoration of the *linga* and of Śiva's bull, Nandi, hostility to Brāhmins, disbelief in the transmigration of the soul, contempt for child-marriage, and approval and habitual practice of the re-marriage of widows.' Some modern students would deny the phallic association of the *linga* and identify it as the symbol of the Supreme Reality as a means to God-realization.⁷ They also contend that some of the ideas underlying Vīraśaivism are as old as the Upanishads and the Rīgveda, and argue that this religious school antedates by far the time of Bijjaḷa and his contemporary reformer Basava.⁸ We cannot stop to examine such views in detail, but must pass them by with the observation that the evidence relied on does not seem to support the conclusions drawn. It is not strictly true to say that 'disbelief in the transmigration of the soul' is a characteristic of the Lingāyat creed; but the Lingāyats do have a firm faith that everyone who takes the *dīkṣhā* (initiation) into their faith in its proper form attains *mukti* (salvation) and is not reborn. In other words, transmigration of the soul is the normal law of life, but it is broken by a person's acceptance of the Lingāyat creed.

It is indeed exceedingly difficult to discover the true course of events from the

¹ *SII*, ix (i), nos. 268-9; 117 of 1899; *SII*, vi, no. 553.

² *EC*, viii, Sb. 255.

³ *SII*, ix (i), nos. 267 (1160) and 293 (1162).

⁴ *Ibid.* Sb. 416, 568, and 287.

⁶ *DKD*, 477.

⁵ *MAR*, 1928, no. 81.

⁷ *A Handbook of Vīraśaivism* by S. C. Nandimath, ch. vii. The *Linga*.

⁸ *Ibid.*, *passim*.

mass of contradictory legends, the Lingāyat and the Jaina, which in addition to their complexity belong to different dates, the Jaina accounts being generally later. Fleet's account of the matter still holds good except for some corrections suggested by recent research. It runs in this way. Basava was born of pious Brāhman Śaiva parents, Mādirāja and Mādālāmbikā, of Bagevādi (in the Bijapur District). He is believed to have been an incarnation of Śiva's bull Nandi sent down to earth to revive the cult of Śaivism which was just then on the decline. He acquired much knowledge of Śaiva lore even before he was eight years of age, and he refused to be invested with the sacred Brāhmanical thread (*upanayana*); he declared himself a special worshipper of Śiva come to destroy the distinctions of caste. His acts and character attracted the attention of Baladeva, uncle of the boy and prime minister of Bijjala. Baladeva made Basava his son-in-law by giving him his daughter Gangādevi or Gangāmbā in marriage. But the Brāhmins were disturbed by his novel doctrines and began to persecute him. He fled to a village called Kappaḍi, where he received instruction from the god Saṅgameśvara himself. When Baladeva died, Bijjala conferred the office of the minister on Basava, whose ability and virtues had become well known. Basava accepted the appointment, after some demur, in the hope of being better able to propagate his tenets from such a position of authority. Accompanied by his elder sister Nāgalāmbika he proceeded from Kappaḍi to Kalyāṇī, where he was welcomed with respect and deference by the king, and was installed as prime minister, commander-in-chief, and treasurer—second in power only to the ruler himself; while the monarch, in order to bind his new minister as closely as possible to his person, gave him his younger sister Nilalocanā to wife. About the same time there was born one Canna-Basava, so called because he was more beautiful than Basava; he was an incarnation of Śiva's son Śanmukha or Kārttikeya and of the intelligence of the goddess Pārvatī, horn of the unmarried elder sister of Basava, Nāgalāmbikā, by the working of the spirit of Śiva. Canna-Basava, says Fleet, 'perhaps played a more important part than even Basava himself in the propagation of the tenets of the new sect; for Basava is represented as receiving from him instruction on important points connected with it'.

Thus supported by his abler nephew, Basava used his official position to initiate vigorous propaganda in favour of the rejuvenated faith which he had espoused, and his efforts in this direction issued in the persecution and sometimes extermination of various other religious sects, including that of Jainism. These proceedings roused the suspicion and mistrust of Bijjala, who is often represented as having been himself a Jain, and there were besides rival ministers like Mañcaṇṇa who fanned into flame the embers of the king's uneasiness. The crisis came when Bijjala caused two pious Lingāyats, Halleyaga and Madhuvayya, to be blinded; Basava then fled to Kūḍali-Saṅgama and deputed one of his followers, Jagaddeva, to slay the king, which he did in open court with the aid of two of his friends. Civil war ensued. Basava was absorbed into the deity of Kūḍal Saṅgama, and Canna-Basava fled to Uḷavi in North Kanara, where he found refuge in a cave. Such, in the main, is the account given in the *Basava-purāṇa*.

The *Cannabasava-purāṇa* gives a slightly different account, coupled with the impossible date Śaka-Samvat 707 (A.D. 785), for the absorption of Basava into Saṅgameśvara; it also says that Canna-Basava succeeded Basava in the office of minister and defeated Bijjala in battle after civil war had broken out, but on the

advice of his mother restored Bijjala's army to life and returned the kingdom to him along with much good advice.

The Jaina account found in the relatively late *Bijjalārayacaritra* is very different. Here Basava's influence on Bijjala is attributed to the fact that he had a very beautiful sister whom the king took as a concubine. Bijjala died from smelling a poisoned fruit presented to him by a Jangama (Lingāyat monk) disguised as a Jain, but before he died he had told his son Immaḍi Bijjala that it was Basava who had sent the fruit, and had enjoined him to put the minister to death. Immaḍi Bijjala accordingly ordered the execution of Basava and the destruction of all the Jangams. Basava on hearing of this threw himself into a well and died, while his wife Nilāmbā poisoned herself. 'Canna-Basava, however, after Immaḍi Bijjala's anger had subsided, presented his uncle's treasure to the king, and was readmitted to favour and to a ministerial office at the court.'

These contradictory legends easily lend themselves to criticism, and in fact Fleet was inclined to reject everything in them except the mere names of Basava and Canna-Basava.¹ He held that the real restorer of Śaivism was Ēkāntada Rāmayya, whose no less miraculous story is narrated in the Ablur inscriptions of a somewhat later date, which we shall presently consider in some detail. He carried his distrust of the Purāṇas so far as to say that the real parents of Basava were not Mādirāja and Mādālāmbikā, as stated in the Purāṇas, but Candirāja of the Kaśyapa Gotra and Candrāmbikā, and that Mādirāja of the Hārīta Gotra had really nothing to do with Basava.² But obviously this is a misinterpretation of the Managoli inscription of A.D. 1161 which gives the names of both Mādirāja and Basava, calling the former Māṇikyavallīpara-prabhu, counting him as among the 500 *mahājanas* of the place, and ascribing to the latter the construction of a temple of Kālīdevēśvara in the township.³ That this Basava was not actually himself the great reformer, as Fleet thought, has now become clear from the genealogy contained in the Arjunawada inscription of Yādava Kannara (A.D. 1260), which clearly mentions Basava or Sangana-Basava as the younger son of Mādirāja described as *Tardavāḍi-ma-dhyagrāma-Bāgavāḍi-pravarādhīśvara*.⁴ It is probable that Mādirāja, the Māṇikyavallīpara-prabhu of the Managoli record, is the same as the Bāgavāḍi-pravarādhīśvara of the Yādava record; and it is certain that the Basavas of the two records are two different persons, and that Fleet was mistaken in identifying the Basava of the Managoli record with the celebrated reformer. The name of the reformer Basava's father is epigraphically confirmed, but not yet that of his mother, Mādālāmbikā of the Purāṇas.

Fleet held that 'the real person to whom the movement was due and the way in which he started it' is revealed by inscriptions at Ablur,⁵ and it has accordingly been often stated that Ēkāntada Rāmayya was the real originator of the Lingāyat movement and that Basava gave it political aid at a relatively later stage. When once the undue distrust of the Purāṇas has been shed and their story has been accepted as true in the main, it becomes clear that Rāmayya was no more than an energetic and earnest follower of Basava's new creed, which he was prepared to defend with his life as necessary, and this is in fact what the *Basavapurāṇa* implies by saying

¹ DKD, 481, 484; EI, v, 244-5.

² Ibid., 10.

³ EI, v, 243.

² EI, v, 242.

⁴ EI, xxi, 12 (l. 8) and 16.

that Rāmayya heard of Basava's fame and went to Kalyāṇī to meet him.¹ The Ablur inscription E on Rāmayya is dated about A.D. 1200 and describes a great number of supernatural occurrences; there is no reason to prefer its account as more trustworthy than that of the Purāṇas on Basava and Canna-Basava. Briefly the story of Rāmayya is this. He was born of a Śaiva Brāhman family at Alande in the Kuntala country, and by the intensity and exclusiveness of his worship of Śiva acquired the name Ēkāntada (single-minded) Rāmayya. At Ablur he was involved in a controversy with the Jains led by the village headman Śaṅka-gauṇḍa; he cut off his own head and laid it at the feet of the image of Śiva, which had been brought out of the temple for the purpose of the ordeal; after seven days it was restored to him by his gods, safe and sound, without a scar. But the Jains refused to fulfil their part of the agreement; for they had promised to destroy their Jina and set up Śiva in his place if Rāmayya should prevail in the contest. Rāmayya thereupon laid waste the Jaina shrine in face of much opposition, and erected a temple 'as large as a mountain' dedicated to Vīra-Somanātha. The Jains complained to Bijjala, in whose presence Rāmayya repeated his challenge and offered to cut off his head again if the Jains would wager their eight hundred temples including the Ānesejjeya-basadi at Lakṣmeśvar. Bijjala considered this a fair offer, but the Jains were not willing. 'So Bijjala, laughing at them, dismissed them with the advice that thenceforth they should live peaceably with their neighbours, and bestowed on Ēkāntada Rāmayya, in the public assembly, a *jayapatra* or certificate of success.' He also granted a village to the new temple of Vīra-Somanātha, and other gifts followed from the Chālukya Vīra-Sameśvara IV and Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara Kāmadeva of Hangal.²

What was Bijjala's attitude to the new movement? What were his own convictions? Both the Vīra Śaiva and Jaina literary sources say that Bijjala was a Jain, though the Telugu *Basavapurāṇamu* calls him a worshipper of Pāṇḍuranga.³ There is no clear proof, however, that Bijjala was really a Jain. His family was of Śaiva origin, and the Kalachuri insignia which were strongly Śaiva are not known to have been changed in any way during his reign. His inscriptions and those of his successors generally begin with an invocation of Śiva, Harihara, and so on, and many Śiva and Viṣṇu temples all over the country are known to have been repaired or richly endowed during his occupation by himself and his feudatories and officials. The truth seems to be that Bijjala was a Śaiva of the orthodox traditional type who has been stigmatized as a Jain in the Vīra Śaiva sources because he was a heretic from their point of view and was therefore represented by them as having been a member of the Jain faction who were their chief antagonists. The strictly impartial attitude attributed to Bijjala in the final stages of the controversy between Ēkāntada Rāmayya and the Jains would seem to give support to this view. As for the Jains, they usually tend to describe all important persons as adherents of their own faith, and naturally not much value can attach to such biased testimony.

To sum up our conclusions regarding the Lingāyat movement, we may say that this was originated by Basava himself and that its attack on caste involved a social revolution which shocked society. Ēkāntada Rāmayya was one of the earliest and most ardent followers of Basava and became involved in violent controversies with the Jains. This and the fact that Basava apparently used his political position as

¹ Thesis, p. 45.

² *FI*, v, 244.

³ Thesis, p. 46.

chief minister in the state to propagate his new ideology made it obligatory for Bijjala to hold the scales evenly between the contending parties. This attitude probably cost him his life as a victim of assassins who conspired to murder him. The stories regarding his persecution of the followers of the new faith must be received with caution. There can be little doubt that in the Kārṇāṭaka territory Jainism came off worst as a result of its struggle with the new Śaiva revival during this period.

The last inscriptions of Bijjala belonging to his twelfth regnal year bear dates in A.D. 1167 or early 1168.¹ Fleet placed Bijjala's abdication in favour of his son Sovideva about this time on the strength of an inscription of Ś. 1091 (Sarvadhāri, Vaiśākha, probably 24 April, A.D. 1168) saying that 'while still happily reigning over the whole earth with undivided lordship and with the single umbrella of sole sovereignty, Bijjala transferred the burden of government to his dear or favourite son Sovideva'. Other inscriptions show that the Sarvajit *samvatsara* was reckoned as the first year of Sovideva.²

Bijjala had also three other sons who ruled one after the other in succession to Sovideva. 'Inscriptions of A.D. 1179 and 1180 at Ron and Sudi in the Dharwar District', says Fleet, 'tell us that by a wife named Echaladevi—who was probably not the mother of Sovideva and others of that group—he had a son Vajradeva, and also a daughter, Siriyādevi, who was married to the Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara Chāvuṇḍa II of the Sinda family of Yelubarga'.³

Sovideva (Somēśvara was his real name) ruled for ten years (1167–77) bearing full imperial titles. His distinctive *biruda* was Rāya-Murāri, 'a very Viṣṇu among Kings'. His inscriptions are numerous, but afford little new historical information. One of them, dated A.D. 1176, from Kurugodu (in the Bellary *tāluk*),⁴ showing a feudatory called Rācamalla then in possession of the fortress, may be evidence of some fresh acquisition in that direction. A record of 1171 states that Sovi-Deva, the Kadamba Governor of Banavase in that year, had thrown the Cāṅgāḷva king into chains as he had vowed to do; another dated two years later shows how the dispatch of a military force was necessary in order to collect the land rent.⁵ Inscriptions furnish evidence of the continuance of disturbed local conditions resulting in many breaches of the peace and occasional fighting. One of the queens of Rāyamurāri Sovideva was Sāvaladevi, who is described as dearer to the king than his own life, and who was not only highly skilled in music and dancing but used to display these accomplishments in public.⁶ She had a brother Bhairava expert in conducting orchestras and playing on the brahmaviṇā, and a sister Vācaladevi equally proficient in *gīta* (song) and *nṛtya* (dance).

Sovideva was succeeded by his younger brother Saṅkama, known as Niśsaṅkamalla, 'the wrestler free from apprehension'. He may have been associated with Sovideva on the throne from 1176 onwards, but his reign actually bears dates

¹ BK, 58 of 1934–5.

² DKD, 476–7. Rice says: 'Certain inscriptions (Hl. 50, Sk. 197, 119) introduce Bijjala's younger brother Mailugi-Deva and his son Kali-Deva or Kandara, and a Mailugi-Deva, younger brother (probably cousin) of Rāyamurāri Sovi Deva, as if they had sat on the throne. They may perhaps have been associated in the government.' *Mysore and Coorg from the Inscriptions*, 81, n. 2.

³ DKD, 477.

⁴ SII, ix (i), 296.

⁵ EC, viii, Sb. 345, 139; Rice, *Mysore and Coorg*, 81.

⁶ JBBRAS, xviii, 272–81, esp. 275.

between 1177 and 1180. The records give him the same paramount epithets as they do to Sovideva, and one of them is full of conventional laudatory phrases,¹ coupled with the statement that the king visited the temple of Dakshina Kedāreśvara in 1179 in the course of a tour of the south which he made by way of recreation, accompanied by his ministers and generals. Among the feudatories named in the inscriptions attributed to this reign are Daṇḍanāyaka Kāvaṇa or Kāvaṇayya, described as 'the upraiser of the sovereignty of the Kalachuris' and the Hoysala Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara Vīra Ballāla II, who, in A.D. 1179, joined with his *piriya-arasi* (senior wife) Remādevi in making a grant to the god Harihareśvara at Kaulūr in the Hyderabad State.² Kāvaṇayya and Vīra Ballāla are mentioned in many other records, of which two are sufficiently noteworthy for mention: Vīra Ballāla is seen assuming imperial titles and matching his strength in battle with the Kalachuri forces when Saṅkama invaded the country on the West Coast (*kaḍalsime*); whilst Kāvaṇayya is invested with the title *Hoysana-diśāpatta* (displacer of the Hoysana) in a record of 1180;³ however, it becomes evident from inscriptions of a later date in which he acknowledges Saṅkama's suzerainty⁴ that the Hoysala did not in fact come off victor in this encounter. Kāvaṇayya is also said to have uprooted the Velaṇāḍu Cōḍas from their habitations and frightened the Koṅkaṇas (Silāhāras), but no exact details are forthcoming.

Saṅkama was followed, probably in 1182 or the next year, by a younger brother who is known to us only by his *hiruda*, Āhavamalla, and whose records appear from 1180 onwards, thus indicating that his association with the government began at that date. He is also given the title Vīra-Nārāyaṇa, beside the usual imperial titles including Paramabhaṭṭāraka. Fleet suggests that the kingdom was probably divided between the two brothers in 1179-80, Saṅkama retaining the northern and eastern portions, and Āhavamalla becoming ruler of the country more to the south; but there is no clear proof of this. His latest records are dated in A.D. 1183 and a single copper plate⁵ attests the succession of a younger brother Singhana at about the same time. There is little further to record about these brothers except that during their time the Kalachuri power disappears from history and the Chālukyas recovered the unity of their kingdom in the manner already described above in dealing with the reign of Chālukya Someśvara IV.

Administration and social life under the Kalachuris conformed in general to the Chālukya pattern except for the social and religious ferment caused by the Liṅgāyat movement. The impact of this movement combined with the fact that a feudatory dynasty usurped supreme power in the state just about this time seems to have rendered the maintenance of law and order more than usually difficult, and the records of the period give an impression of persistent local disturbances and insecurity, sometimes causing trouble even in the king's own camp during his tours.⁶ But this atmosphere of general insecurity apparently did not prevent the leaders of society from giving expression to their devotion to the arts of peace in a number of striking foundations, religious and secular.⁷ Keśava-Deva, Governor of Banavase under Bijjala in 1159, erected a temple of Keśaveśvara in Balipura

¹ EC, vii, Sk. 96.

² MAR, 1931, no. 2; EC, vii, Hl, 50.

³ DKD, 489, C.-p. 3 of 1933-4, ART.

⁷ The details that follow are from Rice, EC, vii, Intrn. 27-30.

² DKD, 488.

⁴ EC, ii, Sb. 124.

⁶ EC, viii, Sb. 139, and Thesis, p. 55.

(Balagamve); the temple itself seems to have disappeared altogether during the intervening centuries, but the inscription records that timber and stone were transformed in its construction 'as if striving to add to all the variety of manifestations in Brahmā's creation'. The *pura* in front of the temple, filled with commodious houses, having cots in each chamber, containing the softest beds, and all manner of vessels, was bestowed on Brāhmins. These and some further grants were made in the presence of the representatives of the five *maṭhas* and three *puras*. The priests of the five *maṭhas* are named. Reference is also made to Brahmapuris. The superintendence of these and of the new *pura* was vested by Keśimayya in his *ārādhyā*, the *rāja-guru* Vāmaśakti, son of Gautama and an ornament of the Lākulāgama, who was the head of the Dakṣiṇa-Kedāra-sthāna.' Incidentally it is worth noting that here and in the other instances which follow we have much evidence regarding the flourishing state of Śaivism of the non-Lingāyat variety in this period. Keśava (Keśimayya)-daṇḍanāyaka was again Governor of Banavase under Ahavamalla; he ruled his province in great state and magnificence, and on one occasion he summoned his generals, together with the Baṇanju merchants (the Nānādeśis, Manevarata, and Jōrūpa), and 'in their presence he assigned the property of Baṇanjiḡas of Balligāve dying without sons to the god Gavareśvara; that of those who die in the *nagara* to the god Nagareśvara; and in all the five *maṭhas*, the three *puras*, and the seven brahmapuris, in whichever of these unclaimed property may occur, to the god of that quarter'. This 'work of merit' was put in hand by the advice of Svāmideva, a councillor of the Governor and a disciple of Vāmaśakti.

Another inscription of Bijjala's time, dated 1162, mentions a second great minister, Kasapayya-Nāyaka, by whose counsel Bammarasa was appointed ruler of Banavase-nad. Here we obtain a welcome glimpse into the system of administration and the role of the *maṭhas* in higher education. We learn that Bammarasa was controlled by five *karaṇams*, who were royal censors appointed 'to see that the Lakṣmī of Bammarasa's government was free from adultery'—that is, to ensure his loyalty—and these acted as the five senses of King Bijjala, 'unmatched in ministerial skill, bold as fierce lions, able in detecting frauds, superior to all opposition'. Bammarasa and his courtiers together with these *karaṇams* were one day discussing *dharma*, and began to extol the Koḍiya-maṭha, the Dakṣiṇa Kedāra-sthāna. Among other laudatory expressions, it is said to be 'a place for the recital of the four *Vedas* and their *aṅgas*; a place for glosses on Kaumāra, Pāṇinīya, Śākatāyana, Śabdānuśāsana, and other grammars; a place for glosses on the six darśanas including Nyāya, Vaiśeṣika, Mīmāṃsā, Sāṅkhya, and Bauddha; a place for glosses on the Lākula-siddhānta, the Pātanjala and other *Yoga-śāstras*; a place for the study of the eighteen *purāṇas*, the *dharma-śāstras*, all poems, dramas, comedies, and every branch of learning; a place where food was freely distributed to the poor, the destitute, the lame, the blind, the deaf, story-tellers, singers, drummers, flute-players, dancers, eulogists, the naked, the wounded, *kṣapaṇakas*, *ēkadaṇḍi*, *tridaṇḍi*, *paramahamsa* and other mendicants from all countries; a place for the treatment of the diseases of destitute sick persons; a place of security from fear for all living things. Bijjala-Mahārāja having come there at this juncture in the course of his expedition to subdue the south, and being encamped in Balligave, they all repaired to his presence, and by their praises of Dakṣiṇa Kedāra and Vāmaśakti, obtained valuable grants from the king for Dakṣiṇa-Kedāreśvara as well as for temples at Abbalur (Ablur).'

Other grants to Dakṣiṇa-Kedāra in the reigns of Bijjala's successors, and various foundations elsewhere, are described in similar but less elaborate terms; it is needless to record all these instances in detail here. But it is worth noting that towards the end of the period, round about A.D. 1200, there is evidence that Jainism was still holding its own, for we then hear of the Cārukīrti-panḍita-deva,¹ this being the title of the Śravaṇa Belgoḷa *gurus*, as repairing a Pañca *basti* and obtaining for it a transfer of villages originally granted to another *basti* which was no longer in existence, having perhaps been destroyed during the storm of the preceding contest between the Lingāyats and the Jains.²

¹ *EC*, vii, Sk. 227.

² The Bibliography is the same as that for the Chālukyas of Kalyāṇī, with the addition of an unpublished thesis on 'The Kalachuris of Kalyāṇī and their times' by Mr. G. R. Kuppuswamy Iyengar, B.A. (Hons.), 1944, available in the University Library, Mysore—referred to in the notes as 'Thesis'.

